

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

1 May – 31 July 1963


Second Series

82

A large, stylized handwritten signature in white ink, likely belonging to Jawaharlal Nehru, positioned at the bottom of the page. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a prominent loop at the top and a long, sweeping stroke extending towards the bottom right.

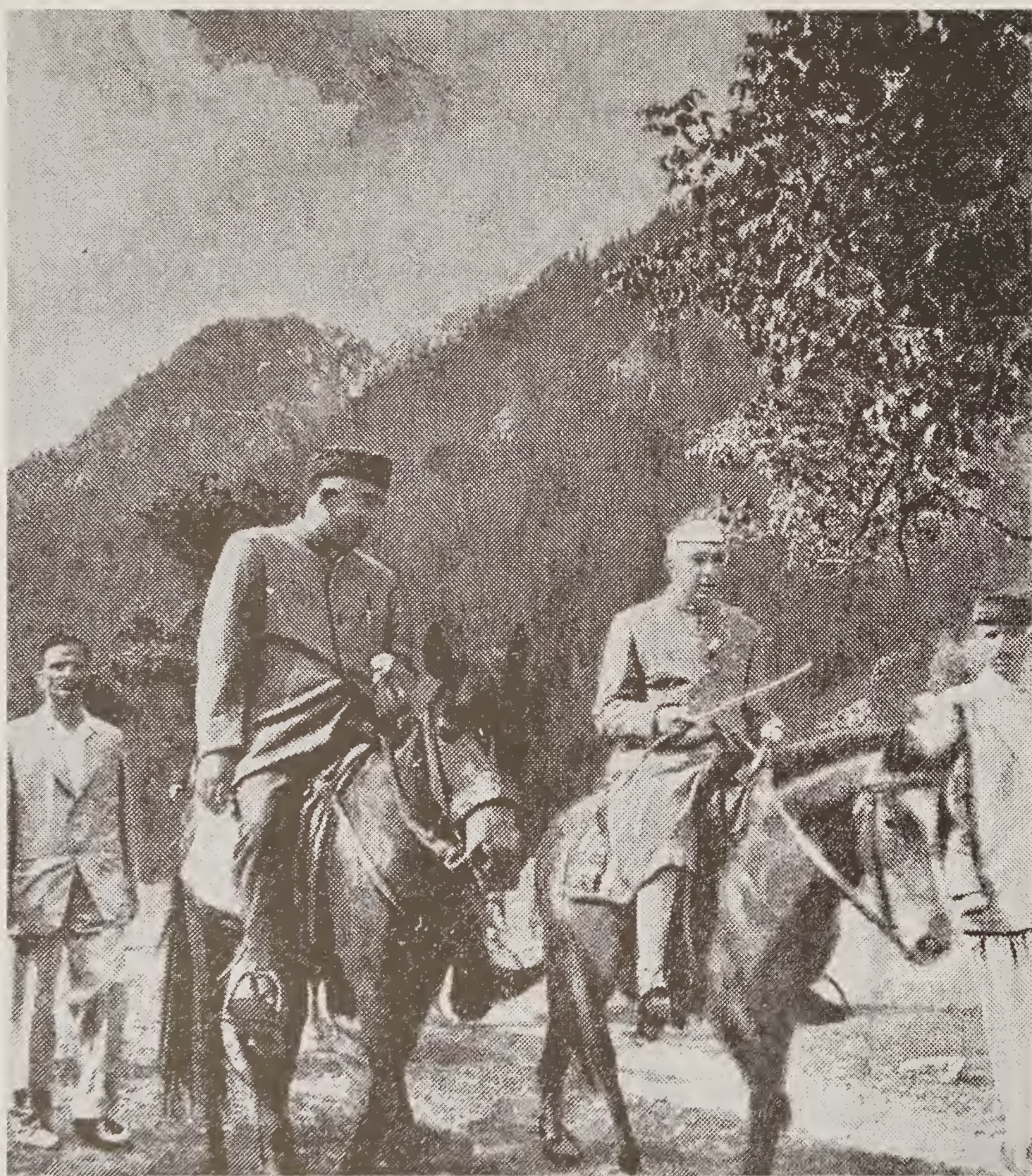
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The first series took the collection up to 1 September 1946 in 15 volumes; the second series starts with 2 September 1946 when Nehru assumed office in the Interim Government. This is the 82nd volume of the second series and it deals with the events of 1 May – 31 July 1963. The extensive annotation to the documents makes them especially user-friendly.



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Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



With Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed on his way to Aru,
near Pahalgam. (From *The Times of India*, 28 June 1963, p.1)

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

SECOND SERIES

Volume Eighty Two (1 May – 31 July 1963)

Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Jh' with a long, sweeping underline.

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

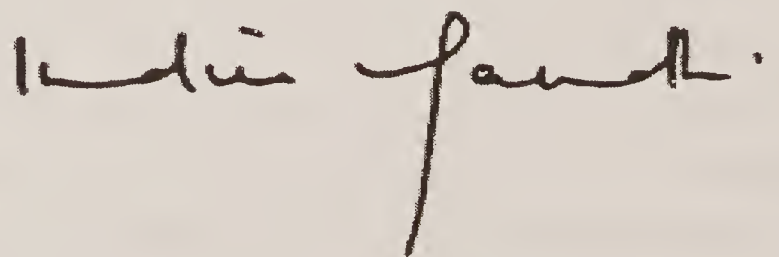
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His

struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long vertical stroke extending downwards from the end of the name.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

In this period Nehru is energetic as ever, with tours to Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Madras and Pondicherry, and for the first time to Goa, all of them entailing a punishing load of speaking engagements. But it was urgent as the Congress defeats were beginning to mount, as those of Farrukhabad, Amroha and Rajkot, and the Chinese war always needed explanation. One of the thorny problems of the time, the official language and the statuses of Hindi, English and the other languages, was resolved by extending the Official Languages Act providing for the continued use of English for official purposes along with Hindi beyond 1965. In external affairs the prolonged and fruitless talks with Pakistan go on, with Swaran Singh gamely conducting the exercise; and there is no shortage of important visitors, Ali Sabry, Mountbatten, Duncan Sandys, Dean Rusk, Phillips Talbot, and William Bundy, all of these being covered in the parliamentary debates. But he found time for an important cultural initiative, the film on Mahatma Gandhi by Richard Attenborough, the details of which he examined carefully. As usual, he could not avoid a major corruption scandal, this time the Serajuddin case, which occupies much space and attention.

Some of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to personal friends, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore, these have either been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons or his full name has been used, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the Selected Works appear as SWJN/FS/10/...., to be understood as Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. Maps of the boundary between India and China have been reproduced from official documents and are placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want one.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu* and the *National Herald* for permission to reproduce reports.

Finally, it gives me great pleasure to thank those who contributed to preparing this volume for publication, most of all Geeta Kudaisya. The Hindi texts have been edited by Mohammed Khalid Ansari, and the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari.

Madhavan K. Palat

I. POLITICS

General

1. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Preventive Detention¹

May 5, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I enclose a letter from S.M. Banerjee, MP,² and also the opinion of Viswanatha Sastri³ in regard to the provisions of the Defence of India Act and rules authorising preventive detention. Viswanatha Sastri's opinion, as sent to me by S.M. Banerjee, is very clear and definite against these provisions. We should consider what we have to do now.

I would have written to Asoke Sen⁴ about this matter, but as he is not here, I am sending this to you. You might perhaps ask the Law Ministry to look into this matter and send their opinion.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

2. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: *Why Hindu Rashtra?*⁵

May 9, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

This is just to remind you about the book *Why Hindu Rashtra* which has been published from Bangalore and which contains extracts from speeches of Golwalkar.⁶ I hope you will have this book examined and if necessary take action against it.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Letter to the Home Minister.
2. Lok Sabha MP, Independent, from Kanpur.
3. Former judge of Madras High Court and later senior advocate in the Supreme Court. See <http://www.the-laws.com/Encyclopedia/Browse/Case?CaseId=219791041000>, accessed on 25 March 2019.
4. Law Minister.
5. Letter to the Home Minister. MHA, File No. 37/22/63-Poll. II, p.4/c.
6. M.S. Golwalkar, Sarsanghchalak of the RSS.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[The above letter led to the following noting]⁷

[Note, 16 August 1963, by Lal Bahadur Shastri, for A.K. Sen, the Law Minister, begins]

Law Minister may kindly see. This book has aroused a lot of comments and some of the references to non-Hindus are somewhat unfortunate. Such books also give a handle to the propaganda made against us abroad.

Lal Bahadur
16.8.96

HS [Home Secretary]
Law Minister

[Note, 16 August 1963, by Lal Bahadur Shastri, for A.K. Sen, the Law Minister, ends]

[Note, 9 December 1963, by A.K. Sen, for B.N. Lokur, the Law Secretary, begins]

I agree. The Law Secretary might study the book & submit a report as to whether any legal action can be taken. I doubt it, however.

A.K. Sen
9.12.63

[Note, 9 December 1963, by A.K. Sen, for B.N. Lokur, the Law Secretary, ends]

[Note, 22 February 1964, by B.N. Lokur, for the Deputy Minister, begins]

I have carefully read the book *Why Hindu Rashtra?* which publishes two speeches delivered by Shri Golwalkar—one on 25.11.1960 and the other on a date not specified. The first speech bears the caption “Why Hindu Rashtra?” while the second is entitled “Vision of Our Work”. The first speech was published in April 1962 and the present book is the second edition of the publication but includes also the speech on “Vision of Our Work”.

2. There is nothing objectionable in the speech entitled “Vision of Our Work” but certain objectionable statements have been made in the first speech,

7. MHA, File No. 37/22/63-Poll. II, pp.14-16/n.

“Why Hindu Rashtra”. This speech propagates the usual thrice-told philosophy of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh that our country belongs to Hindus and all non-Hindus living in the country are intruders and aggressors. This proposition is sought to be supported by drawing upon the early history and traditions of the country and the circumstances in which Muslims, Parsis, Jews and Christians came to live in the country. The conclusion drawn is that Hindus alone are the “children of the soil” and the non-Hindus are erroneously treated as “children of the soil” and are wrongly conferred the rights and privileges which are legitimately due to the Hindus only. Some references to the Muslims are very bitter: they are described as “enemies of the country”, not assimilating themselves into the society and continuing to be hostile to the “children of the soil”. It is also stated, quoting Professor Toynbee,⁸ that the creation of Pakistan was a first step towards the conquest of this country by the Muslims. Finally, there is an exhortation for the Hindus to organise themselves in the common realisation of their being the children of this motherland.

3. It is worthwhile considering whether the unkindly references to Muslims are actionable. The rest of the rigmarole does not call for any serious notice.

4. If the imputations made against the Muslims fall within the mischief of Section 153A of the Indian Penal Code, be remembered in this connection that the speech was delivered more than three years ago and was first printed nearly two years ago. Though the references to Muslims have been resented by the Muslim community, they have not resulted in promoting hatred between Hindus and Muslims. In fact, Shri Golwalkar has been since a long time advocating the cause of Hindus against the Muslims but no damage is known to have been done. There was at one time an apprehension that Parliament might take cognizance of the publication but it has not come true. In the circumstance, prudence lies in favour of ignoring the publication rather than giving further publicity to it by taking action against it, whether under the Indian Penal Code or under the Defence of India Rules.

B.N. Lokur
Secretary
22.2.1964

Deputy Minister.

[Note, 22 February 1964, by B.N. Lokur, for the Deputy Minister, ends]

8. Arnold Toynbee.

3. To D. Kesry: Contribution to Defence Fund⁹

10th May 1963

Dear Shri Kesry,

You and your colleagues were good enough to call on me today and give me your letter of the 9th May, 1963, together with a cheque for £ 7721.0.0 Sterling for the National Defence Fund. I am grateful for this contribution which is the third which the New Zealand Indian Central Association has sent us. You will get a formal receipt for this from the Secretary of the Fund.

You have referred to other forms of aid you can give in the shape of woollen clothes and processed foods. I am referring this to our Defence people for their advice in the matter.

I was happy to meet you and your colleagues and to learn something about Indian migration to New Zealand.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

4. To Kashi Ram Gupta: Parliament and State Elections¹⁰

May 19, 1963

Dear Kashi Ramji,

Your letter of the 10th May. I have also read your previous letter of the 26th April again.

I do not think it is desirable to separate the Lok Sabha General Elections from those of the Vidhan Sabhas. The points against this proposal, I think, outweigh those in favour of it. The whole question of elections is becoming more and more complicated and exceedingly expensive. We have to give thought to this. Indeed we have given thought to it but without much success. To separate these elections would add to the difficulties and confusion.

Apart from this there is no constitutional rule to have the elections at the same time or separately. It so happens that generally they have been held at the same time.

9. Letter to the President of the New Zealand Indian Central Association, P.O. Matvad, Via Navsari, Distt. Surat. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Ahmedabad.

10. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Independent ; address: 182 South Avenue, New Delhi.

We have tried to keep out party elections for Village Panchayats etc. I am not sure that this is possible, or perhaps even desirable in large municipal councils and corporations.

A code of conduct for parties should certainly be devised.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

5. To Chief Ministers¹¹

May 21, 1963

My dear Chief Minister,

An unfortunate turn of circumstances has, as you know, put a heavy burden on us. Indeed the burdens are manifold. There is the Chinese menace which is a continuing one, even though there may be no actual fighting on our borders at present. There is Pakistan's bitter attitude towards India which concentrates, for the present, on Kashmir, but which is much deeper and wider than the Kashmir issue, and then there are our internal problems of development and the way we run the Government.

2. I confess to being a little worried about all these burdens that we have to carry, even though we try our best to meet them. While the Chinese menace is highly important and requires constant care and preparation and the Pakistani trouble has been with us for many years, yet, I think that our internal problems are of high importance, not only in themselves, but insofar as they affect our capacity and preparedness to meet our external troubles.

[China]

3. So far as the Chinese menace is concerned, we are more or less where we were. The menace is there and we cannot say what particular action of aggression China may indulge in again. All we can do is to expedite our defence preparedness to the utmost. This is being done. But, in the nature of things, it takes some time to develop adequately. We have taxed our country heavily for this purpose, and we are trying to go ahead with our internal arrangements. We are also trying to get as much assistance in this work from other friendly

11. Letter to Chief Ministers of the States and the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. PMS, File No. 25(30)/63-71-PM, Sr. No. 5-A. Also available in the JN Collection and in G. Pathasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru. Letters to Chief Ministers, 1958-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 592- 602.

countries. There is no certainty yet of what help we will get. As you know, we have sent first class teams to the United States and to the United Kingdom to explain our position and our needs. At present, our senior Minister, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari, is in the United States, and I believe he is doing good work there. He will then go to the United Kingdom. Previously, he paid a visit to Australia and New Zealand. Probably, we shall know the result of these visits early in June. It may be that we shall not be wholly satisfied with the response, though I hope that it will be fairly good. Whatever it is, we shall have to try to do our best in the circumstances.

4. So far as China is concerned, their attitude continues to be rigid even in regard to the Colombo proposals. Though the difference in regard to these proposals is not by itself of very great importance, yet it is significant and may well affect the future of our dealings with China. That is why it has assumed the importance it has done. We cannot therefore, give in on the two issues that have arisen from this difference. These two issues are: the establishment of civil posts in the twenty five kilometers demilitarised zone in Ladakh, and our freedom to send our armed forces into that part of NEFA which was vacated by the Chinese. In a purely military sense, neither of these two has any great importance as they would not add much to our defence preparations, having regard to the terrain and other circumstances. But, politically, this means our surrendering to Chinese demands and thus inferentially to accept many of their claims on our territory, chiefly in Ladakh. That we cannot do. Probably, if we were to meet the Chinese representatives without clearing this matter up, as they suggest, they would agree to these two matters and thus appear to be generous but, in agreeing to these matters, they would strengthen their hold on the other parts of Ladakh and expect us to give in there also. We do not propose to do so.

5. Even if these two preliminary matters were settled satisfactorily, the real problem would remain. If we then meet round the conference table, it is highly unlikely that the Chinese would accept our case. The stalemate or worse will continue. For us to deal with the Chinese even round the conference table, we must be backed by adequate strength. That is essential in any event.

6. As you know, we had suggested to the Chinese a reference to the Hague Court of International Justice or, in the alternative, to high level arbitration. We have not had a clear and formal answer to these suggestions of ours but, indirectly and through their press, they have rejected these proposals. For the present, therefore, we have to concentrate on increasing our strength not only in defence, but in other basic ways also. As I have said previously, this conflict with China is a long-term affair, and we must be prepared for it and shoulder the burdens that it necessarily brings to us.

[Pakistan]

7. Pakistan has been and continues to be a headache. By a curious quirk of circumstance this has got tied up with the Chinese menace. Surely, there must be few instances in history of a country tying itself up with military alliances against some of the countries, in the present case Communist countries, and then suddenly turning over and coming to an understanding with one of these Communist countries.¹² This indicates clearly that the main objective of Pakistan is not a possible conflict with the Communist countries, but the continuance of its bitterness and hatred against India. Kashmir is not the cause for this conflict with India but the result of the basic urge. This fact is not recognised by the Western friends of Pakistan. They realise, I suppose, that Pakistan is slowly slipping away from their influence. They try to prevent this by bringing pressure on India to come to a settlement with Pakistan about Kashmir. That is a very simple way of looking at a more complicated problem. We are, of course, anxious and eager to put an end to our various difficulties with Pakistan. I think that no one can be more eager to bring about normal and satisfactory relations between India and Pakistan than we are. But any real understanding of the situation will demonstrate that this cannot be achieved by methods of blackmail and undue pressure taking advantage of the Chinese menace. Indeed, even if we were so weak and frightened as to submit to this blackmail, the result will be the very reverse of bringing about a satisfactory settlement with Pakistan. Because of Chinese aggression on us, Pakistan's appetite has grown tremendously and she feels that now is the time to extract the most from us. If she were to succeed in this endeavour that appetite, far from being satisfied, will grow and the relations of India and Pakistan would become much more strained and difficult. I do not know how far it may be true that some understanding has been arrived at between Pakistan and China. But even without any secret understanding the facts that we know are clear enough. For the present, both these countries feel that the major impediment in their way is India; therefore both have the common objective of doing injury to India and humiliating her so that in future they can proceed for realising their aims without this major obstacle.

8. For us this is indeed a difficult position, but I am sure that however difficult it might be we have to face it without surrendering in any vital matter either to China or to Pakistan. Any surrender on either side would weaken our position greatly on the other side, apart from the grave reactions in India itself.

12. A Boundary Agreement between China and Pakistan was signed by Chen Yi, Foreign Minister of China, and Z.A. Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, on 2 March 1963.

9. This matter is somehow tied up with the help that we may get from the Western countries. Perhaps it is not quite correct to say that it is tied up, and we have been assured that it is not. Nevertheless, it has its effect on that aid. This in itself indicates how too much reliance on outside aid has undesirable consequences. This does not mean that we should in case of need, avoid help. We are indeed earnestly trying to get that help but if that aid is tied up with other policies to our disadvantage, then it injures, at the same time, as it helps. We have to keep all this in views. During these difficult days we have to keep a stout heart and a clear mind.

10. As you know, the last and sixth series of talks between India and Pakistan did not last long. They came to rather an abrupt end.¹³ That end perhaps was inevitable in the circumstances, but nevertheless the manner of its taking place was somewhat unexpected. It is clear that Pakistan representatives came to these talks with the firm intention of breaking them up. The only alternative to this was for us to surrender to them all along the line, which it was completely impossible for us to do. They were not even willing to issue a joint communiqué and when a brief communiqué was agreed upon, they resolutely opposed any reference in it to further efforts being made by the two countries for a peaceful solution of our problems. This in itself shows their mental approach.

11. There has been a good deal of talk about some eminent person offering his good offices or some kind of mediation. There was no reference to this in our talks with Pakistan. Earlier, we had said that we were anxious to explore every possible avenue of a settlement with Pakistan and, in order to do this, we might not be averse to this good offices approach. Even then, however, we had made it clear that this could only be agreed to if all the Indo-Pakistan problems, and not Kashmir only, were considered. Further, that this must be done quietly, in an unobtrusive way and with adequate time given to it, so as to avoid a hurried approach. I confess that, even so, I was not happy at this suggestion, and we had made it clear that, in so far as Kashmir is concerned, the questions of the partition of the Valley or of internationalisation of it were not agreeable to us.

12. So far as I know, Pakistan has not said anything clear about this matter. The breakup of the talks and the manner of their breaking up made us feel that even this approach of good offices could not, in the present circumstances, yield any satisfactory results. This would only prolong the agony.

13. On 16 May 1963, see *The Hindustan Times*, 17 January 1963, p. 1 cols 4 & 5 and p. 6 cols 7 & 8.

13. There are no proposals about this matter now before us. Nor has Pakistan said anything about them, although I see that Mr Zafarullah Khan¹⁴ had referred to this question recently. We do not wish to encourage this business at all. I do not know what shape it might take and what further pressures might be brought to bear upon us. It is said that Pakistan might perhaps agree to it subject to various provisos, such as (1) a definite time limit should be placed; (2) it should be confined to Kashmir (3) the question of aid to India should not be decided till that approach is completed, and perhaps some other provisos also. Now all these provisos are objectionable and cannot be accepted by us. They indicate no real desire for a settlement, but only a wish to exercise all the pressure they can and to take advantage of our situation vis-à-vis China.

14. Some of our friends who are very anxious for us to fight China, appear to be of opinion that we should agree to or rather surrender to Pakistan in regard to Kashmir. I realise that these are the views of only a very few persons. It is surprising to me that even those few persons should think in this manner. As I have repeatedly said, we are anxious to have a settlement with Pakistan about Kashmir as well as about other matters, but any surrender of ours to Pakistan's wholly unjustified claims would not only create the strongest of reactions in India, but would also make it much more difficult for us to face China. The result will be a feeling of defeatism which will affect our struggle with China. But, apart from this, if the Valley is even partly controlled by Pakistan, our struggle against China in Ladakh would be grievously affected. In fact, the Valley is the base of the struggle and the way to Ladakh. Thus, a surrender in Kashmir will make it impossible for us to face adequately China in Ladakh. Pakistan realises this and, in fact, Mr Bhutto to some extent admitted it. Thus, the two, that is, our struggle against China and our difficulties with Pakistan, are closely mixed up. One affects the other, and in this mix up, unfortunately, Pakistan and China help each other. It is easy to be generous at the expense of a third party.

15. The result of all this is that we must fully realise the difficulties we face and that we can have no relief from them either from China or from Pakistan. The two stand on a different footing, that is true. Pakistan was till recently a part of India. In a way, we are historically, geographically, culturally and even racially connected in many ways. It should be natural for us to come to friendly settlements and cooperate with each other. That has been our view, and we have tried to do so to the best of our ability. With China, the differences are great and, however much we may want to be friendly with her, the gap is wide. It is true that even countries that have fought each other may become friends later. Every

14. Pakistani negotiator.

war leads to a peace, good or bad. We should not, therefore, think in terms of permanent enemies and we should always try to leave a door open for friendship. But the fact remains that, in spite of verbal assurances, China has shut and bolted the door insofar as we are concerned. For the moment, therefore, there is no prospect of friendly relations with her, and we have to face this conflict with energy and resolution. Pakistan has, most unfortunately, tied herself to China at this crucial moment of our history and Asia's history. Her fear and hatred of India has been the basic motive force guiding her actions. I am afraid that in the long run Pakistan will not profit by this approach, even though today she might be able to utilise the Chinese menace to our disadvantage.

[Internal Solidarity]

16. All this requires strength, unity and hard work on our part. The people of India have demonstrated their sense of solidarity on this occasion. But, as the actual military conflict becomes a thing of the past, many people tend to revert to their party squabbles and to their normal industry of running down and blaming Government for everything that happens. That makes it all the more incumbent for us to strengthen our Government apparatus and to fight a ceaseless war against corruption and inefficiency. I am absolutely convinced that our strength depends not only on our defensive apparatus, but on the efficiency, integrity and unity in our civil administration at all levels. It is a platitude to say that the strength of the country depends on these factors as well as on the growth of our economy.

17. The tragedy of the situation is that just when we had to make a tremendous effort to push our economy forward, we have had to face these external dangers which divert so much of our energy and our resources to purposes other than developmental. Perhaps, this is a trial and a test for us. If we survive it, as I trust and believe that we will, we shall come out all the stronger and will advance more rapidly.

18. But it is essential that we realise the vital importance of these factors in the working of our Government and in our public life. What is even success on the battlefield worth if we fail inwardly. We have too many weaknesses and disruptive forces at work. Caste still plays an unholy role. Caste also helps in bringing about inefficiency, nepotism and corruption. One leads to the other. I think that we must be quite clear in our minds that we cannot succeed outwardly and externally unless we do so inwardly also and try to conquer our weaknesses. There is far too much talk of corruption. I think it is exaggerated a good deal but we must realise that it is there and we must face that with all our will and strength. Our governmental apparatus is still slow moving and full of brakes

which come in the way of all the brave schemes that we have in mind. Our law, good as it is, is slow moving also in regard to the punishment of the guilty.

19. I am writing about this to you because I feel strongly that we must clean up our public life and make it worthy and efficient for the great objectives that we have.

20. What are these objectives? There must be a life worthwhile for all the hundreds of millions who live here so that all of us can lead a purposeful existence and rid ourselves of the curses of poverty, unemployment, disease and ignorance. In effect, to produce the opportunities for every human being in India to rise materially, culturally and spiritually, and to create a sense of cooperative endeavour and cooperative living. We call this Socialism as that, I think, is the nearest term which can embrace our objectives. Of course, socialism has a particular economic significance, but we use it in a larger sense even. We see about us the growth of big money and concentrations and the power that big money gives. This affects our public life as well as our economic life and we have to do something to curb it and to rid it of its abuse. There is a certain vulgarity which hurts a sensitive person about the vast difference between the rich and the poor in India.

21. In the final analysis, right education open to all is perhaps the basic remedy for most of our ills. That education has, in the present circumstances, to be devoted, to a large extent, towards technical training, but the basic of education must necessarily be cultural and, if I may use the term, spiritual also. It must essentially be mass education. I am, therefore, grieved to learn that the spread of mass education is suffering because of the Emergency and the other demands upon us. It is only through and out of this mass education that worthwhile persons grow out. I would, therefore, earnestly plead with you to encourage the spread of this mass education as much as possible and not allow it to suffer because of any other reason.

22. Of course education must mean a definite attempt to give it right direction. I do feel, as I have felt before, that the basic system of education gives it a right turn and probably does away with many of the evils that we see in our schools and colleges today. It may be that this basic education is difficult to organise because of lack of good teachers, but if it is the right education, we should face this problem and produce the right teachers.

23. We have a multitude of problems and in effect we fight for our survival not only as an independent country, but also a country with its own individuality, its own basic culture and all that is worthwhile in us. Let us carry on this fight with a stout heart and with goodwill.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To Kashi Ram Gupta: Elections and Money¹⁵

May 21, 1963

Dear Kashi Ramji,

Your letter of the 21st May. I am replying briefly as I am leaving for Goa.¹⁶

The main reason for not making a point of having separate elections is that this will add to the burden and the expense of electioneering very greatly. It will add to the administrative burden also.

There are certain disadvantages in having Party elections but there are also advantages. Individuals standing for election will tend to aim for votes on personal or caste lines. As a result of the elections there may be a large number of individuals elected, but they will function more or less independently, or form ad hoc groups which will vary from time to time. There will thus be no discipline and no tendency to work together. As it is, we suffer from lack of discipline in our lives, both public and private. Usually, rich people who can afford to bear the burden of elections, will get elected. There will be no direction in the work done, no principles to be followed, and. members will get lost in petty squabbles about relatively unimportant things.

All this depends, of course, on the quality of the persons chosen. It is by no means clear that the quality will be improved by individuals being left to their own resources.

I have no objection to small municipalities being run on non-Party lines.

As for banning contributions from Limited Companies, much can be said in its favour. I have myself been inclined to think that this might be desirable. On the other hand, personal contributions from rich people have also an element, which is not good. As things are today in our present society, evils creep in whichever way we function. The real evil lies in the power that money gives to those who possess it. The system of democratic elections under these conditions is not wholly satisfactory. One does not quite know how to better it.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

15. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Independent ; address: 182 South Avenue, New Delhi.

16. 22-25 May, see items 39-45.

7. To S. Radhakrishnan: No Bharat Ratna for Savarkar¹⁷

June 2, 1963

My dear President,

Your office has sent me a letter which I am returning. In this letter it is suggested that Bharat Ratna may be awarded to Shri Savarkar.¹⁸ Shri Savarkar has certainly played an important part in his early days in the freedom movement. But later he became a very controversial figure. I do not think it would be advisable to accept this suggestion made by the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

8. To Asoka Mehta: Resignation from Defence Council¹⁹

June 14, 1963

Dear Asoka,

I have your letter of the 13th June. I do not see why you should resign from the National Defence Council, the National Defence Fund Committee and the Central Citizens' Council. While you certainly occupied the post of President of the Praja Socialist Party,²⁰ you were not made a member of these bodies especially in that capacity. Your choice was thus a personal one. I hope, therefore, that you will not insist on your resignation from them.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

17. Letter to the President. Sent from Dehra Dun.

18. V.D. Savarkar, Hindu Mahasabha leader.

19. Letter to PSP leader; address: 5 Dadyseth Road, Babulnath, Bombay 7.

20. President of the PSP, 1959-63.

9. To Mohanlal Saksena: Fixing Appointment²¹

June 15, 1963

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of the 15th June. I am afraid that during the two days I am here before I go to Kashmir, I am heavily occupied. If you wish to see me just for a few minutes, please come to my office on the 17th June at 6.30 p.m.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. In New Delhi: Press Conference²²

Jawaharlal Nehru: Let us note down the subjects to be discussed.

Subjects

1. China
2. Laos
3. Kashmir and mediation
4. Serajuddin Affair
5. Bokaro Steel Plant
6. Kolar Goldfields
7. Inquiry into NEFA reverse

Question: The defence preparations of India and in that connection discussion held overseas by Mr T.T. Krishnamachari and others.

Jawaharlal Nehru: You expect me to perform the task of an eavesdropper and tell you exactly what happened behind closed doors. An absurd question.

Question: Roughly what are the next steps and what is to be done now that the missions have come back and reported?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The next step is to get the things agreed upon.

Question: Would there be any further discussions etc.

Jawaharlal Nehru: May be discussed from time to time.

21. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Nominated; address: 19 Gurudwara Rakabganj Road. NMML, Mohanlal Saksena Papers.

22. On 15 June 1963. NMML, PIB Transcript, checked against AIR Tapes, TS No. 10658, 10659, 10660, NM No. 1872, 1873, 1974.

Subjects to be discussed, (continued)

1. Election reverses
2. Deterioration of crime situation in Delhi

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sure I am not briefed about it.

Question: Inquiry into the NEFA reverses whose report has now been given to the Government.²³

Question: Talking about Bokaro Steel, if we could include the subject of the Third Plan progress especially in the light of some tentative targets as we are now thinking of the Fourth Plan.

Question: Three-language formula in UP.

Jawaharlal Nehru: You ask me questions about matters I do not know all about. The three language formula is there, how it is being applied in UP, I do not know.

Question: Last time you said that Sanskrit is not a modern language and therefore it cannot be included in the three-language formula. But now the UP Government wants to include it in the three-language formula and wants to make it the third language. Therefore, I wanted to ask you this question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it is up to the UP Government. Nobody is against Sanskrit. In fact, we want to encourage it, but my own understanding of the three-language formula was that it was three-modern language formula.

China

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what new information to give you about China. The Chinese Government is surpassing its own high record in vituperation. In the last few days or few weeks, they have concentrated on the Chinese who have been repatriated to their country and all manner of charges have been made against us about those who were supposed to have been in Deoli and have been repatriated. I do not know how to deal with this matter. This is an amazing charge—that we sent them there to torture them. Also this has arisen from the fact that quite a number of Chinese there were not prepared to go to China. They said they would rather stay here, either go back to their homes in India or stay in Deoli camp and we have said everybody can go back except those who are unwilling and we are not going to force them. And because of

23. The Henderson Brooks Report was presented to the COAS on 12 May 1963 and by the COAS to Y.B. Chavan, the Defence Minister, on 2 July 1963. See Chavan's statement in the Lok Sabha on 2 September 1963.

that their propaganda is quite extraordinary, the daily spate of falsehood and vituperation that come out and those who have gone out—some of them are produced on public stages there to give first hand evidence of their treatment at Deoli.²⁴

24. The Following report appeared in *The Hindustan Times* on 22 April 1963: “As many as 650 Chinese now interned at the Deoli Camp in Rajasthan have refused to return to China.

They are believed to have told the camp authorities that even as internees they were enjoying freer life in India than they could hope for if repatriated to China.

The 650 opters for India include about 80 internees who had earlier wanted to return to China but have since revised their option on similar grounds.

They are likely to be allowed to return to their places of residence and business and resume their normal avocations.

The Deoli camp had about 2000 Chinese internees who were rounded up from different places in the eastern border region—north Bengal and Assam—in the wake of the Chinese invasion in October. These persons were considered security risks and kept under surveillance under the Foreigners’ Act.

The Government later told the internees they could return to China, if they so desired.

New Delhi has also exchanged several notes with Peking in the last five months on the question of repatriation of Chinese nationals from India including those interned at Deoli.

India had repeatedly made it clear that it had given full freedom to the Chinese nationals, number about 20,000 including women and children, to leave India provided they volunteered to do so. The only condition was there should be no coercion either way.

China had alleged that the internees at the Deoli camp had been tortured or otherwise maltreated. India characterised these charges as false and propagandist fabrications.

A team of officials of the International Red Cross after visiting the Deoli camp had certified that the Chinese internees were being treated properly.

The 650 internees’ refusal to leave India gives a lie to the Peking charges.

Recently 870 internees left by sea for China. They were allowed to take with them 38 dependents—all Chinese.

Another 480 Deoli camp internees are expected to leave for China soon. They will be accompanied by about 400 other Chinese (not interned) including the dependents of the internees.

Arrangements for their repatriation are now under negotiation between Peking and New Delhi. It is possible two more Chinese ships will be allowed to call at one of the Indian ports to take them back.

With the dispatch of the second and final batch of internees, the Deoli camp is proposed to be disbanded.” See *The Hindustan Times*, 22 April 1963, p. col. 5 and p. 12 col. 4.

See also “Life at Deoli Camp” in *The Modern Review*, Volume 113, pp. 467-468.

Question: There have been some communications between you and the Ceylon Prime Minister. Would you like to throw some light on them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There have been some letters. I do not think there is anything very new in them. Partly, they have dealt with the problem of the so-called stateless persons in Ceylon, and partly, they have referred to the Colombo proposals.

Question: The Colombo proposals continue to hold the field indefinitely? How long do you propose to wait for China to accept?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not a question of fixing a date, whether acceptance or non-acceptance, they are there. You seem to suggest that we had to do something which we are holding up because of the Colombo proposals. That is not the position.

Question: Have you received any suggestions from any of the Colombo countries, the countries which participated in the Colombo proposals, with a view to ending this stalemate about these proposals?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No. I do not remember having got anything. Sometimes some letters have come but no specific proposal to that end has appeared.

Question: The Lamas you have left behind in China or Tibet, are they coming back?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is an entirely separate thing. It has nothing to do with this trouble between India and China on the border and in that it is rather difficult because that young Lama went of his own accord to China. If he does not want to come back how can we force him to come back?

Question: Any suggestion that there might be official level discussion on the basis of the Colombo proposals even when China has not accepted it without reservations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Official level discussions on the basis of the Colombo proposals? In other words, before the Colombo proposals are fully agreed to? That is more or less the Chinese position.

Question: Have any of the Colombo powers suggested it?

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Jawaharlal Nehru: They have not suggested it precisely, but some time ago someone of them, I think, suggested our considering this question. It is not a suggestion but that we should take this into consideration, whether it is possible or not.

Question: According to the reports, the Chinese have set up more than 20 check-posts in the so-called demilitarized zone on the Sino-Indian border. Have they communicated to you the locations of these check-posts—whether it amounts to a violation of the Colombo proposals?

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as I remember, they have indicated no such thing to us. In fact one of our protest notes has gone to them about these check-posts.

Question: There have been reports that there is a possibility of the Ceylon Prime Minister paying another visit to Delhi. Will you say something about it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not aware of it.

Question: Would you care to comment on the state of the Sino-Soviet relationship as it stands at present?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather difficult to comment precisely. They are obviously not in good form; and you probably know that next month they are going to have an argument about ideological differences. All I can say is that there is a fairly wide gap between them. Where it will lead to, I cannot say.

Question: There have been reports of actual clashes between not armed forces, but clashes in disputed territories, between the Soviet Union and the Chinese. Do we have anything to confirm that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not aware of it.

Indian prisoners of war

Question: Do you accept the Chinese position that they have returned all the prisoners of war that they took from India and if so what do you think have been the total figure of casualties on the Indian side?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give the exact figures, I have not got them. But the prisoners of war returned are about 3,000 I think. And the total of the others was

about 2,000 to 3,000 also. There is a number unaccounted for, which probably may be considered to be dead. Many of them, many bodies have been recovered, both by the Chinese and ourselves from the snow, after the snow had melted.

Question: Do you have any idea of the Chinese figures?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I do not know. In Ladakh, they were very heavy. But then it is sheer conjecture as to what they were.

Question: There have been reports that the Chinese by-passed Sela also from Bhutan. Are they correct, these reports?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not seen these reports. I can't say.

Question: There is a report that the Chinese were not returning the Nepalese prisoners, I mean Indian soldiers of Nepalese origin. Is there anything in that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, they have returned them.

Question: Is it possible to know now the way our prisoners were treated by the Chinese and if there was any attempt to indoctrinate them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The word "indoctrinate" has got a special significance. It almost means holding classes. Obviously, attempts were made to create a good impression upon them, good impression about the Chinese. If you call that indoctrination, that was done.

Question: Have you met any Chinese prisoners of war? And if so how many so far?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not. I think, I saw a person who was ill in hospital at Tezpur but apart from that I have not seen any.

Question: Only one?

Question: That is the reason for our not having been able to have any Chinese prisoners? In a battle even if we had reverses, in spite of that, we would have been able to take some prisoners.

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Jawaharlal Nehru: I think the reason is obvious; in the nature of things, in the ways this fighting took place and our army was made to retreat—in the sense it was surrounded and made to retreat—it was as much as they could do to hold together and retreat. There can be no question of taking prisoners in the circumstances.

Question: Is there any rigid policy that no one from outside should go and settle in the NEFA area either for defence or for other purposes?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, there is no such big policy. In very small numbers, it was suggested to settle some, but in relatively small numbers. We just wanted to see how this functioned.

India-China Talks

Question: If you would forgive my going back to the question of talks, is it possible to get a clear statement about talks even if the Chinese do not accept the Colombo proposals and whether the establishment of these check-posts has made the talks even more difficult than they seemed some time ago.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, I did not follow.

Question: You kindly mentioned that some people have suggested to you to consider holding talks at official level even if the Chinese do not fully accept the Colombo proposals. Since then, these check-posts have been re-established by the Chinese. Whether as a cumulative result of that we could get a precise statement about the prospects of these talks?

Jawaharlal Nehru: At the present moment, there is no question of our talks; I do not know how the cumulative effect comes in.

Question: Do you think that a stage will arrive when we will have to take the initiative to throw out the aggressors?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The stage has not arrived for me to say anything about it.

Chinese Checkposts

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have been informed that of these 26 Chinese check-posts, 7 are in the Ladakh demilitarized zone, 3 on the Bihar-UP-Tibet border, and 16 on the NEFA-Tibet border.

Question: Could you please repeat that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: 7 are in the Ladakh demilitarized zone, 3 on the Bihar-UP-Tibet border, and 16 on the NEFA-Tibet border. Of these, those on the NEFA-Tibet border and near UP-Bihar border are both on the other side of the international frontier as we claim it. Therefore, only in Ladakh they remain, and of these, one is beyond the international frontier and six are within the frontier claimed by us. So in the main the question arises about these six.

Question: Since the establishment of check-posts was supposed to be done only by mutual agreement, under the Colombo proposals, would the establishment of the six check-posts unilaterally by the Chinese create further difficulty in the beginning of the talks?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, the question of talks is not there at the present moment but the establishment of these check-posts does appear to be against the Colombo proposals.

Question: Does India propose to have its own check-posts in the demilitarised zone?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know whether there is any particular proposal before us. I think, according to the Colombo proposals, we could have the same number of check-posts as the Chinese, by mutual agreement in that area. These posts are supposed to be civil check-posts. Shall we go on to something else?

Cabinet Changes

Question: There is some talk about your reorganising the Government. Could you confirm that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, about reorganisation of the Government, I can't say anything now. But it is likely that two of our Ministers may be going out of it.

Question: May be?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, and naturally, it will involve some changes inevitably.

Question: Who are the Ministers?

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Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, one is Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim,²⁵ who sent me his resignation some time ago but owing to the President's absence, it has been held up. On his return, it will be placed before him. The other is Shri Keshava Dev Malaviya²⁶ who also sent me his resignation. He sent it some days ago. And I shall forward it to the President as soon as he is here. Normally, official action is taken on it by the President.

Question: Would you take this opportunity to effect slightly more drastic changes in the Cabinet in order to bring about greater ideological homogeneity? There is an impression that both in policy and at administrative level, a lot of difference is there among the Ministers.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry I have not heard the word: ideological? What does it mean?

Question: Among the members of your team, on the ideology as spelled out by the Congress, there is no unanimity of opinion, and this gets often reflected in policies and also in the implementation of those policies. Whether you are going to take this opportunity to effect more drastic changes instead of merely filling up the two vacancies or re-arranging the portfolios?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What I may or may not do, it is not for me to discuss now. But I would like you to bear in mind that India is a very mixed country, mixed in many ways. That I am trying to drive it in one way does not reflect the true position in India.

K.D. Malaviya's Resignation

Question: About Mr K.D. Malaviya's resignation, does it mean that Mr Das²⁷ has submitted his report and that anything against him has been found? What is the position?

25. Minister of Irrigation and Power, he lost in the by-election from Amroha. See items 77 and 99.

26. Minister of Mines and Fuel.

27. S.K. Das, conducting the Serajuddin inquiry. See items 172-182.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Das sent me his report just before my going to Madras.²⁸ Mr Malaviya actually sent his resignation before the report was received by me.

Question: Will it make any difference now in view of the report that has come in? Even if he had sent the resignation earlier, that is before the report [was sent], would it have made any change?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not propose to deal with the report because Mr Das took up this work on the express condition that the report would be treated as a secret document. So, it will not be proper for me. "It should not be laid before Parliament" and all that he said at that time. It was his condition. So, it is not proper for me to discuss the report.

Question: The British people have provided a recent parallel in such a case, where they will show the report of the inquiry not only to the Government but also the Labour Party Chairman, I mean, to the Leader of the Opposition. So why this secretive attitude towards this report? We are a democratic nation, we must know our weakness as well as our strength.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But I have told you this was the condition which Mr Das laid down before he undertook this inquiry.

Question: We even amend the Constitution. This condition is not a very final condition.

[Jawaharlal Nehru: No reply]

Question: Apart from resignation, is any other action called for in view of this report—you may not disclose the actual finding? Does it mean that the resignation closes the chapter?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is nothing else in view.

Question: To be fair to Mr Malaviya, the reasons for his resignation ought to be given to the public.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That may perhaps be done either in Parliament or by him. As a matter of fact he had offered his resignation about—I forget—some weeks

28. Nehru left for Madras on 12 June 1963, see items 49-53.

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ago, months ago. When first this matter came up, he had offered to resign and he has now merely confirmed that offer.

Question: Does Mr Malaviya's exit contemplate any change in our oil policy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, the policy is that of government, not of an individual.

Question: In Parliament, on the last day of the last session you said that, while respecting Mr Das's condition that you will not place the report on the Table of the House, you would certainly take the public into confidence, Parliament in confidence, about the broad conclusions reached by the judge.²⁹ So why could not you do so today?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I shall have to, I suppose, make some statement in Parliament when it meets.

Question: But it will be on a day very far off, and in the meantime all kinds of speculations will go on.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, and if the necessity arose, a statement will be made.

Question: In the meantime two and a half months will elapse.

[Jawaharlal Nehru: No reply]

Question: Apart from any large-scale reorganisation, is there any likelihood that this opportunity will be taken to realign the Economic Ministries at least to straighten out the lines of common ground?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot any answer to that. These matters are considered.

Question: There are persistent reports that there is a great deal of lack of coordination between the two wings of the Ministry of Defence, between the Ministry of Defence Coordination and the Defence Ministry proper, and the reports give out that this is coming in the way of gearing the nation's effort. Do you confirm these reports and, if so, how do you propose to remedy it?

29. See items 173 and 174.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mostly they are gossip.

Question: How do you propose to deal with the problem of the collusion between the corrupt businessmen and the corrupt politician. It is the vital question of setting up a proper standard of public life and public administration?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose the best answer would be that non-corrupt press people should deal with them.

Officials in Serajuddin Case

Question: When you discussed the Serajuddin affair in Parliament in the last session you stated that quite apart from the name of Mr K.D. Malaviya, there were the names of other officers and some other individuals came in and that they would be dealt with separately, that their cases were not being investigated by Mr Das, but that in the case of the officers the inquiry was being held by the Special Police. Has that inquiry been completed and are any of these gentlemen being proceeded against in any manner?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That inquiry is proceeding against some of them, I believe, cases have been registered by the Special Police Establishment and as soon as that inquiry is over, other action will be taken.

Question: You have mentioned only two Ministers but there are reports that Mr K.C. Reddy³⁰ is likely to withdraw.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say anything about that. These two already have offered their resignations.

Question: Do you contemplate some changes in the gubernatorial assignments also?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Gubernatorial. There is no particular vacancy at present.

Question: Do you propose to introduce young blood into the Cabinet. An article appeared by your friend Sri Prakasa in the *Indian Express* in which he has said that an opportunity should be given to young blood, not the old people all the time.

30. Minister of Commerce and Industry.

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Jawaharlal Nehru: Appointments are not made because of a person's years, young or old but normally other factors. There are certain limitations about years. One cannot put a person in his teens or if he is too old. There is a large choice in between. It depends on his ideas, his capacity to do the job.

Congress and By-Elections

Question: Would you like to comment on Mr Nanda's statement on Congress reverses?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not read Mr Nanda's note. I do not know what it contains. One thing, these Congress reverses in two or three places like Amroha,³¹ Farrukhabad³² and Rajkot³³ are important, certainly. But it is rather forgotten that as against the reverses in the bye-elections, there have been victories of the Congress all over India, including UP, Bihar, Bengal, Madras, Madhya Pradesh. They are full of victories for the Congress. Only these three reverses caught the eye because of the personalities involved and a lot of shouting about them.

Question: Congress victories are mostly in the Assembly seats, not in Parliament seats. Do you think these elections to Parliament are fought on policy issues?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I should imagine that Assembly seats are probably more a test of public opinion really than the Parliament seats. Parliament seats are affected by so many issues and I do not remember for the moment, apart from these three Parliamentary seats, that the Congress has lost many others.

Question: Do you think in these three reverses there is the question of personalities? Or do you think it is a repudiation of some of the new fiscal measures, namely, heavy taxation in the budget.

Jawaharlal Nehru: All these things are due to a variety of causes and it is one cause more than others—efficient organisation, efficient canvassing—goes a

31. See fn 25 in this section.

32. B.V. Keskar lost to Rammanohar Lohia of the Socialist Party in the Farrukhabad by-election of 19 May 1963. See *The Hindustan Times*, 22 May 1963, p.1 cols 3-5.

33. Jethalalbai Joshi lost to M.R. Masani of the Swatantra Party in the Rajkot by-election of 26 May 1963. See *The Hindustan Times*, 28 May 1963, p.1 cols 1-3.

long way, quite apart from the question of policy and the rest. Difficult to decide what it is due to—additional taxation, may be affected by it, and other matters.

Question: Is it that the Congress bosses concentrate on State Assembly because they need their majority and are indifferent towards Parliamentary by-elections.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I haven't got it.

Question: The Congress bosses concentrate more on the State Assembly elections in order to maintain their own majority. They are not bothered about Parliamentary elections.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is, they don't try hard enough? May be.

Question: Would you say retrospectively that it was a mistake on your part to allow Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim being put up as a candidate at the last minute introducing a communal element in the election³⁴ and similarly in Rajkot asking a sitting Member of the Rajya Sabha who is not known for his keen interest in Parliamentary affairs to be elected to the Lok Sabha with the main Congress slogan being "Elect Mr Jethalal Joshi and strengthen Mr Nehru's hands."

Question: Whether the reports of sabotage at a high level so far as Mr Kripalani's constituency are true.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim was the first choice of the Congress Committee Parliamentary Board right from the beginning and the second choice was Mr Ram Saran. It was because Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim did not agree then, for reasons of his own, that Professor Ram Saran's name was announced previous to the nomination. Later, when the time for nomination came, Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim agreed to his name being put forward and so his name was put forward in consonance with our previous decision. There is no change except change in Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim's mind. He agreed.

Question: Was there persuasion?

Question: In the public mind, there was a change.

34. In Amroha.

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Jawaharlal Nehru: May be. But how could the previous announcement that we have selected him, that he has not agreed, how could that announcement be made?

Question: Public reaction was bad?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Who said so?

Question: It was said by the UP Chief Minister.³⁵

Question: You have been getting the reverence and admiration of the people so far. How do you feel now when people like Mr Kamath³⁶ are demanding your resignation and PSP and other parties are very critical?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think I have any strong feelings on the subject.

Question: It has been reported that the Punjab Chief Minister³⁷ is offering Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim another “safe” constituency. Is there any plan to put him up for another by-election to the Lok Sabha?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think there is any plan but I have heard some talk to that effect.

Question: Will you say there is some new wind of change sweeping the country as indicated by Amroha, Farrukhabad, Rajkot or because of the Chinese situation and emergency?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, whatever it was I would not call it a wind of change. I will call a wind of stagnation which brings about these results in these places.

Question: How do you welcome the entry of these three Opposition leaders in the interest of Indian democracy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You do not expect me to discuss individuals here.

Question: They represent some policies, at least, two of them.

35. C.B. Gupta.

36. H.V. Kamath, Lok Sabha MP, PSP.

37. Partap Singh Kairon.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is an interesting task to find out what policies they represent. I do not know, except negation and cursing Government, I do not know whether it is any positive policy.

Question: Will Mr Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim continue as Leader of the Rajya Sabha after his resignation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: If he is not in Parliament he is not likely to be a Leader in Parliament.

Question: As an ordinary Member, he can continue. Is he going to resign from the Rajya Sabha also?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not necessarily. Why should he resign?

Question: When he retains the membership of the Rajya Sabha, would he also retain the leadership of the Rajya Sabha.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know.

Question: How do you visualise the next ten years of this country with special reference to the Congress, the Government and the people?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I should imagine that they will all go ahead. I should definitely think that in ten years, the advance made by the country and the people will be very obvious.

Kashmir

Question: Now that the talks have failed on Kashmir, are you reverting back to the old position that Kashmir is an integral part of India, and Pakistan should vacate aggression. What is our final policy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Kashmir was, has been, and is an integral part of India and never ceases to be that. Because we had talks, it does not cease to be an integral part of India.

Question: What about the vacation of aggression by Pakistan? What are you going to do about it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Our policy all along has been in the past that we stand for the vacation of aggression by Pakistan but we shall seek to bring it about by

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peaceful methods, by agreement, not by any military force. We have ruled out the use of military force in regard to Kashmir, except and unless we are ourselves attacked. When we said that we were prepared to have a “No War Declaration” with Pakistan, we added that even if Pakistan does not agree to it, we unilaterally will agree to it, unless we are attacked.

Question: Is there any chance of a meeting between you and the President of Pakistan?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, there has not been any talk of it, no mention of it.

Question: What was the question?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The question was about chances of my meeting Field Marshal President Ayub Khan, and I said there had been no talk of it.

Indo-Pakistan Talks

Question: Is there any idea of mediation by a third party in relation to Pakistan over Kashmir?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am afraid I don't know. What we said at one stage was that we are always prepared to explore every avenue, every reasonable avenue, with Pakistan; it is not about Kashmir only, but about all the problems between India and Pakistan. And in that connection, the question of mediation was mentioned as a possible avenue. We said we have no fundamental objection to it but a great deal depends on other factors. For instance, we do not think this was a right thing after all these long talks. It is not a suitable time for us to start this talking business again. Secondly, whatever is done must be in regard to all the outstanding issues between India and Pakistan.

Laos and China

Question: I want to ask you two questions. Firstly, about the Chinese attack, what is it that the Chinese are seeking by their current manoeuvres? And secondly, you had recently a meeting with the Soviet Ambassador³⁸ on Laos. Could you tell us something about it?

38. I.A. Benediktov. The Engagement Diary has an entry for 10 June, 7 p.m., at the Prime Minister's House, and a UNI report on this meeting appears in *The Hindustan Times* of 11 June 1963, p. 1. However, no record of this meeting has been found.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I may tell you about the second question. In the recent meeting, as you said, with the Soviet Ambassador about Laos, Laos was not mentioned.

Question: Sir, I was only quoting the Indian press.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am telling you that Laos was not even mentioned. He was going to Moscow the very next day and he came, not to say good-bye, because he is coming back, just to call on me.

Question: Was it suggested by those from Britain or the USA during their last visits when they came here, that India should hand over the defence of Ladakh to Pakistan or anybody else?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a proposition which to me is outrageous, even to think about it.

Question: The defence of Ladakh has to be taken in the context of those who are in control of the valley.

[Jawaharlal Nehru: No reply]

K.D. Malaviya

Question: Would you permit another question about Mr Malaviya? On the first occasion when he offered resignation, you did not accept it. Are you likely to press him now not to press his resignation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have said that I shall place it before the President.

Question: You did not do that on the first occasion, I presume.

Jawaharlal Nehru: On the first occasion, he offered to resign. He had actually not resigned.

Question: Do you feel that you ought to accept the resignation yourself? After all, you are the head of the Government.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously, if I send it to the President it means that I recommend that it should be accepted by the President.

Chinese Attack

Question: Coming to my question about your assessment of the threat of a new Chinese attack, do you believe that the Chinese are thinking of a new move? Could you enlighten us on that point?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Your question is really about my assessment of the Chinese and the possibility of a Chinese attack.

Question: That is the first thing. Do you feel what the Chinese are aiming at by vilifying India on the question of repatriation and in other spheres, by personal attacks upon you for instance?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Vituperation usually shows an intention of denigrating a country or a person. Vituperation is chiefly concerned with that. Apart from India and the Indian Government, they are particularly displeased, if I may use a mild word, with me. In that, they have something in common with some of our opposition leaders here. As for our Opposition leaders, they have the habit of combining with anybody and everybody regardless of principles and a time may come when some of them may for this purpose combine with the Chinese. It is very odd, this unprincipled way of working. The Chinese have written long theses about Nehru's philosophy or whatever it is and carry on their propaganda machine which is a very efficient one, very widespread. In a way, it amazes me because of its lack of any semblance of truth. I suppose they think that India is an obstacle in their way and therefore they want to remove that obstacle or make it less of an obstacle.

Question: In their way of what? Domination of Asia?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Don't talk of domination of the world or domination of Asia. These are big terms and the press frequently uses them without working out what they mean. It is not an easy thing to dominate Asia, much less to dominate the world. It means increasing one's influence over others, going towards a certain widespread influence over other countries whatever their ultimate aim might be because all these things, if pursued, inevitably would bring about a major conflict.

Question: You have been defining your concept of foreign policy in different terms from time to time, namely, dynamic neutrality, independent foreign policy and later on non-alignment. Do you mean to suggest that all these

three terms mean the same thing or are they different from Dr Lohia's conception of independent foreign policy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Broadly, when I use those terms, they mean the same thing and when Dr Lohia uses them, they must mean something entirely different.

Question: What are the differences between the two concepts?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I think it is for you to ask Dr Lohia.

Question: He has defined them in public forum.

Chinese Attack not Probable

Question: About the Chinese situation, can you give us your assessment of the Chinese military intentions, the prospect of another attack on India and whether the present Chinese manoeuvres indicate any such prospect?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Chinese are a military-minded nation, laying always stress on military roads and preparedness. The result is that they do not have to make such a fuss about the defence preparedness, as we have to make because we function with a different outlook and on a different scale. Right from the beginning of the present regime there, they have concentrated on the military apparatus being stronger. It is a continuation really of their past civil wars. So, they are normally strong. They only make dispositions of troops here and there and it is difficult to say that they are specially making military preparations for an attack because they normally do that. They are normally of that frame of mind and disposition. But as far as statements are concerned, they have stated repeatedly that they do not propose to have recourse to fighting on their part. Let us take it for what it is worth. But the probability seems to be that in the near future, they will not attack.

Question: You have been talking about military concentrations on our northern Tibetan border. Would you make clear to what extent they have increased their military concentration?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The whole of Tibet is a major military concentration. And because they have built plenty of roads there they can take their troops into Tibet, to any border, at considerable ease fairly quickly. They need not keep their troops perched on the exact border. They can keep them fifty or one hundred miles or more with which can carry them from there within a day or two.

Question: NEFA reverses enquiry?

Settlement with Pakistan Reiterated

Question: Before we go on to NEFA, there are one or two questions about Kashmir. One is this: If we think that Kashmir is an integral part of India, then why do we go in for approaches like mediation and others? Secondly, is there any difference of opinion between the Government of India and the Government of Kashmir over the question of the partition of Kashmir?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, we have not gone in for mediation or anything like that. But as I explained to you in a general statement, we are prepared to explore any avenue because we want to settle this matter and not look at it rigidly. Rigidly, of course, that correct attitude is not to talk about it, “get out”. That may be rigid.

It is and it would be a correct attitude, in our opinion. But it is not supposed to be a normal way of approaching when you want to settle something, and our anxiety, quite apart from our dispute with Communist China, is an abiding anxiety to settle with Pakistan because Pakistan is a part and has been, for long, a part of India and looking at it not politically but emotionally, linguistically, culturally, in every way, we are much more akin to each other than any two persons or two countries. And the most unfortunate thing is that Pakistan has based itself on just hatred of India. It is a bad thing to base one's policy on hatred, and we do not want to fall into that trap and feel that way, and we do want to settle with Pakistan regardless of what other people seem to think, namely, that we are wanting to settle with Pakistan, because China is attacking us. As a matter of fact, the Chinese attack on us has made it far more difficult and unwise to give in to Pakistan.

Question: Would you elaborate it a little more?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I say because it is always a good thing for us to settle with Pakistan. Do not bring in China. I object to that business because Pakistan, if you read their newspapers, their statements, etc., they use the Chinese attack on us, if I may use a bad word, to blackmail us and others, but at the same time they make it perfectly clear that whatever happens to their relations with India, they stand firmly with China. So it will be deluding oneself, in these circumstances of what they have said, to expect anything else from them vis-à-vis China.

Question: You have allowed sixteen years to elapse since Pakistan occupied our area and this has also encouraged the Chinese to attack us and occupy

Indian areas. So, are you not going to think of a time limit without resorting to force but using other means?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In terms of Pakistan?

Question: Yes, Sir.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand these "time limits".

Question: Well, they have extended their area, they are germinating ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Maybe the time limit ultimately means this: If you do not do this, we shall take military action.

Question: I said, "Without resorting to force."

Jawaharlal Nehru: What does the time limit mean then? There must be some sanction behind the time limit.

Question: When this was the position, was it made clear to Mr Dean Rusk and to Mr Duncan Sandys?³⁹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Repeatedly and forcefully.

Question: Did this carry conviction with them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say.

Question: In the case of Pakistan, on the issue of Kashmir, does not the Government of India give the impression that this is an open issue?

Jawaharlal Nehru: To some extent that may happen, but it is all due to our extreme desire to settle with Pakistan.

Question: If I may interrupt, when you say "settle with Pakistan" does it mean the issue of Kashmir alone is not meant?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a much bigger thing. We have always looked upon the Kashmir issue as one of many points of difference between Pakistan and India.

39. For discussions with Dean Rusk and Duncan Sandys, see items 430-431.

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You always want to look at the whole bunch of them and to settle everything and to start a new approach to each other, which is a constructive, friendly and cooperative approach. So Kashmir just comes into the picture as one spot which creates trouble between us.

Question: So, apart from Kashmir—you said there were a bunch of issues between India and Pakistan—did Mr Swaran Singh and Mr Bhutto discuss anything other than Kashmir?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think up to-date, but during the last two meetings they expressed their desire to do so and even noted down some matters which were to be discussed by them, but I do not think ultimately they did.

Question: Do you think that Pakistan's natural orientation is more to this side of the sub-continent than to Iran, Afghanistan or Turkey?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not for me to interpret the mind of Pakistan. As an observer and as a person interested in historical developments, I may express an opinion, but as unfortunately I happen to be Prime Minister, it is embarrassing sometimes to do so.

Question: There is a secret pact between China and Pakistan against India. Have you any information about it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have no information on that subject. But I do not know why you should go to a secret pact. Their public utterances are quite enough.

Question: Among others, Mr Eugene Black was suggested as a mediator. We did not respond to the suggestion. Now there are new proposals, that is, for a third party association and not mediation.

Another Correspondent: Kennedy or Macmillan also.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We do not see the value of all this.

NEFA Reverses

Question: Let us go to the NEFA reverses report?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is nothing to go over. You tell me but I have not seen the report.

Question: It has been with the Government for a number of days.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It has not reached me yet.

Question: Would it be made public also?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I imagine not.

Question: Broad conclusions?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I should imagine not. But I do not know. It is the Defence Ministry's effort, being considered probably by the Defence Ministry now.

Question: There have been reports that the General who was appointed to inquire into the NEFA reverses also asked for his terms of reference to include the orders given to the Army by the political authorities. Would you corroborate that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is the first time I have heard of it. I have not heard of it at all.

Laos

Question: Could you give us your assessment of the Laotian situation, particularly as India is one of the Chairmen of the ICC.

Jawaharlal Nehru: My assessment is that it is a very confusing and difficult situation. Difficult to know what is happening at one time, something else takes place the next day. The only reassuring feature is the quality of the Laotian people who fight without injury.

Question: With the extension of the Pathet Lao area of control and the fall of the neutralist Government, all hope of peace is lost. Does it not mean rather dangerous extension of the Chinese influence the North Vietnamese ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: The inference is there of course. To what extent, what degree, it is difficult to say.

Question: Has the Polish Government addressed any communication to you to explain the difference of opinion with the Canadian and the Indian delegation?

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Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think the Polish Government has addressed anything to us. They are constantly dealing with the Chairman of the Commission naturally.

Question: There is a report this morning about the Head of the Cambodian Government having appealed to you to intervene in the South Vietnam trouble about the Buddhists and the Catholics.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know how we can intervene. Our sympathies are there. We naturally want—we are unhappy—that the Buddhists should not be treated well in South Vietnam and that horrible tragedy, self-immolation of the Buddhist monk who burnt himself to death. If we can do anything in the matter we shall do it. The only thing we can do is to express our wishes in the matter.

AICC Meeting

Question: A requisition has been sent for a special meeting of the All India Congress Committee. Are you in favour of it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I was not in favour of a special meeting for this particular purpose. But if it is held, well and good, it is held.

Question: But the Secretary and the President are away. So the executive action is lacking.

Jawaharlal Nehru: They will come back some time or the other if they survive.

Liberation Movement in Africa

Question: You told some research scholar recently that India would support some sort of liberation movement in the southern part of Africa where Portuguese domination is there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I never said that. The research scholar wrote an apology to me to what appeared in the press. That is not what he said. What I said to him was that if there was any movement like that in Africa, inevitably that would have our sympathy but we could not, for a variety of reasons, take part in it.

Yemen and India

Question: There was report that Yemen has asked for India's assistance.

Could you say what sort assistance has been sought? What is the reaction of the Government of India.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No. I do not know what kind of assistance they have sought. I suppose some kind of diplomatic assistance, I imagine.

Question: What kind of diplomatic assistance?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know, pleading their cause with other countries concerned.

Bokaro Steel Plant

Question: Mr Subramaniam⁴⁰ said that the American aid given to India will be sabotaged if Bokaro fails. Is it the view of the Government of India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is not the Government's view or even Mr Subramaniam's. It only shows that Mr Subramaniam who has been dealing with Bokaro for a long time past now, is feeling a little frustrated at the long delays.

Question: You have been enjoying the support of the CPI so far but Mr Dange⁴¹ has threatened to demonstrate with about one lakh people before the Parliament House. Do you think a new line has been adopted by the CPI against you?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot answer that question, about the line of the CPI. There seems to be a passionate search not only by the CPI but some other opposition parties to do something to attract attention. They are welcome to all the attention they want provided they don't interfere with the good work that is being done.

Question: There have been somewhat unfortunately vague statements by the Steel Minister about Bokaro. There are other reports saying that it is not only American interests but also Indian interests which are coming in the way of a speedy implementation of Bokaro by insisting on a second survey and if it is true that there are Indian interests, it should be possible to name them.

40. C. Subramaniam, Minister of Steel.

41. S.A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI.

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Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what Mr Subramaniam had in mind when he said that. The fact is that Bokaro has been talked about by us for a number of years. We had a preliminary report made by Indian experts, a good report, at least two years ago. The next step would have been to go ahead with it in other ways. It has been quite an extraordinarily frustrating experience to think, to which everybody agrees, that it is vital for India's development and should be held up repeatedly in this way.

I will also say this, however, that it has not been wholly held up, a good deal of work has been done on the ground by our men.

Question: There have also been, it seems, some kind of a semi-confirmed—not wholly confirmed—reports that the Soviet Union, and perhaps one or two other sources, are also willing to help us with Bokaro. Since our steel programme has been suffering a good deal because of past delays in other projects, is it possible at this stage to switch over to other sources of help?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't know that it is necessary or desirable. The Soviet Union, as a matter of fact, not about Bokaro, but generally, have been helpful. Recently we signed a trade pact, and all kinds of talks are going on, about an offer of help for the Fourth Plan and so on.

Question: About Bokaro, was there an offer from the Russians to build Bokaro?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not seen the report and I do not know of any such firm offer. In a vague sense it might have been made, but no firm offer.

Question: Would you elaborate your answer to the last question that there has been a tentative offer by the Soviet Union on Bokaro?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not about Bokaro. But I don't know. People ask me about some statement that had been made perhaps. I don't know. But that Soviet attitude has been a helpful one, generally, not about Bokaro, but about industrial development here. It has been very helpful and it continues to be helpful. But so far as I know, Bokaro was not particularly mentioned to them or dealt with by them.

President Kennedy's Visit

Question: Is there any possibility of President Kennedy visiting India in the near future?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, the invitation has been conveyed to him and has been accepted in the sense that no date has been fixed. Possibly next winter or early next year, it may be. It is very difficult for a man like President Kennedy to make a firm programme. World developments are such that they interfere with his programmes.

Question: Do you yourself have any tentative programme to travel overseas?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have none.

Madhya Pradesh Government and Expansion of Council

Question: You have been asking people to tighten their belts during the emergency. In the context of this, how do you justify the indiscriminate expansion of the Madhya Pradesh Government by the addition of seven Deputy Ministers?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Where? Madhya Pradesh?

Correspondent: Yes, Madhya Pradesh. They had added seven Deputy Ministers.

Correspondent: Eight.

Correspondent: Yes, eight, I am sorry.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand what that kind of a thing has got to do with tightening of your belt.

Question: Sir, it spoils the whole atmosphere of the emergency.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I disagree completely. On this business, you may say it was undesirable what they have done, but not from this point of view. From your point of view you may say that it was not necessary, but it has nothing to do with the emergency. If effective work can be done, then it is necessary. As a matter of fact, ever since the last general elections, this matter has been pending, of some Deputy Ministers being appointed, especially from some minority communities. The number was not fixed. But we ourselves have been reminding them that you have not carried out the promise you made at the general elections about the appointment of some minority community people.⁴²

42. See items 236-239.

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Vietnam and Buddhists

Question: What is your reaction to Prince Norodom Sihanouk's appeal to India and to some other countries to bring about reconciliation between the Government of Vietnam and the Buddhists?

Jawaharlal Nehru: If we can do anything we shall be happy to do it.

Question: Perhaps, you will remember that after freedom Gandhiji gave the advice that the Congress be wound up so that it will not be dislodged from the glorious pedestal of history? Do you think there is still time to act on that advice?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What Gandhiji said, when he said it, how he said it, requires a great deal of attention to be paid to. It is not so simple as all that you have said. It is based on a different philosophy of life, on an ashram philosophy. So one has to consider that. It is not merely saying that the Congress should devote itself to this or that. I know, I discussed this with him, as long ago as 1931, after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. It was long before Independence. He thought of the Congress as a glorified ashram, not exactly, but still approaching it. Nobody in the Congress should interfere with political affairs as such. That is an ideal which you may accept or not, if you like but it is somewhat different from the way people interpret what he said.

Question: As a party, don't you feel that the Congress needs some treatment if it is to live and it has to live?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes.

Legality of DIR

Question: There has been a certain amount of disquiet in the country especially among distinguished legalistic circles about the legality of some provisions of the Defence of India Rules, especially the ones suspending the Fundamental Right to move the court in case of detention. Has the Government any idea to mitigate this particular article?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I understand from the Home Ministry that they have sent all this for legal opinion to their legal advisers. That is one aspect. The second is, there has been a fairly considerable release of people who were taken into

custody under those Rules. Many have been released and there are releases continuing.

Question: May I draw your attention to a statement published in today's papers by Mr Dilip Kumar Choudhury and four MLAs from Bengal alleging that there are famine conditions in some parts of West Bengal and that some people have died? Would you please look into this and get things done before the things deteriorate further?

[Jawaharlal Nehru: No reply].

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, shall we adjourn now? Thank You.

11. To S. Radhakrishnan: Apology for Absence⁴³

June 17, 1963

My dear President,

We have been eagerly following the reports of your tour in the United States and lately in the United Kingdom. We have all been pleased at the great success of these tours of yours.

I would have very much liked to be present in Delhi to welcome you on your return. But I am not quite sure if I shall be able to do so. I have been feeling tired and rather exhausted, both physically and mentally. I am, therefore, going to Kashmir tomorrow morning, and I wanted to spend about ten days there, chiefly resting. If, however, I come back in time to receive you here, at Palam, I shall only be able to stay in Kashmir about five days. I have thus been put in a difficulty. I think I mentioned this to you before you went abroad. On the whole, I think, it will be wiser for me to stay as long as I can and recuperate a little. We are facing heavy weather, and some developments have taken place which have distressed me. I feel I should come back from Kashmir in a fit enough condition to face the problems that are surrounding us. I hope, therefore, that you will forgive me if I am not present, in Delhi when you arrive here. There are many things I wish to talk to you about, but perhaps it will be better for me to do so a few days after you return. This will give me a little more time in Kashmir.

43. Letter to the President.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

We have a Cabinet meeting on the 28th of June afternoon. In any event, I shall be back for that meeting.⁴⁴

I hope your strenuous tours and many engagements have not put too heavy a strain on you.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

12. To Ansar Harvani: Ministerial Appointments⁴⁵

June 21, 1963

My dear Ansar Harvani,

I have your letter of June 17th. I am giving full consideration to the question of making fresh arrangements for the Ministries which Hafizji⁴⁶ and Shri K.D. Malaviya⁴⁷ have left. I want to consider these questions in a larger context. Probably, for the time being, some temporary arrangements will be made.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

13. To Swaran Singh: Temporary Charge of Mines and Fuel⁴⁸

June 21, 1963

My dear Swaran Singh,

As you know, Keshava Dev Malaviya has resigned.⁴⁹ I propose to send his resignation to the President as soon as he returns from abroad, recommending to him to accept it. Probably, he will do so about the 26th of this month. I shall return from Kashmir two or three days later.

44. Nehru left Delhi for Kashmir at 9.00 a.m. on 18 June and returned on 28 June at 11.15 a.m. in time to attend the Cabinet meeting scheduled for 5 p.m. See Nehru's Engagement Diary, NMML.

45. Letter to Lok Sabha MP ; address: 5A/5 Brook Wills Camp, Nainital. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

46. Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, lately Minister of Irrigation and Power.

47. Lately Minister of Mines and Fuel.

48. Letter to the Minister of Railways, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

49. As Minister of Mines and Fuel.

As there are two vacancies to be filled because of the resignation of Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim⁵⁰ also, I want to consider this question in larger context. This will take some little time. Meanwhile, somebody has to be in charge of the Mines and Fuel Ministry so that there might not be any gap or hiatus. I would request you to assume charge of this Ministry after K.D. Malaviya's resignation is accepted by the President. You know something about this Ministry already and can give such guidance as may be necessary. This will, of course, mean addition to your present important charge of Railways.

This is a temporary arrangement that I am suggesting and I hope you will agree to it.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

14. Panchayati Raj⁵¹

Ever since the beginning of the Community Development programme I have taken deep interest in it. It did much good but it became clear later on that something else should be done to give fresh vitality to our work in rural areas.

This was the Panchayati Raj programme. This was not only an extension of Community Development, but was also qualitatively somewhat different and it went deeper into the roots of our village structure. Therefore, I was deeply interested in it and attached great importance to it. It struck me as an attempt to strike at the roots of our weakness especially in rural areas. The measure of success it may attain depends on the workers connected with it as well as the large number of others, Sarpanchs, Panchs etc. who are closely associated with it.

To what extent it has succeeded it is difficult for me to say without much more detailed information but I am convinced that it is working on right lines and if the people connected with it realise its inner significance its success is assured.

On achieving independence, we inherited not only various psychologies and habits of British times, but also an administrative apparatus which though good in its own way for the purpose the British Government had in view, did not fit

50. Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, lately Minister of Irrigation and Power.

51. Message, 22 June 1963, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 17(28)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 4-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

into the new order that we were trying to build. Many of our officials were well trained and good but naturally they were too much tied up with the old order.

We came to realise gradually that the whole outlook of our administrative structure has to change if real progress is to be made. In particular, it has to change in the lower ranks and in rural India. The old “Ma Baap” attitude was not good. It had to be replaced by full identification with the masses of our people and a growing responsibility being cast on the people themselves. After all, the main aim of Community Development and Panchayati Raj was to develop this outlook and a spirit of self-reliance amongst the people. The fact that those people were quite often not trained and had other failings was obvious. Nevertheless, the only way to train them and to lessen their failings was to give them the chance of shouldering responsibility and learning by their own mistakes. We have to undertake many development schemes, but the biggest project of all is to build men and women.

I should like to judge of the success of Panchayati Raj from this point of view. Sometimes I have heard, to my great regret, that our Village Level Workers, BDOs etc., instead of helping to change others have been themselves influenced by the old official mentality and acted as only officials. If that is so, it means the failure of our work, because essentially we have to fight that old official mentality and replace it by something entirely different. We talk of the cooperative method. That can only succeed provided it is not officialised.

Unfortunately, today the aim of the average public worker is to get elected to Parliament or State Assembly or to the Chairmanship of Zila Parishad or Sarpanch etc. This has vitiated public life. Little attention is paid to work done and the results achieved. It is the achievements that should put the object to the test.

It is with this objective that we looked upon the Panchayati Raj as giving the millions of our people the chance to share responsibility, do good work and grow in the process.

This must be understood not only by our BDOs, Village Level Workers and others but also essentially by those who hold offices elsewhere. Indeed, we should create an atmosphere which is very different from an official atmosphere where one is always searching for posts. All our officials must realise this fully and earnestly and enthusiastically work to this end. They are in a position to lead people and they must exercise leadership, not to suppress others but to encourage them also to develop qualities of leadership in their own spheres. The official while helping in every way must remain in the background and the people realise that the job is theirs and that the success and failure will also be theirs.

It is in this manner that I should like the Panchayati Raj to function. I have full confidence in its success because I have full confidence in the Indian people.

15. To Govind Chandra Misra: Failures of Democracy⁵²

June 22, 1963

Dear Shri Misra,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th June which I have read carefully. You have been good enough to give a brief account of your public life in it. But I must say that it is an impressive account. You are not happy about your not having been selected for the Rajya Sabha for a second time. I am afraid, I can say nothing about it, as I do not know anything about the selection of candidates; nor do I know who was chosen to fill the vacancy then. I do not think, however, that your not having been chosen is an insult to you. This kind of thing inevitably happens in democratic elections. Democracy is a very good method and I firmly believe in it. But it has its failings as far as one can see.

Unfortunately, the attention of most of our people is concentrated on elections and on posts. This is unfortunate but again this is a failure of the democratic method. The main problem before us, I think, is how to divert people's attention from this to actual work and achievements. If everyone thought of achieving something in constructive or like work, the results would be very considerable.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

16. To S. Radhakrishnan: Cabinet Changes⁵³

June 23, 1963

My dear President,

Welcome back after your great tour. I feel sad at my absence from Delhi when you will come back. You were good enough to send me a telegram pressing upon me to stay on in Kashmir. I have followed your advice. I now hope to

52. Letter to former Member of the Rajya Sabha; address: Kaligali, Cuttack. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

53. Letter the President, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. President's Secretariat, File No. 8(2)/63, p.1. Available in the JN Collection also.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

return to Delhi on the 28th June. You will then be in the South. I shall, therefore, meet you on your return from South India because there is much that I have to talk to you about.

As you must know, two of our Cabinet Ministers have resigned—Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, Minister for Irrigation and Power and Shri K.D. Malaviya, Minister for Mines & Fuel. I have told them that I shall place their resignations before you for your acceptance. I now do so and recommend that you will be pleased to accept these two resignations. An announcement to this effect might perhaps be made, if you agree, on the 26th June.

For the present it is my intention to make some temporary arrangements for the vacancies caused by these resignations. A little later, after consulting you, I shall recommend more permanent arrangements. It is possible that these might involve some other changes also in the Cabinet.

As regards the temporary arrangements, I am requesting Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of Railways, to assume charge of the Ministry of Mines & Fuel, in addition to his present charge of Railways.⁵⁴ As for the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, I shall request Shri Alagesan, Minister of State, who is already working in that Ministry to assume charge of the whole Ministry till further arrangements are made.

I trust that you are keeping well after your very strenuous tour.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. To S. Radhakrishnan: CPI Criticism of President⁵⁵

July 4, 1963

My dear President,

Thank you for your letter of July 4th and the enclosures you sent with it containing cuttings about your speeches abroad.

The resolution of the Communist Party of India, to which you refer was entirely misconceived and in bad taste.⁵⁶ All of us greatly admired your speeches in the United States and in the United Kingdom. They were not only in full keeping with our foreign and domestic policies, but were also inspiring and

54. Item 13.

55. Letter to the President.

56. The National Council of the CPI met from 26 June to 3 July 1963 in New Delhi.

representative of the spirit of India. This is the general, opinion not only in India, but also in those countries, which you visited.

It was, therefore, a matter of surprise and great regret to us that the Communist Party of India should have passed a resolution which has no relation to the facts of the case and which was against the convention which should apply to the office of the President.

I read your letter at a Cabinet meeting held today. All my colleagues agreed with me in regretting the resolution of the Communist Party. It was pointed out that this resolution had been widely condemned by the press and public in India. We felt that it might not be desirable to draw special attention to this resolution by issuing any kind of official contradiction. When, however, an occasion arises, either in a public speech or in a Press Conference, a reference can be made to this resolution.

It is certainly desirable for us to build up a convention to prevent unseemly criticisms or attacks on the President. But this would be by convention only and would not have any legal force behind it. Even in the United Kingdom where there is such a convention, sometimes objectionable criticisms and attacks are made on the Head of the State. This is much more so in the United States of America.

I am returning the cuttings you were good enough to send me.⁵⁷

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

18. To K. Iswara Dutt: CPI Criticism of President⁵⁸

July 4, 1963

My dear Iswara Dutt,

Thank you for your letter of July 1 and the Special Number of *New India*. I am glad you have brought out a Special Number about the President's visits to the US and the UK which were so memorable and inspiring.

I have read with surprise and regret that the Communist Party has criticised some of the speeches of the President. This is factually wrong, and the President

57. See also item 18.

58. Letter to the Editor of *New India*, 16/13 WEA, Karol Bagh, New Delhi 5. NMML, K. Iswara Dutt Papers. Also available in the JN Collection.

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did not say anything which was not in keeping with our policies. Apart from this, it is not quite according to convention to criticise the President in this way.⁵⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

19. To Mahavir Tyagi: Communist Party Finances⁶⁰

July 5, 1963

My dear Mahavir,

Your letter of July 5 with a cutting from *Current*.

It is certainly desirable for our Intelligence to find out where this money comes from. Perhaps it is not always easy to find out.

One source of income of the Communist Party is by selling books which they obtain from abroad, especially the Soviet Union. These books are priced very low and they get a good commission on them.

I am writing to Lal Bahadur⁶¹ on this subject.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

20. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad: Restraint on Foreign Travel⁶²

July 10, 1963

Dear Namboodiripad,

I have your letter of July 10th. I am sorry you have been put to so much inconvenience. I did not know the various things you have written to me about. I did learn, however, lately that it had been decided not to facilitate your going abroad. The reason, I was told, was that you had been carrying on activities which were detrimental to India and that, in fact, even in the Communist Party of India, you had taken up a line which was opposed to the majority decision

59. See also item 17.

60. Letter to Congress MP; address: 16 Dr Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi. NMML, Mahavir Tyagi's Papers. Also available in the JN Collection.

61. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Home Minister.

62. Letter to CPI leader and former Chief Minister of Kerala; address c/o Communist Party of India, 7/4 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.

of the Communist Party and was more or less in line with the Chinese position in regard to the Sino-Indian conflict.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

21. To Mahavir Tyagi: Leak of Defence Secrets⁶³

July 14, 1963

My dear Mahavir,

I have your letter of the 14th July.⁶⁴ I am sending it for investigation.

We know about the Indonesian lady, Mrs Rehman. She was the wife of one of our Foreign Service Officers. He divorced her some time ago.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

22. To Morarji Desai: Mines and Fuel for B.R. Bhagat⁶⁵

July 14, 1963

My dear Morarji,

I was thinking of asking Bali Ram Bhagat to take charge, as Minister of State, of the Ministry of Mines & fuel with some minor variations. This will be under

63. Letter to Congress MP; address: 16 Dr Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi. NMML, Mahavir Tyagi Papers.

64. Extract from letter: "Please find enclosed a note which has been handed over to me by a journalist. If true, it betrays a very serious state of affairs. One need hardly emphasise that even the slightest dent made by the enemy into our secrets of defence strategy might entail a disaster. Even if the report contained in this note be incorrect, I think it would serve a good purpose, if a thorough investigation were done, and the whole staff handling documents of secret nature were screened against any possibility of sabotage or treason.

I was also informed that there was an Indonesian lady Mrs T. Rehman who is a widow (40 yrs) with her daughter (20) living in A-40 Defence Colony. She had married some military officer, and was still intimate with military circles." NMML, Mahavir Tyagi Papers.

65. Letter to the Finance Minister.

the general supervision of Swaran Singh.⁶⁶ I think that Bhagat will be able to look after this Ministry effectively under the guidance of Swaran Singh.

The removal of Bhagat from your Ministry may cause you some inconvenience. I hope you do not mind this. If you so wish, some other competent person can take his place in your Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

23. To K.C. Reddy: Accepting Resignation⁶⁷

July 17, 1963

My dear Reddy,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th July offering your resignation from the Government. I am sorry that your ill-health should, have come in the way of your work and led you to resign from the membership of the Cabinet. I hope that you will regain your health soon.

I have been happy to have you as my colleague in the Government and I am grateful to you for the comradeship and affection that you have shown me. Of course, your resignation from the Government will not put an end to this comradeship. The work we have to do in the country is by no means confined to governmental work. Wherever we may be, we have to serve the cause of India and her people.

I am forwarding your resignation letter to the President.⁶⁸

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

66. Minister of Railways. See also items 13 and 315.

67. Letter to the Minister of Commerce and Industry.

68. See item 24.

24. To S. Radhakrishnan: Ministerial Appointments⁶⁹

July 17, 1963

My dear President,

Separately I have sent you a letter of resignation from the Government of Shri K.C. Reddy.⁷⁰ We have already two vacancies in the Cabinet due to the resignations of Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim⁷¹ and Shri K.D. Malaviya.⁷² Thus we have three resignations to deal with now.

I have given a good deal of thought to the filling of these vacancies. On the whole I think it is not necessary or desirable to have additional Cabinet Ministers. As you know, the Cabinet has been rather a big one and I think we might take advantage of the present situation to reduce the number of Cabinet Minister.

I propose, therefore, to recommend to you that the persons to be appointed now to fill the vacancies should be Ministers of State holding charge of their respective portfolios.

For the Ministry of Commerce & Industry, I do not at present suggest the appointment of any new person. There are already two Ministers of State in that Ministry, namely Shri Nityanand Kanungo and Shri Manubhai Shah. Shri Kanungo has been Minister of Industries and Shri Manubhai Shah, Minister of International Trade.

I suggest that for the present these two Ministers of State should continue in their respective offices and divide the work of the Ministry of Commerce & Industry between them. The actual allotment of the work between these two Ministers will continue largely as at present, but certain changes would be made at a somewhat later stage.

For the Ministry of Irrigation & Power, I recommend the appointment of Dr K.L. Rao, MP and for the Ministry of Mines & Fuel, I recommend the appointment of Shri O.V. Alagesan who has been Minister of State in the Ministry of Irrigation & Power for some time past.

The only new appointment will thus be that of Dr K.L. Rao. It will be necessary for him to take the Oath of Office. The other Ministers of State

69. Letter to the President. President's Secretariat, File No. 8/63, pp.18-19. Available in the JN Collection also.

70. Minister of Commerce and Industry. The reason given for resignation was ill health. See Nehru to Radhakrishnan, 17 July 1963, President's Secretariat, File No. 8(3)/63, p. 1; K.C. Reddy to Nehru, 17 July 1963, President's Secretariat, File No. 8(3)/63, p. 2.

71. Lately, Minister of Irrigation and Power.

72. Lately, Minister of Mines and Fuel.

referred to above will not require to be sworn in as they have already taken that oath previously.

I suggest if it is convenient to you, to fix July 19th at 5 p.m. for the swearing in of Dr K.L. Rao as Rashtrapati Bhavan.

There are some other appointments as well as some distribution of work which may have to be made. I have to write to you about this some days later.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

25. Zila Parishads⁷³

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the inauguration of the Zila Parishad building of Nizamabad by the President of India. The President taking the trouble to associate himself with this function itself indicates the importance we attach to the Zila Parishads. Andhra Pradesh was one of the first to adopt the Panchayati Raj system. I hope that it will work this with efficiency and thus bring self-government down to the level of the Panchayats.

Gujarat Tour

26. In Ahmedabad: To the Youth Congress⁷⁴

युवक कांग्रेस के सदस्यगण,
अभी आपका दस वर्ष का इतिहास सुना। दस वर्ष में आपका जन्म हुआ और इस दस वर्ष में आप कुछ बढ़ते गये हैं और आपका काम भी बढ़ता गया है, यह अच्छी बात है। दो तरह से कोई संस्था बढ़ती है। एक तो मामूली समय, जो उसकी बुनियाद पड़े हल्के-हल्के बढ़े और दूसरे गैर-मामूली समय, जबकि तेज़ी से बढ़ती है और काम करती है। हम लोग, अपनी जवानी में हमारे सामने बड़ा प्रश्न था भारत की आज़ादी का, वह प्रश्न तो हमेशा का था लेकिन उस समय ख़ासकर कुछ बड़ा हो गया और कांग्रेस ने इसको पूरीतौर से अपनाया और हमारे नेता महात्मा गांधी जी थे। तो बरसों तक एक समय गुज़रा, एक क्रांतिकारी समय सा गुज़रा भारत में, ऊँच-नीच हुई, लेकिन भारत बढ़ता गया। बढ़ने के माने ये हैं चाहे क़ानून कुछ न हुआ हो लेकिन असल में बढ़ता गया, भारत के दिल में, मन

73. Note, 28 July 1963, recorded at the Rashtrapati Nilayam, Bolarum, Hyderabad. PMO, File No. 9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 4, Sr. No. 57-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

74. Speech, 9 May 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10105, NM No. 1814.

में एक क्रांति सी आती गयी, संगठन हमारा बड़ा हुआ, कांग्रेस का, बढ़ता गया, ग्राम-ग्राम में पहुँचा और इस तरह से एक बड़ी शक्ति पैदा की और इसका आखिर में ऊँच-नीच के बाद फ़ल यह हुआ कि भारत स्वतंत्र हुआ।

उसके बाद पहला काम जो हमारे सामने था वो भारत के आर्थिक और सामाजिक प्रश्नों को हल करें। सबमें बड़ा प्रश्न यहाँ की ग़रीबी का था, बेरोज़गारी के थे, जो कि हमेशा जो पिछड़े हुए देश होते हैं उनमें ये प्रश्न होते हैं। तो हमने उसकी तरफ़ ध्यान दिया, सोचा कि जल्दी से करना है और यह आशा करके कि हम बड़ी तेज़ी से तरक्की करेंगे। योजना कमीशन बनाये हमने, पंचवर्षीय योजना हुए, और हमने ज़रूर तरक्की की, उन्नति की, आगे बढ़ा देश, और बहुत इसकी निशानियाँ आपको सब जगह मिल जायेंगी, लेकिन फिर भी जितना हम चाहते थे उतनी तेज़ी से हम आगे नहीं बढ़े या कहिए कि जितना हम आगे बढ़ते जायें उतने ही नये-नये प्रश्न सामने आते जायें। नये प्रश्नों का आना तो बुरी बात नहीं होती, यह एक निशानी है देश के बदलने की, देश के आगे बढ़ने की। जिस देश में कोई प्रश्न नहीं होता उसके माने ये हैं कि उस देश में कोई जान भी नहीं है, अब बढ़ नहीं रहा है, कुछ जमा हुआ है।

हमारे देश के इतिहास में, लम्बे ज़माने में जबकि कहा जाये कि हमारा देश जम सा गया था, यूँ तो लोग रहते थे, पैदा होते थे, काम करते थे, मरते थे, सब कुछ होते थे, कभी-कभी लड़ाई-झगड़ा भी हो, कभी-कभी राज्य बदले, लेकिन एक माने में देश जमा हुआ था। जनता और जो हमारा सामाजिक प्रबंध था वो भी जमा हुआ था, उसमें भी अदला-बदली कुछ नहीं बहुत होती थी और हम दुनिया से कट गये थे और दुनिया में क्या होता है उसका बहुत कम हमें मालूम होता था। कुछ थोड़ा बहुत व्यापार था, बहुत अधिक नहीं था, अंग्रेज़ों के ज़माने के भी पहले का मैं कह रहा हूँ, हमारा कुछ सम्बन्ध था, कुछ देशों का, एशियाई देशों से, बहुत अधिक नहीं, कुछ था। फिर अंग्रेज़ और बाहर वाले आये, उन्होंने इस सम्बन्ध को भी काट दिया। फिर हमारा सम्बन्ध विशेषकर अंग्रेज़ों से, इंग्लैंड से रहा, व्यापार भी कुछ उधर ही रहा और बहुत बातें उनके यहाँ आने में हुईं। तो इस सम्बन्ध से हमारी स्वतंत्रता गई, क्योंकि अंग्रेज़ों के आने के पहले हमारी स्वतंत्रता असली माने में नहीं गई थी, क्योंकि जिन लोगों ने, जो लोग बाहर से भी आये थे हमारे देश में, वो आके हिन्दुस्तानी बन गये थे, यहीं उनका घर हो गया और कहीं और नहीं देखते थे। अंग्रेज़ आये तो पहली बार वे यहाँ आते थे, उनका घर हज़ारों मील पर था और वहीं देखते थे और वहीं आखिर में चले भी जाते थे। तो असल में यहाँ की स्वतंत्रता का रूप बदले, हमारे राजा, बादशाह बदले, लेकिन स्वतंत्रता की जड़ यहीं थी, कोई बाहर नहीं जाता था। अंग्रेज़ों के आने से पहली बार [स्वतंत्रता] भारत के बाहर हो गयी और उससे बहुत कुछ नुक़सान हुआ, उसमें कोई संदेह नहीं, आर्थिक नुक़सान हुआ।

उसी के साथ एक उससे बड़ा लाभ हुआ कि हम जो एक जम गये थे, हमारी सामाजिक और आर्थिक स्थिति जो जमी हुई सी थी, बदलती नहीं थी, वो हिल गई, कई तरह से हिली। एक तो कुछ नये-नये विचार आये बाहर से अंग्रेज़ों के द्वारा, दुनिया में उद्योग क्रांति हुई थी, इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन, उसका कुछ असर यहाँ आने लगा, बहुत अधिक तो नहीं

आया लेकिन आया कुछ न कुछ, रेल बनी, रेल भी एक उद्योग क्रांति की निशानी है। इस तरह से कुछ न कुछ आने लगा। तो अंग्रेजी राज में हमें हमारा, मेरा ख़्याल है बहुत हानि हुई लेकिन यह लाभ हुआ कि हमें ढकेल कर वो इस नयी दुनिया जो बनी थी उसमें वो लाये, जान के तो नहीं लाये लेकिन हो गया, कुछ दरवाज़े खुलने लगे।

ख़ैर, फिर हमें स्वराज मिला और स्वराज मिलते ही पहला काम हमारा हुआ कि हम अपने देश के आर्थिक प्रश्नों का सामना करें, ग़रीबी दूर करें, नहीं तो हम पिछड़े रहेंगे, यानी हम कैसे करें दूर, ये प्रश्न? अगर आप देखिए दुनिया में कि जो देश हैं, जो कि खुशहाल देश हैं, जहाँ कि एक माने में ग़रीबी नहीं है, वो सब देश ऐसे हैं जो कि बढ़े हैं एक नयी क्रांति करके, एक क्रांति विज्ञान की करके, विज्ञान की, साइंस की, टेक्नोलोजी की, मशीन की, यंत्रों की, उससे नयी दुनिया बनी और उससे उन्होंने अपने को, उनकी शक्ति बढ़ी और उनकी दौलत बढ़ी। अब यह ज़ाहिर हो गया हमें कि अगर हमारे देश में अधिक हम धन-दौलत पैदा करें और धन-दौलत रुपया-पैसा तो होता नहीं है, धन-दौलत तो, रुपया-पैसा तो व्यापार की चीज़ है। धन-दौलत होता है सामान पैदा करने से, चाहे ज़मीन से पैदा करें, चाहे कारख़ाने से करें, जिस देश में अधिक वो पैदा होता है, सामान, वो धनी होता है। अमेरिका बहुत धनी है इसलिए कि अधिक पैदा करता है, यह नहीं कि वहाँ बैंको में सोना बहुत रखा है, रखा हो, वो तो व्यापार की निशानी है।

तो हमारे लिए भी यह आवश्यक हो गया कि हम इस दुनिया में जायें, नयी दुनिया को समझें, नई दुनिया को अपनायें। इसके माने नहीं कि हम पुरानी दुनिया को छोड़ दें अपनी, पुरानी बहुत बातें हमारी अच्छी हैं लेकिन उसे सिद्धांत रूप से उसको रखें, लेकिन ये नई इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन की दुनिया में हम आयें और उसको अपनायें, विज्ञान को करें, विज्ञान के बग़ैर बढ़ नहीं सकते। तो हमने उसकी कोशिश की और कोशिश कर रहे हैं, बड़ा प्रश्न है क्योंकि हमारी जनता इतनी है, चालीस करोड़ जनता है, बढ़ती जाती है, तो बहुत मुश्किल हो जाती है। ख़ैर, उसे हम कर रहे हैं, बहुत कुछ किया है, मैं समझता हूँ जो कुछ हमने किया वो काफ़ी प्रशंसनीय है लेकिन फिर भी जितना हम चाहते थे करना, और बात करते ही रुकावटें पड़ जाती हैं उसमें, तरह-तरह की।

इस समय, मैं आपसे बोल रहा हूँ हमारे सामने दो बातें हुई हैं जिसने हमारे सारे दृष्टिकोण पर कुछ असर डाला है। एक बड़ी भारी बात तो यह है चीनी आक्रमण हुआ और दूसरा कुछ उसका असर, कुछ यों भी हमें इस बात की फ़िक्र हुई कि हम कैसे तेज़ी से और आगे बढ़ें, आर्थिक रूप से, सामाजिक रूप से। जो हमारे बढ़ने का हमने देखा कि जिस तरह हम बढ़ रहे हैं वो काफ़ी नहीं है क्योंकि हमें दुश्मन हमारा सामना करता है, ख़तरे हैं, भय सामने करते हैं। इसके लिए अगर हम तेज़ी से नहीं उसका प्रबंध करें तो हम पीछे रह जाते हैं। हमारे देश के सामने जो यह समस्या पैदा हुई है वो सबमें गंभीर है, आज़ादी के बाद, इस पन्द्रह-सोलह वर्ष के बाद, सबसे बड़ी समस्या है, बड़ी गंभीर है और जब ऐसी समस्याएँ आती हैं तो कैसे देश जवाब देता है उसका, उससे उसका अंदाज़ा होता है [कि] देश कैसा है, जानदार है, तगड़ा है, मज़बूत है या दुर्बल है, कमज़ोर है। तो हमारा यह बड़ा इम्तिहान का समय आ गया है, हमारे देश का।

अब यह इम्तिहान ऐसे नहीं है कि आप एक जुलूस निकाल के, उत्साह दिखा के, नारे पुकार के आप उसमें जीत जायें। आपके, यहाँ के जुलूस नारों से न तो चीनी डर जाते हैं और न आपका जो आर्थिक सवाल है कि अधिक पैदा होने लगे, और तरह से कोशिश करनी है, सबमें पहले पूरीतौर से समझना है क्या, प्रश्न क्या है और एक बदलते हुए ज़माने में हमारे दिमाग को भी कुछ बदलना है, समझने के लिए। एक कोई हम कहते जायें एक मंत्र की तरह से, नारे की तरह से, वो काफ़ी नहीं है। नारे अच्छे होते हैं अपनी जगह पर, उत्साह बढ़ाने के लिए, लेकिन काम की चीज़ नहीं हैं। इसलिए यह बहुत आवश्यक हो गया कि हम पूरीतौर से समझें [कि] किधर हम जा रहे हैं, क्या हमें करना है, उसमें बदलते रहेंगे समय-समय के आने पर, मोटीतौर से समझें और नक्शा बना के उस रास्ते पर चलें, यात्रा करें। तो अब यह जो समय आया है कि क्रांतिकारी समय इस सारी दुनिया में है, हमारे देश में भी है। तो आप लोगों को जो आजकल नवजवान हैं एक मौक़ा मिला है कि उससे लाभ उठायें। क्रांतिकारी समय कुछ बोझा बढ़ा देते हैं, ख़तरे होते हैं, भय होता है, तकलीफ़ होती है लेकिन उसी के साथ मौक़े होते हैं तेज़ी से बढ़ने के, चाल तेज़ हो जाती है।

अब प्रश्न यह है कि हम इससे लाभ उठा के हम तेज़ी से बढ़ें या हम हल्के-हल्के आगे चलें? हल्के-हल्के चलना असल में सम्भव नहीं होता क्योंकि बहुत हल्के-हल्के चलें तो जो ख़तरे हैं वो हमें रोक देते हैं, हमें ढक देते हैं। तो कोई चारा है नहीं, हमें तेज़ी से बढ़ना होता है। तो फिर प्रश्न ये होता है तेज़ी से बढ़ें तो कैसे बढ़ें? अब ये लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें हो जाती हैं, सारे हमारे आर्थिक और सामाजिक बातें, उसकी मोटी बातें तो हम समझते हैं सब, और बातें समझ सकते हैं और आपको चाहिए जैसे आप करते हैं इन बातों पर विचार करें, सोचें ये समझ के कि जो हमारे सामने प्रश्न हैं वो महज़ एक गुल-शोर मचा के हल नहीं होते, उसमें अक्ल की ज़रूरत है, उसमें संगठन की ज़रूरत है, अपनी शक्ति बढ़ाने की ज़रूरत है और परिश्रम की ज़रूरत है, कोई देश बढ़ता नहीं उनके बग़ैर। तो ये समय आया है। एक माने में जो समय हमारे सामने था, मेरे सामने था जब हम भी, नवजवानों में हमारी भी गिनती थी, वो दूसरे ढंग से वो समय आपके सामने आया, हमारे सामने, अंग्रेज़ी राज्य के विरोध में, अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य के विरोध में था। अब दूसरे ढंग से आया, चीनियों ने हम पर आक्रमण किया, उसका एक अंश है और हमारे आर्थिक सवाल बड़ा भारी अंश उसका यह है, उनका हम क्या जवाब देते हैं, हम उनसे दब जाते हैं घबराकर या हम उनका सामना करते हैं और उनको क़ाबू में लाने की कोशिश करते हैं।

तो इस काम के लिए बहुत आवश्यक है कि आप लोग जैसे मैंने सुना अभी, आपस में विचार करें, सोचें, अपने मन को साफ़ करें कि हमें किधर जाना है किधर नहीं जाना है और ये समझ लें कि कांग्रेस एक महासभा है जो कि सत्तर-अस्सी वर्ष हुए, कित्ते हुए? भूल गया, करीब अस्सी वर्ष करीब-करीब हो गये हैं इसको पैदा हुए, हल्के-हल्के बढ़ी, अब बढ़कर के सारे भारत में फैल गई, एक-एक ग्राम में और बढ़ी इस तरह से कि गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में बढ़ी और इसने बहुत कमाल दिखाया। कांग्रेस का इतिहास इस ज़माने का बहुत दर्जे भारत का इतिहास है।

यह भी प्रश्न उठता है कि कांग्रेस अपना काम कर चुकी है कि और उसे करना है? इस पर विचार करना है, कर चुकी तो हम कुछ और ज़रिया उठाये काम करने का, लेकिन मेरा विचार है और मैं सोचता हूँ, आप भी इस पर ध्यान दें तो आपका भी विचार हो कि कांग्रेस ने एक ऐतिहासिक काम किया, स्वराज्य लिया। उसका अभी तक काम, ऐतिहासिक काम का अन्त नहीं हुआ और क्योंकि उसकी बहुत सारी वजह हैं लेकिन सच बात तो यह है कि कोई और शक्ति या संस्था है नहीं भारत में जो इस बोझ को उठा सके, कर सके। कांग्रेस में बहुत सी कमज़ोरियाँ हैं, ख़राबियाँ हैं, आदि हैं, उनको हमें हटाने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए, लेकिन और संस्थाएँ हैं, ये बड़े माकूल आदमी हैं बाज़-बाज़, लेकिन संस्थाएँ सब निकम्मी हैं, न शक्ति है, न ताक़त है, गुल-शोर मचाने की बात है, जो भी उसकी वजह हो कोई। भारत का आप ज़रा सोचें, अगर कांग्रेस इस वक़्त भारत में न हो और भारत की बागडोर हाथ में न लें तो भारत का क्या हो, कौन उठाये, बागडोर कौन पकड़े? चुनाव होते हैं, इलेक्शंस होते हैं, होते हैं, लेकिन वाक़िया तो ये है कि कोई और इस बोझ को उठा नहीं सकता इसको, बाद में बीस-दस वर्ष बाद क्या होगा मैं नहीं जानता।

आप देखें भारत के चारों तरफ़ देश हैं, कोई भी नहीं है देश, नये तौर से आज़ाद हुए हैं, जहाँ कि इस पंद्रह वर्ष में कोई क्रांति न हुई हो, ग़लत क्रांतियाँ न हुई हों, जहाँ की गवर्नमेंट बार-बार बदली है, जहाँ कि फ़ौजी राज हो गया है और जहाँ कि बहुत तरक्की नहीं हुई किसी तरह से भी। ये हाल हुआ है देशों का, उनका सामना कीजिए, मुक़ाबला कीजिए। तो इसके मुक़ाबले में भारत बहुत बढ़ा है। भारत, पहली बात तो यही है भारत पंद्रह-सोलह वर्ष में छोटे-मोटे हमारे सामने झगड़े हुए हैं, कोई बड़ा नहीं और भारत, एक मज़बूती से भारत की हुकूमत क़ायम रही, उसकी शक्ति बढ़ती गयी, उसके पंचवर्षीय योजना होते गये और उनमें चाहे पूरी सफलता हमें न मिले, देश बढ़ता गया, एक सिलसिला, और कहीं आपको ऐसा सिलसिला किसी और देश में दाएं-बाएं भारत के नहीं मिलेगा। और क्यों? इसीलिए कि कांग्रेस उसके पीछे है, कांग्रेस के माने हैं कि कांग्रेस का संगठन भारत को संगठित करता था, भारत को एक ताक़त देता था और उसकी वजह से भारत बहका नहीं, बावजूद उसके बहुत बहकाने वाले थे, और रास्ते में चलता गया। इसलिए मैं आवश्यक समझता हूँ इस समय कांग्रेस का जारी रहना और ज़ोरों से जारी रहना, लेकिन कांग्रेस के जारी रहने के माने नहीं हैं कि नाममात्र के लिए कांग्रेस चलती जाये, इलेक्शन लड़े और इसको कोई ख़ास और काम न करे, उद्देश्य न हो, लक्ष्य न हो, ये तो निकम्मी बहुत है, उससे ज़्यादा अच्छा है कि कांग्रेस को आप बहुत आदर से उसको ख़तम कर दें, कोई दूसरा काम करना हम शुरू करें। क्योंकि कांग्रेस एक क्रांतिकारी संस्था रही है, बड़े-बड़े लक्ष्य उठाये हैं, बड़े-बड़े उद्देश्य, बैठ के ख़ाली उसका काम हो जाये, कहीं-कहीं इलेक्शन हो धूम-धाम से बैठ जायें, ये तो निकम्मा काम है, कांग्रेस को शोभा नहीं देता है, न ही अपने देश को शोभा देता है।

तो कांग्रेस का रहना आवश्यक मैं समझता हूँ। उसकी एक यही निशानी हो जाती है, और भारत की, न जाने क्या कठिनाइयाँ आयें, टुकड़े हो जायें भारत के, क्या हो, लेकिन रहना उसी शर्त पे वो रह सकती है कि एक जीवित, एक जानदार, ज़ोरों की शक्ति से और

अपने सामने अपने लक्ष्य को रखें और वहाँ तक जाने की कोशिश करें। हमारा लक्ष्य है, पहले आज़ादी था वो हो गया, अब क्या लक्ष्य हैं? अब लक्ष्य हैं, आप चाहे कहें समाजवाद का, कोई पत्थर की लकीर का तो समाजवाद नहीं, समाजवाद तो हमारे देश के लिए मौजू है। ऊँच-नीच, ऊँच-नीच यहाँ कम है, हरेक व्यक्ति को मौक़ा मिले, पुरुष-स्त्री-बच्चा, मौक़ा मिले बढ़ने का, जितनी उसकी योग्यता हो बढ़े। मैं नहीं समझता समाजवाद का बहुत कुछ शब्दों में माने बताऊँ, ये तो बहुत पेचीदा बात है लेकिन मोटी बात यह है कि सारी जनता के लिए लाभदायक हो, उनको फ़ायदा हो। अगर हम इसमें ज़रा भी ढील दें तब हमारी ताक़त कम हो जाती है, जनता जो आयी थी कांग्रेस में, कुछ आशाएँ रख के, वो निराश हो जाती है, चल नहीं सकती गाड़ी भारत की बग़ैर जनता को ले के। तो उसको लेना है, उसको समझाना है। और हम जनतंत्र चाहते हैं जैसे कि है, डेमोक्रेसी, तो बड़े-बड़े काम करना और जनतंत्र भी रखना यह काफ़ी कठिन काम है लेकिन अब तक हमने रखा और मुझे आशा और यक़ीन है कि हम उसको रखेंगे।

तो इस ज़माने में जो हमारे सामने और दुनिया के सामने बड़ी क्रांतिकारी बातें हो रही हैं, हो सकती हैं। मान लीजिए आप आज से दस-पन्द्रह वर्ष आगे देखें, इस पन्द्रह वर्ष में क्या-क्या होगा कोई कह नहीं सकता। एक बात कह सकता हूँ मैं कि इस तरह से दुनिया नहीं चलेगी जैसे आजकल दुनिया चल रही है, पचासों तरह से बदलेगी, बदलेगी, क्योंकि यह बदलने का सिलसिला रोज़-ब-रोज़ तेज़ होता जाता है, जैसे हमारी विज्ञान ने तेज़ किया, टेक्नोलोजी ने तेज़ किया। लोग कहते हैं कि वो चाँद पे जायेंगे और तारों की तरफ़ जायेंगे। जायेंगे या नहीं जायेंगे मैं नहीं जानता लेकिन दुनिया बढ़ती जाती है, इसके माने हैं नयी-नयी शक्तियाँ उनके हाथ में आती हैं। कैसे जाते हैं वे? नई शक्ति से, जो आदमी उनमें पड़े हैं और इस शक्ति को काम में ला सकते हैं दो तरह से—अच्छी तरह, लोगों की भलाई के लिए या बुरी तरह। यह सब आपके सामने तस्वीरें हैं।

तो आजकल किसी नवयुवक के लिए यह बदलती हुई क्रांतिकारी दुनिया उसके सामने है। अगर उसमें जान है, दम है तो उसको खुश होना चाहिए क्योंकि ऐसे ही मौक़े पर, मौक़े मिलते हैं आगे बढ़ने के तेज़ी से। हाँ, अगर आप ऐसा मौक़ा ज़्यादा पसंद करते हैं जिसमें एक आराम से रहें, न कोई ख़तरा हो, कोई भय न हो तो लाचारी है, वो आजकल मौक़े नहीं हैं, न भारत में, न दुनिया में, क्योंकि यह एक बड़ा क्रांतिकारी समय है, और है, आप इसमें पैदा हुए, आप इससे बच नहीं सकते हैं। अगर आप इससे डरते हैं तो आप डर के घर बैठिए लेकिन आप उससे बच नहीं सकते, लेकिन अगर आपमें जान है तो आप उससे लाभ उठा सकते हैं, जिस देश में जान हो वो बढ़ सकता है, ख़तरों का सामना करे। देश या कोई क्रौम बढ़ती है ख़तरों का सामना करके, हल करके, ख़तरे नहीं होते तो हल्के-हल्के ढीली हो जाती है, निकम्मी हो जाती है। तो आप यह सब पढ़ रहे हैं, देख रहे हैं। पढ़िए, देखिए, समझिए, आपस में बातचीत कीजिए, लेकिन यह समझकर कि यह मौक़ा आजकल हमारे देश के, आपके, भारत के नवजवानों के सामने है, जो कि कम आता है, हम लोगों के सामने भी था जब हम नौजवान थे, दूसरे ढंग का। ख़ैर, जो कुछ हम कर सकते थे उसमें किया, देश आज़ाद हुआ। अब दूसरे ढंग के ख़तरे हैं और जैसे ही

हम खतरों का सामना करते हैं उतने ही हम आगे बढ़ते हैं, देश बढ़ेगा, व्यक्तिगत रूप से हम बढ़ेंगे। और खतरों का सामना करना ख़ाली एक बंदूक तलवार की बात नहीं, वह तो है ही, आजकल विचारधाराओं की लड़ाई होती है। तो हमारा मन साफ़ होना चाहिए, क्या हमारी विचारधारा है, क्या हमारा लक्ष्य है, कैसे उसका संबंध है जनता से, इन बातों को साफ़ करके हमें बढ़ना है क्योंकि जो बात नहीं है, तो फिर यह बड़ी जो आपकी शक्ति है, भारत की जनता की वह उन्हीं के हाथ में आती है, मालूम नहीं किधर जाये, क्या हो।

तो इन बातों पर आपस में विचार कीजिए जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि ख़ाली विचार नहीं करना है बल्कि इन पर अमल करने की तैयारी की हुई हो जब ये मौक़े आयें। मौक़े आते ही हैं, आजकल बहुत सारे हमारे नौजवान फ़ौज में भर्ती हो रहे हैं, ठीक है। मैं इसलिए कहता हूँ ठीक है कि वो अच्छा है, इस वक़्त ज़रूरत है हमें, लेकिन एक तरीक़ा है अपनी हिम्मत बढ़ाने का, अपनी जान पर खेलने का, लेकिन जो फ़ौज काम करती है उससे भी बड़ा काम हमें देश भर में और करना है, वे आर्थिक समस्याओं को हल करने की, बढ़ाने के लिए, हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना है। चाहे किसान का काम हो, चाहे कारख़ाने का काम हो, इसमें बहुत कुछ काम हो सकता है, हरेक कर सकता है, काम हरेक के लिए काफ़ी है। यह सही है कि इस समय उनको जोड़ना काम के साथ आदमियों को आसान नहीं, बहुत सारी मुश्किलें पड़ जाती हैं, हल्के-हल्के बात ठीक होगी, लेकिन जो आदमी काम करना चाहता है उसको काम ज़रूर मिलेगा, शायद ओहदा न मिले, शायद बड़ी आमदनी न हो, लेकिन काम मिलेगा उसे।

यह जो ज़माना है, यह हमारा मुल्क है, इसमें आप लोग नवयुवक हैं भारत के इस वक़्त, उनके हाथ में है कि नया भारत कैसे बने, बड़ा भारी सवाल है क्योंकि जैसा आप बनायेंगे वैसा ही बनेगा, जैसे आप हैं वैसे औरों को करेंगे। तो बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी हो जाती है, ज़िम्मेदारी भी और उसी के साथ बड़े मौक़े भी उन्हें मिलते हैं बड़े काम करने के। और जो लोग बड़े काम करते हैं वे खुद भी बड़े हो जाते हैं काम के साथ, जो छोटे कामों में रहते हैं वे छोटे रह जाते हैं। हमने बड़े काम किए अपने ज़माने में, हम भी ज़रा बड़े हो गये, आपका स्नेह मिला, हमारा आदर हुआ, सब कुछ, लेकिन काम की वजह से हुए, हममें कौन सी बात थी। ये मौक़ा है, इसको आप पूरीतौर से लें, लाभ उठायें और देश को भी लाभ पहुँचायें।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Members of the Youth Congress,

We have just heard the history of the Youth Congress during the last ten years. The Youth Congress was established ten years ago and has grown in this period which is a good thing. An institution can grow in two ways. One is during the normal times when the foundations are laid gradually and the other, in times of crisis, when it grows and expands rapidly. In our youth, we were faced with the

great problem of Indian independence. It had been there for a long time but by the time the Congress was established it loomed large. The Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi took up the cause and the years that followed were full of a revolutionary fervour which gripped the whole country. That was the period in which India grew in stature and a great revolution was wrought. The Congress too grew and expanded and reached every single village in the country. It became a great organised strength and ultimately, after a great many ups and downs, India won freedom.

After independence, the most urgent task before us was to solve India's economic and social problems. The greatest problem that confronted us was of poverty and unemployment which invariably afflict backward, underdeveloped countries like ours. So we began to pay attention to those problems and tried to find a path which would lead to rapid progress. We set up the Planning Commission which drew up the Five Year Plans. We have made great progress and you will find the signs all over the country. But the pace has not been as fast as we wanted it to be. Or, the more we advance, the more the problems that crop up. It is not a bad thing for new problems to crop up. In fact they are a sign of a changing and progressing nation. A nation which has no problem is without vitality too. It is stagnant.

During the past few centuries of our history, India had become stagnant. There were minor political quarrels and empires changed hands, people were born, lived and worked, and then died. But the nation was in a sense stagnant. The society had become stagnant and we were cut off from the world. We were unaware of what was happening in the rest of the world except for a few trade contacts. Even before the coming of the British, our contacts with other Asian countries had dwindled and petered out. Then the British came and we were completely isolated. Our only contact was with England. In this way, we lost our freedom after the coming of the British. In the past, the foreign invaders had made India their home and so we did not lose our freedom in any real sense. They became Indianised and did not keep looking to other countries. For the first time, under the British rule, we were ruled by aliens whose home was thousands of miles away. When empires changed hands, we did not lose our freedom. But with the coming of the British for the first time, India came under foreign rule. There is no doubt about it that it caused us great harm, economically and in other ways too.

At the same time, it did one good thing and that was to shake up our socio-economic structure which had remained stagnant for centuries. For one thing, new ideas began to flow in from outside. Secondly, there was an Industrial Revolution which began to have an impact on India. It was not very much but the railways were established which is a symbol of the industrial revolution.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

So while the British rule did great harm to us, it did us a good turn by pushing us into the modern age. The British did not do this intentionally but the doors and windows of our minds were opened to the outside world.

Well, we got our independence and the first task that we faced was to alleviate the poverty and unemployment which afflicted the masses. Otherwise we would remain backward. If you look at the affluent nation of the world, you will find that they have become rich because of the industrial and scientific revolution which occurred in the west. They had ushered in the age of technology and machines and became extremely wealthy. Now it was quite obvious that we too must increase the wealth of the nation. Gold and silver or currency is not real wealth. What we produce from land and industries and by other means constitutes wealth. The country which produces a great deal of consumer goods becomes wealthy. The United States is wealthy because their production is unlimited. It is not because they have great reserves of gold and silver. Those are symbols of trade.

So it is essential for us to increase production by grasping what the modern world has to offer. That does not mean that we should give up our old heritage. There are many good things in our past which we must not forget. But we must usher in the industrial revolution and adopt the scientific and technological discoveries and inventions which the world has to offer. We cannot go very far without science. So we are trying to do all this. It is an enormous task because our population is extremely large. Well, we are trying our best and I think our achievements so far have been pretty creditable. Yet the pace of progress has not been as fast as we would have wished it to be. All kinds of obstacles come in the way.

As I sit here talking to you, two events have occurred which has influenced our entire viewpoint. Firstly, there was the Chinese aggression and secondly, we were perturbed by the rate of growth not being as fast as we wished it to be. The Chinese attack had something to do with it. Even for us to be militarily prepared for any future encounters, we have to accelerate the pace of progress. For the first time since independence we are facing a grave crisis and a nation is judged by the way it handles such situations, whether it is full of vitality or weak and helpless. So this is a great testing time for us.

Now this is not the time when you can show your mettle by taking out processions or shouting slogans. The Chinese will not be scared away by such antics and nor will they help to increase economic production. We must, first of all, try to understand what the problem is. For that it is essential to change one's outlook with the changing times. It is not enough to keep repeating slogans like a chant. They are all very well in their time and place. It is essential to understand the problems that confront us and what our goal is. We will have

to make changes as and when necessary. But we must understand the broad picture, and having chalked out a path, we must follow it diligently. The world is in a revolutionary ferment. Those of you who are young have been given this opportunity to prove your mettle. Living in revolutionary times increases one's burdens. Danger and hardships surround us. But these are the times when it is possible to make rapid strides too.

Now the question is whether we take advantage of the crisis to accelerate our pace or not. It is not possible to go on at a slow pace because there are grave dangers before us. There is no alternative except to progress rapidly. The question then arises how we are to accelerate our pace. These are very large issues and all our socio-economic problems have to be taken into account. Everyone must think seriously about these things and realise that the solution to our problems lies not in making a noise but in intelligent planning, organisation and hard work. No nation can go ahead without these things. Once again the youth today are being given an opportunity to prove their mettle as it happened when we were young though the situations are different. We had to oppose British imperialism. Now the Chinese have attacked. The economic problems which confront us are part of it. It remains to be seen whether we can overcome these problems or allow them to submerge us.

So it is extremely important that you should be clear in your thinking on these issues and goals. The Congress is a great national organisation which has been in existence for nearly eighty years. It grew from small beginnings and gradually spread to the whole country under Gandhiji's leadership. Throughout this period, the history of the Congress has been that of India's history too, to a very large extent.

Now the question is whether the Congress is a spent force or it is capable of serving the country in the future. In my opinion though the Congress was instrumental in completing the historic task of winning independence for India, it has a great role to play in national affairs. Its historic role is by no means over. There are many reasons for that. But the fact is that there is no party or force in India who can take on this burden. There are great weaknesses and shortcomings in the Congress which must be got rid of. But though there are good people in the other parties, they are useless organisations without any strength. All they are capable of doing is to make a noise. Think what would happen if there were no Congress to handle the reins of power in India. Elections are held from time to time. But the fact is that there is no alternative to the Congress. I do not know what will happen after ten or twenty years.

If you look around, you will find that among India's neighbours, there is hardly any newly independent country which has not undergone great upheaval and turmoil and chaos. Governments have changed frequently and army coups

have been pretty common. So there has been no progress in these countries. Compare that with India. First of all, apart from minor disturbances, there has been stability in India and we have gone from strength to strength. The Five Year Plans, even when the targets have not always been reached, have contributed to the nation's progress. You will not find this in any other country. Why? It is because the Congress has welded the country together and gives it strength. It has prevented India from going astray against great odds. Therefore I feel that it is essential for the Congress to continue in power and guide the affairs of the nation. I do not mean that it should exist merely to fight elections and stay in power. It would be preferable to dissolve the Congress and do something else. The Congress has been a revolutionary party with great goals and ideals. It is not becoming that it should merely fight elections and not serve the nation in any way.

So I feel that it is essential for the Congress to continue, for without it the country may break up into fragments. But it should continue only on the condition that it is a living, vital force with great goals and the determination to attain them. Now one of our goals has been socialism. It is not a rigid dogma but something which is best suited to our country. It envisages lessening the gap between the haves and the have-nots and equal opportunities for all. I do not think I can explain the meaning of socialism in a few words. It is an extremely complex thing. But broadly speaking, it aims at the welfare of the people. If we slacken even a little in these goals, the people will lose their faith in the Congress. We cannot go forward even an inch without taking the masses with us. We want democracy. It is difficult to achieve the targets we set for ourselves within the framework of democracy. But we have opted in favour of democracy and hope that we will continue to adhere to it.

We are living in a world of turmoil and change. Nobody can say what may happen ten or fifteen years hence. One thing I can see quite clearly is that the world cannot go on as it is today. It will change in innumerable ways and science and technology are accelerating the pace of change. Men are trying to reach the moon and the stars. Whether they do or not, it shows that man is acquiring new forces which they can use for good or evil purposes. These are some of the things you must take into account.

The youth of today faces a revolutionary world. If he has the spirit and courage, he can go very far. This is not the age for the people who prefer a life of ease and leisure and do not wish to face any threats or dangers. Having been born in this age, you cannot escape these things because these are revolutionary times. You can sit hiding in your house if you are scared. But you cannot escape it. The nation which has the spirit to brave dangers can go very far. People and nations tend to become slack when long periods of time pass without any crisis.

I want you to understand these things. You are being given an opportunity which rarely comes in the life of a generation. We had the good fortune to have a similar opportunity. We did our best and India got independence. Now there are different kinds of dangers. To the extent that we face them fearlessly, we will grow as a nation as well as individually. I am not talking about wielding swords and guns. Today the conflict is one of ideas. We must be clear in our minds about our ideas and goals and how far they are relevant to the masses. Otherwise the vast force of the masses could be manipulated in ways which may be harmful.

I want you to think about these things and hope that you will implement them when the time comes. There will always be opportunities. Innumerable young men are joining the armed forces. It is a good thing and we need them. But that is only one way of serving the nation with spirit and courage. There are other great tasks waiting to be done, economic problems to be handled and the Five Year Plans to be implemented. Everyone can contribute something. There is enough work for everyone. It is true that it is not easy to link the manpower resources that are available with the tasks that need to be done. It will take time. But there is plenty of work for those who wish to do something. They may not get high positions or large salaries. But the work is available.

It is in the hands of the youth of today to build a new India. A great deal will depend on what you do. It is a great responsibility. But you have the opportunity to do great things. People who take on great tasks grow in stature. Those who are bogged down by petty issues become narrow minded. We grew in stature because we were involved in a great task. We got the love and respect of the people in abundance. But it was all due to the work that we did. Therefore you must make full use of the opportunity before you and serve the nation in the process.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

27. In Ahmedabad: Nanalal C. Mehta Art Gallery⁷⁵

राज्यपाल जी,⁷⁶ कस्तूर भाई जी⁷⁷ और बहनो और भाइयो, मैं अभी दरयाफ्त करने की कोशिश कर रहा था कि मेरा क्या कर्तव्य है इस समय, मैं किस चीज़ का उद्घाटन करूँ या जो कुछ करना है या इस, यह जो प्रदर्शनी है उसका या पूरे इस संग्रहालय का। अभी तक मेरा दिमाग़ साफ़ नहीं हुआ है लेकिन बहरसूरत इस, ये जो नानालाल मेहता जी की जमा की हुई तस्वीरें हैं, चित्र हैं उनका तो करना ही है और चुनांचे मैं करता हूँ।

अब मैं इस सिलसिले में आपसे कुछ इन कलाओं का चर्चा करूँ तो अपनी नालायकी का इज़हार करूँगा। इसलिए एक ख़ामोशी उस बारे में रखनी ज़्यादा अच्छी है अपनी इज़्ज़त के लिए, [हँसी] लेकिन मुझे खुशी हुई यहाँ आकर कई बातों की वजह से। एक तो नानालाल मेहता मेरे साथ में कैम्ब्रिज में पढ़ते थे, बहुत पुराने साथी थे, और फिर तो अलग हो गये। मुलाक़ात बाद में होती रही ⁷⁸ और यह मैं जानता था कि वो अच्छा एक संग्रह कर रहे हैं चित्रों का, कभी-कभी एकाध देखी भी थी, मैंने कभी जमा की थी, कुछ नहीं देखी हैं। यहाँ आज मौक़ा मिला बहुत सारे मिनिएचर्स को, जो उन्होंने जमा किये थे, उनको देखने का।

दूसरे, जो अभी राज्यपाल जी ने कहा संग्रहालयों की निस्बत, म्यूज़ियम की निस्बत, मैं पूरा उससे सहमत हूँ। संग्रहालय एक जगह होती है जहाँ हम अपनी पुरानी और नयी चीज़ें रखें। एक तो जिस चीज़ की हम क़दर करते हैं उसके ठीक रखने का प्रबंध करना चाहिए, और उससे लोगों को सीखना चाहिए, बच्चों को और बड़ों को, और नहीं तो कोई चीज़ें फैली हुई हों तो आम लोग नहीं देख सकते हैं, ख़ास-ख़ास लोग कहीं देख लें, वो ठीक नहीं होता है।

तो हर जगह, हर शहर में संग्रहालय होने चाहियें अच्छे और एक दूसरे किस्म के संग्रहालय, छोटे, वो तो मैं समझता हूँ गाँव में भी होने चाहियें। बल्कि मुझे नाम अब याद नहीं रहा, एक साहब गुजरात के थे, मेरे पास आये थे एक योजना ले के कि हर गाँव में एक संग्रहालय होना चाहिए और बहुत सस्ता हो, बहुत अच्छा हो और दिखाया भी था और मुझे बहुत पसंद भी आया था।⁷⁹

तो ऐसे म्यूज़ियम्स बहुत एक ज़रूरी चीज़ हैं हर नुक़्ते से। एक तो हमें अपने पुराने ज़माने की चीज़ों को जमा करना चाहिए जो, जिनकी क़दर कर सकें, लोग पहचान सकें,

75. Inauguration, 9 May 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10121, NM No. 1827.

76. Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jung.

The N.C. Mehta gallery of miniature paintings, housed at the Sanskar Kendra in Ahmedabad where it was inaugurated by Nehru in 1963, was later shifted to the annexe of the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Museum.

77. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, industrialist.

78. For Nehru's remarks on N.C. Mehta's death in 1958, see SWJN/SS/42/p. 821.

79. Prataprai G. Mehta, see SWJN/SS/77/item 334.

जान सकें और लोगों की पढ़ाई के लिए बहुत ज़रूरी है, बच्चों के और बड़ों के, दोनों के लिए। और एक शोभा देता है शहर को कि हाँ एक वो भी क़दर करता है ऐसी चीज़ों की, अपने प्राचीन इतिहास की और प्राचीन कलाओं की। अहमदाबाद एक बड़ा शहर, शानदार शहर, उसके लिए तो बहुत ही एक ज़रूरी है और आवश्यक है। आपने उसके लिए यह एक इमारत बनवाई और मैंने तो सुना है कि [recording indistinct] सलाह से बनी है। चुनांचे, कुछ अजीब है लेकिन अच्छी है मेरी राय में क्योंकि उसके काम में बहुत बहस होती है, कुछ लोग पसंद करते हैं, कुछ लोग नापसंद करते हैं। मैं आमतौर से पसंद करता हूँ, चाहे वो चंडीगढ़ में हो, चाहे यहाँ अहमदाबाद में, कई उनकी इमारतें हैं।

तो आपने शुरू इस संग्रहालय का अच्छा किया, बुनियाद डाली है और अब इस तरह से प्रदर्शनियाँ होंगी इसमें, वो भी अच्छा है। इसको बढ़ना चाहिए और मुझे यकीन है जैसे राज्यपाल जी ने कहा कि आप उसको बहुत बढ़ा सकते हैं और बढ़ाने की कुव्वत और ताक़त है आपके हाथ में। चुनांचे, बहुत आशाओं और उम्मीदों के साथ मैं इसका उद्घाटन करता हूँ।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Rajyapalji,⁸⁰ Kasturbhaiji,⁸¹ Brothers and Sisters,

I was trying to find out what my duty at the moment is. What is it that I have to inaugurate or whatever it is? I wanted to know whether I am to inaugurate only the exhibition or the entire museum? But I am not quite clear in my mind. Anyhow I have to inaugurate the Nanalal Mehtaji Collection of paintings and I do so.

Now if I were to speak about the arts on this occasion, I shall only betray my incompetence. Therefore it is better that I keep quiet for the sake of my own dignity. [Laughter] But I am happy to be here for various reasons. One, Nanalal Mehta was with me at Cambridge and has been a very old colleague.⁸² Then we got separated though we continued to meet and I knew that he was putting together a very fine collection of paintings, I had even seen some of his paintings, the others are new. Today I have had the opportunity of looking at his collection of miniatures.

Secondly, I am entirely in agreement with what the Governor said just now about museums. A museum should be a place where we should display both the old and the new. For one thing, we should make proper arrangements to preserve the objects that we cherish so that the old and the young alike can

80. See fn 76 in this section.

81. See fn 77 in this section.

82. See fn 78 in this section.

learn something from them. People cannot see them if they are scattered. Only a handful may be able to see them which is not right.

Therefore, there should be a museum in every city. I feel that on a smaller scale, there should be a museum in every village too. In fact, I forget the name of the gentleman who came to me in Gujarat with a proposal that there should be a museum in every village. It was a very simple scheme for a good, inexpensive museum and I liked it very much.⁸³

So museums are essential, whichever way you look at it. We should collect ancient objects of art and culture so that people can learn to recognise and appreciate them. Museums are very essential for the education of the old and the young alike. They add a touch of class to a city which knows how to care for its ancient history and arts. Ahmedabad is a great, beautiful city and a museum is very essential here. I have been told that you have had this building entrusted on the advice of [recording indistinct]. It is a little strange but good. All his designs are controversial, some like them, others don't. I generally like them and there are many buildings both in Chandigarh and Ahmedabad designed by him.

So you have made a good beginning and I hope exhibitions will continue to be held here. It should expand and I am sure, as our Governor just mentioned, that you have the capacity and the strength to do so. Therefore I inaugurate this museum with great hopes for its future.

Translation ends]

28. In Ahmedabad: Balkanji Bari⁸⁴

प्यारे बच्चो,

तुम लोगों, सभी से मिलकर, देखकर मुझे खुशी होती है। तुम जानते हो मुझे सभी बच्चों से प्रेम है, भारत के भी और भारत के बाहर भी। और यह देखकर कि बालकन जी बारी में तुम्हारा एक संगठन किया है तो बड़ी अच्छी बात है क्योंकि जो काम हम करते हैं अगर संगठित रूप से करते हैं तो उससे हमें लाभ होता है और देश को भी लाभ होता है। तुमने अभी, तुममें से एक बालिका ने मुझे कुछ कहा कि भारत पर जो आक्रमण हुआ चीन का उससे तुम्हें दुख हुआ और तुम सब तैयार हो। यह तो ठीक बात है, सभी को होना ही चाहिए। हाँ, तुम तैयार हो, उसके माने ये हैं कि तुम तैयार हो के खूब अच्छे, तगड़े बच्चे बनो हर बात में—शरीर में, मन में, आचार में, जितने मज़बूत होओगे उतना ही अधिक

83. See fn 79 in this section.

84. Speech, 10 May 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10127, NM No. 1827.

तुम देश की सेवा कर सकोगे और देश की रक्षा कर सकोगे, लड़के-लड़कियाँ सभी। तो यह विचार बहुत अच्छा है।

इस समय तो तुम्हें अच्छी तरह से बढ़ना है, सीखना है, पढ़ना है, खेलना है, सब कुछ अच्छा करना है, जो कुछ करते हो उसको अच्छी तरह करना चाहिए, दिल लगाकर। और इसी तरह से हम बड़े होते हैं और फिर बड़े-बड़े बोझ उठाते हैं देश के।

तो फिर से तुम लोगों से मिलकर प्रसन्नता हुई और तुम खुश रहो और खूब पढ़ो, खेलो, कूदो और इस तरह से देश की सेवा करने के लिए तैयार होओ। हमेशा याद रखो कि देश बहुत बड़ा है हमारा, इसमें अनेक लोग रहते हैं, अनेक भाषाएँ हैं लेकिन सब हमारे देश की हैं, अनेक धर्म हैं, सब हमारे देश के हैं, सब हमारा एक बड़ा परिवार है जिसमें सब लोग हैं। तो हमें एक परिवार की तरह से इस देश में रहना है। याद रखें सारा देश हमारा है, तुम यहाँ कोई अहमदाबाद के रहने वाले खाली नहीं हो, गुजरात भर के हो, तुम सारे भारत के हो और सारा देश हिमालय से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक तुम्हारा है। उसी तरह से और लोग जो रहते हों हिमालय में या मद्रास में उनका भी भाग है गुजरात में, सभी का मिलकर देश है। इस तरह से हमें अपनी एकता रखनी है और देश को मज़बूत करना है और एक-दूसरे की सहायता करनी है।

[Translation begins:

Dear Children,

I am always happy to see you. As you know, I am very fond of children, both of India and outside. I am very happy to see an institution like the Balkanji Bari which has been built specially for you and the country. Just now one of you, a little girl mentioned that you were very unhappy about the Chinese attack on India and that all of you are well prepared. That is absolutely proper. Everyone should be prepared. You can prepare yourselves by becoming strong in mind and body and in your conduct. The stronger you are, the better you will be able to serve country and protect it. So I like this idea very much.

At the moment, you must concentrate on your studies and grow strong physically, and play well too, whatever you do, well, with all your energy. That is how you will grow up and shoulder the great burdens of the country.

I am happy to meet all of you. I want you to be happy, study well and play well and in this way prepare yourselves to serve our country. You must always remember that India is a very large country. Many people live here speaking different languages following different religions. But all of them belong to this country, all of us are members of one large family and that is how we must live. Remember that this whole country is ours and you belong to the whole country, not merely to Ahmedabad or Gujarat. The whole of India from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari belongs to you. Similarly, those who live in the Himalayas

or Madras or elsewhere also have a share in Gujarat. We must learn to live in unity and make the country strong by helping one another.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

29. In Ahmedabad: At the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Sabarmati Ashram⁸⁵

राज्यपाल जी,⁸⁶ मुख्यमंत्री जी,⁸⁷ कस्तूरभाई जी,⁸⁸ बहनो और भाइयो और बच्चो, आज यहाँ कुछ वर्ष बाद आकर और विशेषकर इस संग्रहालय में घूमकर अनेक विचार मेरे मन में आते हैं और अनेक चित्र, पुराने चित्र आते हैं और कुछ मैं गड़बड़ा सा गया कि मैं आजकल के समय में हूँ कि पुराने समय में हूँ जब यहाँ एक दूसरे कार्य से आना-जाना होता था। और फिर मैंने सोचा कि जो महात्मा जी ने बहुत सारी बातें हमें बताई थीं, देश को और दुनिया को बताई थीं, कहाँ तक उन बातों पर हम चले, उन पर क़ायम रहे, कहाँ तक फ़िसल गये, भटक गये उधर से। कहाँ तो उन्होंने हमें अहिंसा की शिक्षा दी थी, उस समय भी शायद पूरीतौर से नहीं समझे और समझे या न समझे, उस पर अमल तो थोड़ा ही बहुत हुआ। ख़ैर, उस समय जो कुछ हुआ वो हुआ।

आजकल दुनिया का हाल देखकर और सोचकर कि कितनी दूर हैं वह अहिंसा से, यह बात सामने आती है। हमारे देश, विशेषकर यह चीनी आक्रमण के बाद हम सब लोग, शायद आप लोग भी और हम, मैं भी, और भी हमारे साथी सब अधिक से अधिक सोचने लगे कि इस हमले का, आक्रमण का सामना कैसे किया जाये—हथियार से, हथियार-बंदी से, तोप-बंदूक से, हवाई जहाज़ से, सिपाही से, फ़ौज से, हिंसा से। तो यह अजीब तमाशा है। इस देश में विशेषकर हम और दुनिया को बताते थे कि हिंसा का रास्ता अच्छा नहीं है और महात्मा जी के वचन को याद करते थे और फिर भी हम इस पेच में पड़े आ के, इस कठिन समस्या में कि हम खुद, स्वयं उस रास्ते पे चल रहे हैं। तो तबियत परेशान होती है, क्या कोई और रास्ता नहीं है, क्योंकि ये भी बात याद आती है कि गांधी जी ने इतने बड़े अहिंसावादी थे लेकिन इस बात पर भी हमेशा ज़ोर दिया था कि अहिंसा दुर्बलता से नहीं होती, कमज़ोरी से नहीं होती, डरपोकपन से नहीं होती, बुराई के सामने सिर झुकाने से अहिंसा नहीं होती, उसका मुक़ाबला करना है और अगर उसका मुक़ाबला अहिंसा से नहीं हो सके तो बजाए इसके कि उसके सामने सिर झुकायें और दब जायें, हिंसा तक अच्छी

85. Speech, 10 May 1963, at the inauguration of the Sabarmati Harijan Ashram. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10103, NM No. 1813.

86. Mehdi Nawaz Jung.

87. Jivraj N. Mehta.

88. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, industrialist.

है, लेकिन कायरता सबमें बुरी चीज़ है। तो ये अजीब पेच दुनिया के हैं, हमारे देश के हैं, जिसका सामना करना पड़ता है।

एक दफ़े बहुत जल्दी हमारे स्वतंत्रता आने के बाद यह हमारे सामने प्रश्न आया था कश्मीर में, जब कश्मीर में हमला किया था, पाकिस्तान की तरफ़ से कुछ क़बायली के लोग आये थे, उनके पीछे पाकिस्तान की फ़ौजें थीं, नया-नया स्वराज्य हमें मिला था, हज़ारों प्रश्न हमारे सामने थे—आर्थिक, सामाजिक। हम समझते थे कि अब हमारा आंदोलन अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य के विरोध में ख़त्म हुआ, अब हम शान्ति से अपने देश के बनाने में, देश के उद्धार में लगेँगे। उसी समय यह हमला हुआ, आक्रमण हुआ कश्मीर पर, तब हम बहुत परेशान हुए और मुझे याद है बहुत घंटों विचार करके [कि] क्या करें क्या न करें हमने निश्चय किया कि हमें अपनी फ़ौजों को वहाँ भेजना है, वहाँ के लोगों की सहायता करने के लिए और आक्रमण करने वालों का सामना करने को, उनको रोकने के लिए। यह बहुत कठिन फ़ैसला हमारा था, एक तो इसलिए भी कि इसके माने बहुत दूर तक हमें ले जा सकते थे, लड़ाई-झगड़े के और लड़ाई-झगड़ा कौन? हमारे पड़ोसी देश, जो हमारा ही देश था उसके कुछ महीने ही पहले, और इतनी हमने अहिंसा की बातें कीं, दुनिया पे क्या असर होगा, हम पे क्या, ये सोचते थे लेकिन उसी के साथ उस समय सहायता नहीं देना, भय से, डर से, यह हमें कायरता मालूम हुई। और अगर हम, कायर की तरह से हमने अपना बरताव उस समय किया तो हमें विश्वास हुआ फिर हम गिर जाते हैं और हम अपने दिल में, औरों के सामने तो गिरे जाते हैं, अपने मन में भी गिर जायेंगे और यह बुरी बात होती है अपने मन में खुद कोई गिर जाये तो, कोई देश गिर जाये। हमारे पास तो उस समय कोई सामान भी नहीं था लड़ाई का बहुत, फिर भी हमने कुछ थोड़ी सी फ़ौजें वहाँ भेजीं, हवाई जहाज़ों से, उसने कुछ रोकथाम की और और भेजीं।

तो मुझे याद है जब हमने यह निश्चय किया था कि भेजें, मैं उसके बाद ही गांधी जी के पास गया और बहुत मेरा मन परेशान था, मैंने उनसे कहा तो उन्होंने उत्तर दिया जहाँ तक मुझे याद है कि तुम्हें उनकी सहायता करनी चाहिए इस समय और न करना ठीक नहीं होगा और यह जान के उत्तर दिया कि सहायता के माने फ़ौज की सहायता थी। तो इसके माने क्या हुए? कि जो समझते थे कि ऐसे मौक़े आ सकते हैं एक देश के सामने जब कोई और रास्ता बाक़ी न रहे अपनी रक्षा के लिए [तो] हिंसा के तरीक़े, फ़ौज के तरीक़े भी प्रयोग में लाये जा सकते हैं। ख़ैर, उनके यह कहने से मेरे दिल में एक शान्ति हुई और जो पेच थे कुछ खुले वो। लेकिन उस समय तो वो थे कुछ सलाह देने को, फिर थोड़े ही दिन बाद उसके वो भी चले गये और रोज़-ब-रोज़ ऐसे प्रश्न आते जायें हमारे सामने [कि] क्या करें क्या न करें। मैं हिंसा, अहिंसा के माने कोई शास्त्रार्थ की तरह नहीं कह रहा हूँ, वो लोग, बाज़ लोग उस पर विचार करें, लेकिन इस बात को मानते हुए भी कि आजकल की दुनिया में एक देश को अपनी रक्षा करने के लिए फ़ौजें रखनी पड़ती हैं, क्यों हम रखें फ़ौजें और हवाई जहाज़ इसको मानकर भी फिर भी हमने कोशिश की कि हम शान्ति की तरफ़ ध्यान दें अपने देश में, देश के बाहर भी।

संसार में कुछ हमारा नाम भी हुआ कि भारत के लोग, भारत का शासन शान्तिप्रिय है, शान्ति चाहता है, जो कुछ हमारा वज़न था हमने उधर ही डाला, चाहे युनाइटेड नेशंस में या जहाँ-जहाँ हुआ, हमने अपने को अलग रखा फ़ौजी समझौतों से, और जो हम उचित समझते थे वो कहते थे और सब देशों से मित्रता करने की कोशिश की, उससे ज़रूर लाभ हुआ कुछ हमें, मुझे कोई संदेह नहीं और ठीक रास्ता था इसमें भी मुझे कोई संदेह नहीं, लेकिन फिर भी यह पेच रहा। पंद्रह वर्ष हुए, करीब पंद्रह वर्ष हुए, कितने हुए जब यह काश्मीर पर पाकिस्तान की तरफ़ से आक्रमण हुआ था? एक पंद्रह महीने, उसके बाद फ़ौजों में लड़ाइयाँ हुई, फिर लड़ाई तो रुक गई लेकिन वो प्रश्न हमें सताता रहा है और अब भी सता रहा है। हम पेच में पड़ते हैं [कि] क्या करें क्या न करें। काश्मीर हमें प्रिय है बहुत बातों से, विशेषकर इसलिए कि हमारे स्वतंत्रता के संग्राम में काश्मीर की जनता ने, उनकी बड़ी जो संस्था थी, राष्ट्रीय संस्था, उसने हमारा साथ दिया। हमारा संबंध था और इसीलिए हम उस समय उनकी सहायता को गये थे और इसके बाद भी बहुत कुछ हुआ, लेकिन ज़ाहिर है उसके महज़ प्रिय होने से हम काश्मीर को कोई ज़बरदस्ती तो चाहते नहीं कुछ करना, उसको बांधना, हम तो चाहते हैं प्रेम से रखना, सहयोग से एक-दूसरे के रखना। तो ये प्रश्न आते हैं, रोज़ आते हैं, परेशान करते हैं [कि] क्या करें क्या न करें।

इधर चीन ने आक्रमण किया, यह भी अजीब बात है, हमने चीन के साथ बरताव मित्रता का किया, कुछ बातों में अनबन हमारी हुई लेकिन फिर भी मित्रता का बरताव हमारा रहा। उन्होंने ज़ोरों से हमला किया और उस पेच में हम अब तक पड़े हैं और हमने, और जो कुछ करें, हमारा विचार रहा कि हमें अपनी रक्षा के [लिए] फ़ौजों को मज़बूत करना है, बढ़ाना है सामान को, वो हम कर रहे हैं। और ये कहाँ तक—एक देश जिसकी कुछ शिक्षा अहिंसा में हुई थी—कहाँ तक उसके लिए उचित है कि ऐसी बातें करें? मुझे कोई संदेह नहीं कि देश का काम, देश के जो शासक हों या उसके नेता हों, उनका पहला काम यह है कि देश की रक्षा करना, क्योंकि देश की रक्षा न करें तो देश गिर जाता है, देश का दिल टूट जाता है, देश की कमर टूट जाती है। तो हिंसा करें कि अहिंसा करें, कोई मज़ाक़ हो गया है, कमर टूट गई है, मन टूट गया। हाँ, अहिंसा करके सामना करें तो माने हैं उसके, अहिंसा करके दब जायें तो अहिंसा दब जाती है, कोई माने नहीं रहते हैं।

ये तो ख़ैर, तो मुझे कोई इसमें संदेह नहीं कि हमारा कर्तव्य है कि जो भी हमारे सामने उचित तरीक़ा हो उसको काम में लायें देश की रक्षा करने के लिए। फिर भी यह प्रश्न मन को सताता है कि कहाँ हम फंसे आके, हम लोग जो बहुत शान्ति और अहिंसा की बातें करते थे, कहाँ फंसे हम आके, लड़ाई-झगड़े की दुनिया में। बरसों से पाकिस्तान, जो हमारे एक देश के रहने वाले थे उनसे समझौता नहीं हुआ, हम राज़ी हुए थे देश के दो टुकड़े हो जायें इस आशा में कि दो टुकड़े होके भी दोनों मिलके रहेंगे, फिर ये आपस में कोई द्वेष नहीं रहेगा, अदावत नहीं रहेगी, लेकिन उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि और भी बढ़ गया वो, हमें पकड़ लिया, एक बीमारी की तरह पकड़ लिया, छोड़ता ही नहीं है। कहाँ यह चीन का मामला है, यह भी आप जानते हैं, समझते होंगे कि जबसे हमें स्वराज्य मिला उस समय से सबमें बड़ा यह हमारे ऊपर, हमारे सामने पेचीदा प्रश्न आया है। ये है, मालूम

नहीं यह कब ख़तम हो क्योंकि यह भी मैं मानता हूँ कि लड़ाई-झगड़ों से कोई प्रश्न हल नहीं होता आखिर में, एक लड़ाई के बाद दूसरे की कुछ जड़, कुछ बीज बो दिये जाते हैं और दूसरी आती है, तीसरी।

ये तो बड़े-बड़े कठिन प्रश्न हैं और इसको विशेषकर, अक्सर सामने आते रहते हैं और विचार करते हैं, आपस में बातचीत करते हैं लेकिन विशेषकर यहाँ आके साबरमती आश्रम में और इस संग्रहालय को देखकर पुराने विचार फिर आते हैं और इस नई दुनिया में कैसे चलें बात परेशान करती है और करती जायेगी क्योंकि हम लोग तो छोटे लोग हैं। हम लोग, महात्मा जी होते वो कोई रास्ता निकालते, कोई बात करते, तो हम ताक़त से उस पर चलते, लेकिन छोटे आदमी, बहुत बड़े आदमी की नक़ल करना वो निकम्मा हो जाता है, जो न अपने रास्ते पर चल सकता है वह बड़े आदमी के। इसलिए सोच विचार के अपना रास्ता निकालना पड़ता है, जो कुछ समझ में आये, उस बात को याद करके जो बड़े ने कही हैं लेकिन उसकी नक़ल नहीं कर सकता, क्योंकि उसकी उतनी शक्ति नहीं उसके पास, और न इधर का रहे, न उधर का रहे।

तो हम सभी को अपने मन पे ज़ोर देके, जो कुछ है समझकर रास्ता निकालना पड़ता है, लेकिन कोई भी रास्ता हो उसके पीछे कोई विचार होने चाहियें। क्योंकि अहिंसा की चर्चा है, अहिंसा ज़ाहिर है कोई निःशस्त्र, शस्त्र की बात नहीं होती, अहिंसा एक दिल की बात होती है, एक आदमी अपने को रोक ले, ज़ोरों से रोक ले, शस्त्र न चलाये या हाथ-पैर न चलाये दूसरों पर, और दिल में द्वेष रखे और दिल में नफ़रत करे और कोसा करे, वो अहिंसा नहीं है, वो तो शस्त्र चलाने से भी बदतर है। मुझे इस बात का रंज होता है, मुझे इस बात का कोई दुख नहीं है कि हमें इस समय शस्त्रों को तैयार करना पड़ रहा है चीनी हमले को रोकने को, मैं समझता हूँ अपना और देश का कर्तव्य है। इस बात से मुझे दुख होता है कि इससे हमारे मन कितने बदलते जाते हैं, बिगड़ते जाते हैं और पड़ गये हैं गाली देने में और कोसने में एक-दूसरे को या चीनी लोगों को, इसको मैं ज़्यादा बुरी बात समझता हूँ। ख़ैर, ये सब बातें हैं, मैंने आपसे कहा, क्योंकि मेरे मन में विचार, मेरे विचारों में आयी ये बातें।

अच्छा है कि ये बहस, यह कशमकश हमारे मनों में हो। इससे, कुछ ये तो मालूम होता है कि हम एक ढूँढ में रहते हैं, एक खोज में रहते हैं, एक जिज्ञासा है सही रास्ते को ढूँढने की, सामने रख के कुछ महात्मा जी के आदेश और कुछ आजकल की दुनिया, कुछ न कुछ, तो कुछ न कुछ तलाश तो रहती है। चाहे तलाश में धोखा खा जायें, ग़लती करें, लेकिन तलाश जब तक करते जायें, कुछ न कुछ उम्मीद हमारे लिए है, आशा है।

तो आज आपने मुझे निमंत्रण करके ये पुरानी जगह जो कि यादगारों से भरी हुई है बुलाया, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ और अच्छा है कि आपके यहाँ आपने संग्रहालय किया है, सुन्दर संग्रहालय है। सुन्दर इस माने में नहीं ख़ाली कि कोई बड़ी इमारत खड़ी कर दी जाये और उसमें संगमरमर हो, मारबल हो, क्या-क्या हो, वो उचित नहीं होता। मुझे तो आश्चर्य होता है अक्सर हमारे मंदिरों को देखके कि बहुत वहाँ मारबल, संगमरमर वगैरा लगाते हैं, मेरी तबियत उखड़ जाती है वहाँ जाकर, देखके, कुछ जिन्होंने बनाये होंगे उनको, बड़े

रूपये वाले लोग होंगे, वो आदर करते होंगे मारबल का, लेकिन ऐसे मौक़े पर इन चीज़ों का प्रयोग करना मुझे बिल्कुल नापसंद है।

मैंने और भी संग्रहालय देखे हैं, मदुरा में भी शायद उसका उद्घाटन किया था,⁸⁹ गांधी जी संग्रहालय दिल्ली में है, और भी हैं, अच्छे हैं, लेकिन जिस ढंग से यह बना है यह मुझे बहुत पसंद आया जो कुछ थोड़ा बहुत मैंने देखा, समझ के बनाया है। और एक ऐसा बना है जो कि खप जाये यहाँ इस पवित्र भूमि में, कोई इसमें दिखावे की बातें नहीं हैं लेकिन खुद, स्वयं दिखाता है कि हम एक सादी चीज़ हैं और सुन्दर अच्छी चीज़ हैं। तो मुझे खुशी हुई इसको देखकर, जिन लोगों ने इसे बनाया है उनको मैं बधाई देता हूँ।

संग्रहालय तो बहुत भारत में बन रहे हैं गांधी जी के और ठीक है बनना, क्योंकि इन बातों की याद करना, रखना, यह देश में आवश्यक है। गांधी जी के जीवन की बातें, जिस लिए वो थे, जो उन्होंने किया, अब भी आजकल के जो नवयुवक हैं, बच्चे हैं और बहुत बड़े भी, गांधी जी उनके लिए एक ऐतिहासिक व्यक्ति हो गये, उनका कोई संबंध नहीं है, उन्होंने पढ़ा है, क्रिस्से-कहानी पढ़े हैं या कुछ पढ़ा है। गांधी जी भी थे और ये-ये उन्होंने किया, हल्के-हल्के ऐसे लोग जिनका संबंध गांधी जी से रहा वो कम होते जायेंगे, कम होते जा रहे हैं, कम होते जायेंगे। और गांधी जी फिर वही एक महापुरुष इतिहास में जो हैं रह जाते हैं, उनका आदर होगा, उनसे प्रेम होगा, सब कुछ, लेकिन वो जो एक संबंध, एक हार्दिक संबंध होता है, एक आदमी को जिसको, जिससे खुद मिलना जुलना हुआ उससे, सीखना हुआ, समझना हुआ, वो नहीं रहेगा, कुछ कितनी बात हो जायेगी। हालांकि किताबी बात से ज़्यादा भी रहेगा ही, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है मुझे, आज नहीं बहुत ज़माने तक, सदियों तक। तो अच्छा है कि ऐसे संग्रहालय बनें, अच्छा है लेकिन उसी के साथ सब संग्रहालयों को देख के, सामान को, फिर भी एक बात मन में रह जाती है कि कैसे कोई संग्रहालय उनकी तस्वीर खेंचे। वह एक अजीब चीज़ थी, संग्रहालय में, चार-दीवारी में वो बन्द नहीं हो सकते हैं और जो कुछ नक्शा बनता है यह सब देखकर वो एक बहुत छोटे अंश का है उनका, असली चीज़ तो जो थी वो थी, उसकी तस्वीर कौन खींच सकता है। एक माने में आप देखिए तो सारा भारत ही एक संग्रहालय है उनका, क्योंकि नये भारत को उन्होंने बनाया। हम लोग निकम्मे लोग हैं, छोटे लोग हैं, जो उनकी प्रशंसा करते हैं और उनका नाम लेते हैं, उनकी जय पुकारते हैं, छोटे आदमी करें क्या सिवाए इसके कि किसी न किसी के सहारे रहें, लेकिन बात तो ये है जो उन्होंने भारत में भ्रमण करके बहुत कुछ, भ्रमण नहीं करके, और काम करके भारत को उन्होंने एक जो बनाया एक थोड़ा सा उनका अंश भारत में हो गया। तो सारा भारत उनका संग्रहालय हो गया। ये तो, साबरमती तो एक माने में पवित्र भूमि है, उनके यहाँ बहुत दिन रहने से, लेकिन कितनी जगह भारत में हैं जहाँ-जहाँ वो गये, जहाँ-जहाँ उनके क़दम रखे, उन्होंने बैठे-उठे, उसको भी उन्होंने पवित्र कर दिया।

89. First Gandhi National Memorial Museum in Madurai on 15 April 1959, see SWJN/SS/48/item 9.

अब इसका संग्रहालय, कैसे इसकी कुछ तस्वीर आपके सामने रखें, हमारे सामने, यह तो या तो हम उसको महसूस करते हैं, समझते हैं या नहीं। शायद, कोई थोड़े बहुत चित्र इसका कोई महान लेखक खींच सके, थोड़ा सा करें, असल में तो कोई कर नहीं सकता। बाद में वो चित्र कोई प्रशंसा करने का नहीं है, प्रशंसा करने का तो बहुत निकल आते हैं लेकिन कोई चीज़, जो कुछ कोई चित्र ऐसा जो कि उस असलियत को पेश, हमारे आँखों के सामने, हमारे मन के सामने, दिल के सामने, पेश करे, बड़ी कठिन बात है। ख़ैर, जो कुछ होना है वह तो बाद में देखा जायेगा। यह अच्छा है संग्रहालय फिर भी बने और आइन्दा नस्लों में भी लोग देखें आके [कि] ये कौन शख्स था गांधी जिसने आके उलट-पुलट किया भारत में, क्रांति एक माने में की, स्वराज्य लाया, कितनी धूमधाम की। और जब वो सोचेंगे तो उन्हें आश्चर्य होगा कि ऐसा आदमी भी एक समय भारत में रहता था, और भारत में एकता से रहना और यही किया। [नेहरु जी का गला रुंध जाता है।]

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Governor,⁹⁰ Chief Minister,⁹¹ Kasturbhaiji,⁹² Sisters, Brothers and Children, Coming here after an interval of some years and seeing this museum fills my mind with old memories and thoughts. I became a little confused as to where I was, in the present or the past when I used to come here often with a different purpose. Then I began thinking whether we have adhered to Mahatma Gandhi's teachings or strayed away from them. How much of his non-violence did we really understand even in his own lifetime though we tried to follow it to some extent?

The condition in the world today is very far removed from non-violence. Even in India particularly after the Chinese aggression all of us have started thinking in terms of weapons of violence, combat, guns, aeroplanes and soldiers. It is strange that we who used to preach non-violence to the world in Gandhiji's footsteps should now have to face this dilemma of choosing the path of violence. We feel extremely perturbed and wonder if there is an alternative. At the same time, we cannot forget that though Gandhiji was a great apostle on non-violence, he always laid stress on the fact that non-violence must not stem from cowardice and weakness and fear. We must not bow down to injustice but fight it. If it is not possible to combat injustice by non-violent methods, violence is preferable to meekly giving in. So this is the dilemma that we are facing today in India.

90. See fn 86 in this section.

91. See fn 87 in this section.

92. See fn 88 in this section.

Once soon after independence, we had to face a similar problem in Kashmir when the tribals attacked from the Pakistani side aided and abetted by Pakistani forces. India had just become independent and innumerable problems lay waiting to be solved, social and economic problems. We thought that once our struggle to overthrow the British was over, we could concentrate our energies on national reconstruction peacefully. The sudden attack on Kashmir disturbed us deeply and I remember that we debated for hours about the step we should take. Ultimately it was decided that we will have to send in our forces to help the people of Kashmir and to throw out the invaders. It was an extremely difficult decision to take because in a sense, it could have very far reaching consequences for us. We were going to be at war with our own neighbour. Until then we had been vociferous in our talk of non-violence and so we wondered how the world would react but at the same time not to go to their help out of a sense of fear seemed cowardly. We were convinced that if we behaved in a cowardly manner in that crisis we will lose our self-respect, apart from the bad impression that we will create upon others. We did not have very much by way of weapons and equipment. But we sent some troops in aeroplanes.

I remember going to Gandhiji directly after the decision was taken. I was deeply perturbed. As far as I can remember, Gandhiji's reply was that we should help Kashmir, for not to do so would be bad. He said this knowing that it could only mean military assistance. So it is clear that he felt that there could be occasions in the life of a nation when there was no alternative to using violence and military methods of defence. Well, his advice brought peace to me then. But he died soon after that and could no longer advise us. Problems of this nature crop up often in our day-to-day affairs. I am not trying to start a debate about the morality of violence and non-violence. But keeping in mind the fact that nations need armies for their defence in the modern world, we have still tried to throw our weight in the cause of peace.

India has earned a name for herself in the world as the apostle of peace. We have raised our voice in the United Nations and elsewhere in the cause of peace. We have kept ourselves aloof from military alliances and have always expressed our views fearlessly. Our policy has been one of friendship towards all countries. There is no doubt about it that our policy has paid off and it is the right one for us. But we have had to face these dilemmas. The attack on Kashmir took place more than fifteen years ago and the fighting continued for about fifteen months. Then there was ceasefire but the problem has remained unresolved. We are in a bit of a dilemma because Kashmir is dear to us in many ways. The people of Kashmir under the banner of the National Conference fought with us in our freedom struggle. We had to go to their help in their hour of need. But it is obvious that we do not want to keep Kashmir with us forcibly.

We only want ties of affection and cooperation with them. So these are some of the problems that we have to deal with.

Then the Chinese attacked. It was strange for we had always maintained a friendly attitude towards them in spite of small disputes that arose. Anyhow, they launched a massive attack and we are still in a bit of a dilemma. We have to strengthen and expand our armed forces. How far is this in keeping with the policy of a nation which has been moulded on principles of non-violence? I have no doubt in my mind that defence of the country is the most important task of a government and the national leaders. Everything else is secondary. Can we combat violence by non-violence in these circumstances when the very existence of the country is threatened? It makes no sense.

So well, I have no doubt about it that what we are doing is the right thing to defend our sovereignty and freedom. And yet, it is deeply disturbing to find ourselves in this situation when we have been so vociferous about peace and non-violence. We have not been able to resolve our disputes with Pakistan for years. We had agreed to the partition of the country in the hope that we could live in peace and amity thereafter. But as a consequence of Partition, the bitterness and hatred between the two countries seem to have increased. It is like an interminable disease which afflicts us constantly. Then, there is the dispute with China. As you can understand, this is the first major crisis which we are facing since independence. Nobody can say when it will end. If necessary, we will fight. But ultimately no problem is ever solved by war for everyone of them contains the seeds of another.

These are some of the major problems that we are facing today. We are constantly in search of a solution. But here in Sabarmati Ashram in particular, we feel more troubled as to how we should conduct ourselves in these changed circumstances. There is no easy solution. We are men of small stature. If we had been great like Mahatma Gandhi, we could have found some way and gained new strength. But we have to depend on our own meagre resources and do as seems best. We must bear in mind the teachings of our great leaders but we cannot copy them because we simply do not have their great inner strength and resources. Therefore we have to find a way as best as we can.

However, whatever we do has to be based on a clearly thought out policy. Take non-violence, for instance. Now it is obvious that non-violence does not depend on arms or lack of it. It is an attitude of mind. If an individual refrains from using a weapon but continues to harbour bitterness and anger against others, that is not really non-violence. In fact, that is worse than using weapons. I am not distressed about the fact that we are having to arm ourselves against the Chinese. I consider that our national duty. What grieves me is the way our attitudes are changing. We are degrading ourselves by abusing the Chinese. Well, I wanted to share some of these thoughts with you.

It is a good thing that our minds should be in a turmoil. It shows that we are constantly in search of the right path on the lines shown by Mahatma Gandhi. We may make mistakes. But so long as we do not abandon the search, there is always hope for us.

I am grateful to you for inviting me to come to this place which holds so many precious memories. You have built a beautiful museum, not because it is a huge building made of marble or something equally showy. I am often amazed at the new marble temples which are being built everywhere. I am sure it costs a great deal of money and the very rich seem to have a passion for marble. But I find it singularly inappropriate for such purposes.

I have seen other museums in Madurai⁹³ and Delhi and elsewhere which are good. But I like the way this museum has been built. It blends with the landscape of this holy place and there is nothing ostentatious about it. It is simple and yet beautiful. I am happy to have seen it and congratulate those who were responsible for it. Many memorials to Gandhiji are coming up all over the country which is but proper because it is essential to remember what he stood for. To the youth and children of today, Gandhiji has already become a historical figure. They read about him in books. Gradually the number of people who knew Gandhiji personally will grow less and less. He will be revered as a great leader. But the close link which is established through personal contact will be absent. However, his memory will continue to have an impact for centuries to come. So it is a good thing to build museum. But at the same time, the question that teases me is whether any museum can do justice to his memory. Gandhiji was an extraordinary personality which cannot be imprisoned within the four walls of a museum. The picture that emerges from the artefacts that one sees in a museum is only a very small part of the reality. Who can portray him as he really was? In a sense, the whole of India is a museum to his memory because he was the architect of modern India. We who sing his praises are insignificant people and need to be bolstered up by the memory of great men like him. But the fact is that as a result of the ceaseless, writing work of a lifetime, he has left an indelible imprint of himself on India. Therefore the country itself is a museum to his memory. Sabarmati, of course has been sanctified by the years that he spent here. But wherever he went in India he sanctified it by his very presence and I do not know if it would ever be possible to build such a comprehensive museum to Gandhiji's memory.

Perhaps a great artist or writer may be able to draw a vivid portrait. But nothing can bring back the actual person. Well, anyhow, it is a good thing to build museums so that the future generations can learn about the great personality

93. See fn 89 in this section.

who brought about a revolution in India and ultimately led her to freedom. For generations to come, people will be amazed that such a human being once lived and toiled among us.⁹⁴

Jai Hind!

Tranaslation ends]

30. In Koyali: Establishing the Refinery⁹⁵

मुख्यमंत्री डॉ. जीवराज मेहता जी, श्री मालवीय जी,⁹⁶ बहनो और भाइयो, मुझे आज यहाँ आकर और इस काम में सम्मिलित होकर, होने पर बहुत प्रसन्नता है क्योंकि यह काम, यह कार्य जो यहाँ हम आज आरम्भ कर रहे हैं और नींव डाल रहे हैं जिसकी, यह एक बड़ा काम है जिससे गुजरात की उन्नति होगी और सारे देश की।⁹⁷ और एक और बात यह है कि इस कार्य को हम कर रहे हैं एक महान देश के, मित्र देश के सहयोग से, यानी रूस, सोवियत यूनियन, उनकी सहायता से, सहयोग से कर रहे हैं। तो दोनों बातें बड़ी हैं और इसलिए यह काम एक शुभ काम है। और आप लोग यहाँ, ज़मीन बहुत सारी ली गई है, उसका अभी डॉ. जीवराज जी ने चर्चा भी किया, अच्छी ज़मीन है, तम्बाकू की खेती होती थी और आपको बहुत लाभ होता था, फिर भी वो ली गई इस तेल को निकालने के लिए क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया में आपको मालूम होगा तेल बहुत आवश्यक चीज़ हो गई है, तेल सोने से भी ज़्यादा उसकी क़दर होती है। तेल एक माने में सोना कहलाता है ज़मीन के नीचे का और दुनिया में इतने कार्य तेल से होते हैं, पर मोटी बात तो यह है कि आप मोटर बस में चढ़ें, तेल से चलती है वो, और, लेकिन और बहुत काम होते हैं उससे, उससे बनते हैं तेल की चीज़ें। तो आजकल की दुनिया में तेल बहुत ही आवश्यक चीज़ है और जहाँ जिन देशों में तेल निकलता है वो उससे बहुत धन पैदा करते हैं। हमारे देश में बहुत दिन तक थोड़ा तेल उधर पश्चिमी उत्तर सीमा में आसाम की, में थोड़ा तेल निकलता था, अब भी निकलता है और कोई बहुत जाँच-पड़ताल नहीं हुई थी। फिर बाद में, बहुत बाद में, अभी थोड़े दिन हुए, हमारे स्वराज आने के बाद हमने उधर अपना ध्यान दिया और सोचा कि क्या हो सकता है। हमारा विचार था कि हम अपने देश में जितना तेल निकले उतनी ही हमारे देश की भलाई होगी, लाभ होगा, और यह नहीं होगा कि हमारा सारा रुपया बाहर जाये देश के, वहाँ से बाहर से तेल हम ख़रीद करके, मोल लेकर लायें यहाँ, जैसे आजकल अब तक होता था।

94. The transcriber has noted at this point that Nehru's voice choked with emotion.

95. Speech, 10 May 1963, on laying the foundation stone. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10421, NM No. 1842.

96. K.D. Malaviya, Minister of Mines and Fuel.

97. This was the third refinery in the public sector about ten kilometers from Baroda.

तो उसमें हमने विशेष ध्यान दिया और हमारी केन्द्रीय जो सरकार है उसमें एक विभाग बनाया इसका, और उसमें मालवीय जी, केशव देव मालवीय जी उसके मंत्री हुए। उनको बहुत इसमें दिलचस्पी थी और हमने ढूँढ शुरू की तेल की, क्योंकि ज़मीन के नीचे होता है, उसको बहुत ढूँढना पड़ता है और खोदना पड़ता है और छेदकर देखना पड़ता है कहाँ-कहाँ तेल है और कहाँ नहीं, पहले तो और तरह से देखते हैं फिर खोद के, काफ़ी समय लगता है। इस तरह से उत्तर भारत में और कुछ दक्खिन में भी हमने उसकी खोज की। ये कार्य विशेषकर कोई सात वर्ष से हो रहा है और सात वर्ष, छः वर्ष में एक कमीशन बनाया गया इसका, तेल का और गैस का कमीशन, जिसका यह काम खास विशेष हुआ और उसमें कुछ आसाम में बहुत कुछ खोदा-खादा और मिले वहाँ, उनको वहाँ तेल मिला है, कुछ थोड़ा सा पंजाब के तरफ़, ज्वालामुखी के तरफ़ भी कुछ हुआ था। और फिर यहाँ गुजरात और सौराष्ट्र के तरफ़ बहुत ये कुँएँ खोदे गये और उसमें बहुत सफलता मिली, दो-चार में कुछ नहीं मिला लेकिन अधिकतर तेल निकला। ये तेल बड़ी भारी बात थी हमारे भारत के लिए, इस तरह से तेल का निकलना यहाँ, क्योंकि इससे एक बड़ी आवश्यक वस्तु जिसको हमें और देशों से लानी पड़ती थी वो हमारे देश में पैदा होने लगी और गुजरात के लिए तो भली बात थी ही, लेकिन सारे देश के लिए अच्छा था।

अब आप देखिए इत्ते रोज़ से तेल का बड़ा चर्चा हो रहा है सारी दुनिया में, हमारे देश में इसका, इसकी कोई खोज नहीं हुई थी ठीक-ठाक, ख़ाली थोड़ा सा वहाँ आसाम में, जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा थोड़ा सा निकलता था और यहाँ गुजरात में देखा तक नहीं था किसी ने। ये तो जब अभी पाँच-सात वर्ष हुए, स्वराज आने के बाद हमने खोज शुरू की तब यह सफलता मिली है। अब हमें कोई इसमें आपत्ति नहीं है कि कहीं-कहीं देश के बाहर की सहायता से, बाहर के जो बड़े तेल के कारख़ाने हैं उनकी सहायता से हम करेंगे, लेकिन यह ऐसी आवश्यक वस्तु है, तेल, कि अधिकतर हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी ये शासन के तरफ़ से, सरकार की तरफ़ से इसका काम हो और उसका लाभ पूरे देश को मिले। और भी हम करने को तैयार हैं, जहाँ इसको हम उचित समझें और भी प्रबंध करें। ये एक बहुत बड़ा काम हमारा पिछले चंद वर्षों में शुरू हुआ है देश में, और होता जाता है और इसके लिए मैं समझता हूँ ये जो तेल का कमीशन हमने जो बनाया है, ऑयल एण्ड नैचुरल गैस कमीशन, उसको हमें बधाई देनी चाहिए कि वो अच्छा काम कर रहा है।

तो अब इसका एक काम सारे भारत में हो रहा है लेकिन यहाँ गुजरात के इस कोने में विशेषकर इसको बहुत सफलता मिली है और इसीलिए मैं आपके पास यहाँ आया हूँ क्योंकि तेल तो निकल रहा है अब भी कुओं से और जा रहा है साफ़ होने के लिए रिफ़ाइनरी में, ये रिफ़ाइनरी, कारख़ाने जो एक साफ़ करने के लिए होते हैं, बंबई में, कहाँ-कहाँ जा रहा है रोज़, लेकिन उसके लिए यहीं एक कारख़ाना बने, रिफ़ाइनरी बने, जिससे वो तेल साफ़ हो और फिर उसकी क़ीमत बढ़ जाती है और उसका प्रयोग हो सकता है। तो आज मैं यहाँ आया हूँ इसका कोई नींव डालने, रिफ़ाइनरी का, जो बड़ा कारख़ाना यहाँ बनेगा तेल की सफ़ाई के लिए और इसको जैसे हमारे देश में बहुत बड़े-बड़े काम हो रहे हैं उनमें ये भी एक बड़ा काम है देश भर के लिए और विशेषकर गुजरात के लिए। उसकी आपको मैं

बधाई देता हूँ और मैं, मुझे पूरी आशा है कि यहाँ उससे बहुत लाभ होगा आपके गुजरात राज्य को और सारे देश को। और उसी के साथ इस बात की मुझे खुशी है, प्रसन्नता है कि हमारा और सोवियत यूनियन का, जो बड़ा महान देश है, जिनकी सहायता से हम ये कर रहे हैं, हमारा संबंध इन कामों में बढ़ता जाता है क्योंकि वो बहुत बातें जानते हैं, उनसे हम सीख सकते हैं और इस तरह से सीख सकते हैं कि हमारा भी लाभ हो इससे, मित्रता से और उनका भी लाभ हो, ये भी खुशी की बात है। और मैंने इसी मज़मून पर अपने विचार भी प्रकट किए हैं जो मैंने सोवियत यूनियन के पत्रों में एक संदेशा भेजा है।

तो बस, अब मैं जाता हूँ ये नींव रखने, फाउंडेशन स्टोन, जो कुछ है उसे रखने और इस शुभ काम को आपके सहायता से शुरू करने। ये काम बढ़ेगा और जैसे डॉ. जीवराज ने कहा आपसे, ये ख़ाली एक रिफ़ाइनरी नहीं है तेल साफ़ करने को, इसके बच्चे बहुत निकलेंगे, कारख़ाने, चारों तरफ़ बच्चे बनेंगे, निकलेंगे और सारा ये हल्का, ये हिस्सा भर जायेगा कारख़ानों से, जिससे यहाँ की जनता को बहुत लाभ होगा और सारे गुजरात का होगा।

तो इस तरह से हम हल्के-हल्के भारत के रूप को बदल रहे हैं, भारत बहुत प्राचीन देश है लेकिन अब उसको—प्राचीन तो रहेगा ही वो—उसको नया, नये वस्त्र भी पहनाना है, कारख़ानों के, नये-नये काम के, जिससे हमारा देश आगे बढ़े, तरक्की करे, और देश की शक्ति बढ़े और देश खुशहाल हो। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे जो सुन्दर बच्चे हैं सारे देश में वो बढ़ें, उनको पूरा मौक़ा मिले तरक्की का, कोई ऐसा बच्चा न हो देश भर में जिसको किसी चीज़ की कमी हो—ख़ाने की, कपड़े की, घर की, पढ़ने की, स्वास्थ्य की—तब तरक्की होगी, देश सारा बढ़ेगा और ऐसी तरक्की हो जिससे लाभ जनता को हो।

हमारा सिद्धांत है कि, आप जानते होंगे कि हम एक समाजवाद की तरह समाज बनायें। उसके माने क्या हैं? कि समाज में सब लोगों को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले तरक्की का, ख़ाली यह नहीं कि थोड़े से लोग बड़े धनी हो जायें, और लोग ग़रीब रहें, यह बात ठीक नहीं है। तो यह काम जो हम आज यहाँ शुरू कर रहे हैं यह भी एक समाजवाद के लाने का एक छोटा सा अंश है, ऐसे तो बहुत करना है, समय लगेगा, लेकिन हल्के-हल्के उधर हमें बढ़ना है। तो इस बात को आपको समझ लेना चाहिए।

ये रिफ़ाइनरी बनेगी, ये किसकी होगी? मालवीय जी ने आपको बताया, ऑइल एण्ड नैचुरल गैस कमीशन की। मैं इसको नहीं मानता, वो होगी आपकी और आपकी और आपकी और आपकी होगी और भारत के लोगों की होगी। कमीशन तो एक कुछ अफ़सर मुक़र्रर किये प्रबंध करने के लिए, वो जनता की होगी, कमीशन थोड़े ही उसकी मालिक होगी। तो यही तो फ़र्क़ है कि जो हम बड़ी चीज़ें बनाते हैं वो जनता उसकी मालिक हो और जो उसमें लाभ हो वो जनता को मिले, न कि कुछ बड़े-बड़े आदमी हों, उसके मालिक हों, जैसे कारख़ानों में होता है, उनको सारा बहुत कुछ लाभ जाता है। हम तो नहीं चाहते कि उनकी, जो बड़े आदमी लाभ न करें लेकिन अधिकतर हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने जनता के हों। जनता के, जनता के कैसे हों? जनता के कोई, कौन हो जनता की तरफ़ से? तो जो शासन है वो उसका प्रबंध करता है और अलग-अलग बनाता है कमेटी,

कमीशन, जैसे ये ऑइल के कमीशन है, वो जनता ही की ओर से है, जनता की तरफ़ से करता है, उसको तो जित्ता इसमें लाभ हो उनकी तो जेब में जायेगा ही नहीं, उनको तो जो तनख़्वाह मिलती हैं वो तो मिलती है और जो कुछ उसमें लाभ होगा वो तो जायेगा हुकूमत को, शासन को, जनता की ओर से। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं इस तरह की बातें बढ़ें और जनता का अधिकार हो, जनता को लाभ हो, बढ़ती जाये और जनता के लाभ के माने सभी को लाभ हो थोड़ा बहुत।

तो यहाँ गुजरात आ के मेरी यों भी तबियत ख़ुश होती है क्योंकि बड़ा अच्छा राज्य है हमारा, ख़ूब तेज़ी से बढ़ रहा है, तरक्की कर रहा है और इसलिए आपको बधाई और भविष्य में भी आपकी ख़ूब उन्नति हो। जयहिन्द!

अब मैं जाता हूँ वहाँ वो पत्थर नींव का रखने और मैं, उसके बाद तो मैं फिर तो ऊपर होऊँगा नहीं। इसलिए मेरे नीचे जाने के पहले आप मेरे साथ तीन बार जयहिन्द कहिए।

जयहिन्द! अरे ज़ोर से कहिए, आपको, स्त्रियों को भी कहना चाहिए।

जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Chief Minister Dr Jivraj Mehtaji, Shri Malaviyaji,⁹⁸ Sisters and Brothers, I am very happy to be here to participate in this function. We are laying the foundations of the future prosperity of Gujarat and the whole of India by what we are doing today.⁹⁹ One more thing, we are starting this project with the help and cooperation of a great country, the Soviet Union, which is our friend. So on both counts, this is an auspicious task. A great deal of land has been allotted for this purpose. Dr Jivraj Mehta mentioned just now that it is very fertile land and tobacco was grown here which was very profitable to the people. Yet that land has been acquired for oil drilling because as you know, oil is an extremely precious commodity in today's world. It is more valuable than gold. In fact, oil is known as black gold because so much in the world depends on oil. The motor cars and buses that you travel by run on oil and petrol. That is only one thing. There are many products of oil. In the modern world, oil has become an indispensable commodity and the oil producing countries are extremely wealthy.

In India, oil was available on the north-west frontier in Assam. But no research had been done. It is only long after independence that we turned our attention to this matter because we felt that the more oil we produce, the better it will be for the country. It would also save us a great deal of foreign exchange which is drained away today in importing oil.

98. See fn 96 in this section.

99. See fn 97 in this section.

So we turned our attention to this matter and set up a special department under the Central Government headed by Shri Keshav Dev Malaviyaji. He has always been interested in this and so we began drilling for oil. We have to dig very deep underground to find oil. It takes a long time. We have done a lot of drilling in North and South India during the last seven years. We set up an Oil and Natural Gas Commission to undertake this job. We found some oil in Assam, in Punjab and Jwalamukhi. The oil rigs in Gujarat and Saurashtra have also yielded oil. This has been a major discovery for India because now we are producing a commodity which we had to import earlier. It is a great step forward not only for Gujarat but for the whole country too.

You will find that there is a great deal of talk of oil in the world. Sufficient research had not been done in this field in India. As I said, we were drilling for oil only in Assam. Nobody had even thought of Gujarat. It is only during the last seven or eight years after independence that we took up the task and have succeeded. We have no objection to taking the help of other oil-producing countries. Oil is an essential commodity and we want it to be in the public sector so that the whole country may benefit. We are prepared to take up drilling wherever there is a possibility of finding oil. This is a very major task that we have taken up during the last few years, and I think the Oil and Natural Gas Commission is to be congratulated on the good work that it is doing.

The work is going on all over India. But in this corner of Gujarat it has succeeded extremely well. So I have come to you. The oil is drilled from the wells and then piped into the refineries in Bombay and elsewhere. We want to set up a refinery right here and I have come here to lay its foundations. I congratulate all of you on this major task which has been taken up and I am convinced that it will be beneficial for Gujarat and the whole country as well. I am happy that a great country like the Soviet Union is helping us in this task for it forges closer links between the two countries. The Soviet Union is very advanced and we can learn a great deal from them in such a way that it strengthens the bonds of friendship between us. I have conveyed this in my letters to the Soviet Union.

Now I shall proceed to lay the foundation-stone which will inaugurate this auspicious project. As Dr Jivraj said just now this will not be a single refinery for its offshoots will come up, small industries which will be spread throughout Gujarat and benefit the masses.

In this way, we are gradually changing the face of India. We are trying to clothe this ancient country in new garbs through industrialisation, so that India may develop and progress and become strong and affluent. We want our children to have the fullest opportunities for progress. No child in India should be deprived of the basic essentials of life like food, clothing, shelter, education and health care. Only then will the country progress.

We want the masses to benefit from this progress. As you know we have adopted a socialist pattern of society as our goal. What does it mean? It means that every citizen should get equal opportunities. We do not want a handful of people to become rich while the rest are poor. That is not right. The task that we are taking up today is also a small part of bringing about socialism in India. There is a great deal to be done and it takes time. But our aim should be to proceed step by step in that direction.

Whom will this refinery belong to? Malaviyaji told you that it will belong to the Oil and Natural Gas Commission. I do not agree. This refinery will belong to all of you, to the people of India. The Commission appoints officers to look after it. But the plant belongs to the people, not to the Commission. This is where the difference lies. The ownership of all these large plants will be with the people and not with a few rich men who would then picket all the profits. We do not want to deprive the rich to be deprived of profits. But we want that the masses should own all large enterprises. The Government sets up Commissions and appoints officers for their management. But the government does it on behalf of the people. The officials cannot pocket the profits. They are merely paid salaries. The profits will go into the state exchequer for an equitable distribution. We want this state of affairs to grow so that everyone may share in the profits.

I am always happy to be here in Gujarat which is progressing rapidly. I congratulate you and hope that you will progress even faster in the future. Jai Hind.

I shall go down now to lay the foundation-stone. But before I do that, I would like all of you to say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind. The women must also join in.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

31. In Ahmedabad: Public Meeting¹⁰⁰

बहिनो और भाइयो,
अभी हमें याद दिलाया है कि मैं पहली बार आपके, पहली बार आपके यहाँ चीनी आक्रमण

100. Speech, 10 May 1963, at the Kankariya Football Ground. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10294, 10295, NM No. 1831, 1832.

के बाद आया हूँ। मैं भूल गया था, मेरा ख़्याल था कि मैं शायद बीच में भी आया हूँ लेकिन वो कहते हैं तो ठीक होगा।¹⁰¹

आज इस बार मैं गुजरात विशेषकर एक काम के लिए आया था और वो आज मैंने बड़ौदा के पास जाके किया। वहाँ गुजरात रिफ़ाइनरी तेल की बनने वाली है, उसका बुनियाद, उसकी नींव डाला मैंने।¹⁰² वो एक बड़ी चीज़ है और एक ख़ाली एक कारख़ाना नहीं बनेगा, लेकिन बहुत सारे कारख़ाने बढ़ेंगे, क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया में आप जानते हैं तेल कितनी बड़ी चीज़ है, बहुत अधिक तेलिया दुनिया हो गई है, सोना-चाँदी सब खेल की चीज़ें हो गई, तेल असली चीज़ है। तो गुजरात में तेल का निकलना, मैं नहीं जानता कि गुजरात की शोभा बढ़ायेगा लेकिन गुजरात का धन ज़रूर बढ़ायेगा और यहाँ के लोगों को काम मिलेगा, धन बढ़ेगा। तो बड़ी बात है और भारत के लिए भी लाभदायक बात है। और इस काम को विशेषकर गुजरात में जो कर रहे हैं वो रूस के, सोवियत यूनियन के सहयोग से कर रहे हैं, उनकी सहायता से। तो एक बड़ा काम है जिससे हमारे देश को लाभ होगा। और यह भी अच्छी बात है कि हमारी भारत का और सोवियत रूस का इसका संबंध भी इससे बढ़ता है एक कार्य को मिल के करने से, लेकिन असल में भारत के भविष्य के लिए, भारत में तेल का निकालना और उसको तैयार करना एक बहुत बड़ी बात है और इससे यक्रीनन बहुत लाभ होगा, अब भी कुछ थोड़ा बहुत तो होने लगा है। अभी तक तो आपके यहाँ जो तेल निकलता है, जो रेल पे भेजा जाता है बम्बई, वहाँ की रिफ़ाइनरी के लिए, अब रिफ़ाइनरी यहाँ बन जायेगी तो यहीं साफ़ होगा, फिर यहाँ से उत्तर भारत के बहुत हिस्सों में फ़ैलेगा।

यह काम, तेल तो हमारे देश में बहुत बरसों से थोड़ा बहुत निकलता है, आसाम की तरफ़, लेकिन आश्चर्य होता है [कि] और कोई चीज़ तेल की नहीं हुई। ये खोज, बल्कि हमसे कहा गया, बड़ी-बड़ी कम्पनी वालों ने, विदेशी कम्पनी वालों ने कि और यहाँ तेल नहीं निकलेगा। फिर हमने कोई एक सात-आठ वर्ष हुए इसकी खोज शुरू की और कुछ औरों की सहायता से, और देशों की और कुछ हमारे ही लोगों ने, हमने जो अच्छे लड़के थे, हमारे विज्ञान के पढ़ने वाले उनको जमा किया, उनको सिखाया, जो जियोलॉजी पढ़ते थे, उनको जमा किया और उनको कुछ ख़ास शिक्षण दिया और उनको फिर भेज दिया ख़ास-ख़ास जगहों पर भारत की, जहाँ हमें आशा थी शायद तेल मिले उसकी खोज करने। शुरू-शुरू में उनको कुछ बाहर वाले सहायता दे रहे थे और अब भी देते हैं। इस तरह से पिछले पाँच-सात वर्ष में हमने काफ़ी एक बुनियाद डाली है एक संस्था की जिसमें सैकड़ों नवयुवक हैं, सीखे हुए और बहुत दिल लगा के काम कर रहे हैं, क्योंकि वो जानते हैं कि उनकी खोज का नतीजा, उससे बहुत भारत के भविष्य पर असर होगा। फिर एक ऑयल एण्ड नैचुरल गैस कमीशन बना इसी काम के लिए। अब वो कमीशन काम रहा है और

101. Nehru was in Ahmedabad on 10 February 1962 during his election tour, see SWJN/SS/75/item 14, and the previous year for three days, 4-6 April 1961, see SWJN/SS/68/items 1-3.

102. The Koyali Oil Refinery. See item 30, and message in item 489.

इस पाँच-छः-सात वर्ष हुए बना था और इस पिछले छः-सात वर्ष में जो उसने काम किया और जो उससे कितना फ़ायदा हुआ भारत को, वह आप देख सकते हैं। जो पचासों बरस से पहले यह विलायती कम्पनी नहीं कर सकी थी, नहीं किया था उन्होंने, वो हमारे लोगों ने पिछले पाँच-छः वर्ष में किया है। अब जब हमने यह सब बुनियादी काम कर लिया, अब बाहर की बड़ी-बड़ी कम्पनीज़ को भी लालच आयी कि वो भी कुछ करें यहाँ आके और भी। हमें कोई इसमें आपत्ति नहीं है कि बाहर की कम्पनी, काम हो तो वो भी करें, लेकिन, लेकिन हमारे काम करने से, इस काम करने से, हमारे हाथ में लगाम आ जाती है उस काम की, नहीं तो बेशुमार इससे लाभ उठाते हैं बड़ी-बड़ी कम्पनियाँ बाहर की, और कोई रोकथाम नहीं होती है।

तो इस बारे में हम तरक्क़ी कर रहे हैं और जो लोग हमारे कमीशन में इस काम को किये हैं उनको मैं बधाई देता हूँ और आपके गुजरात में तो इससे विशेषकर लाभ होगा। मैंने आज देखा क्या-क्या हुआ है और उनकी कालोनियाँ भी देखीं जहाँ वहाँ काम करने वाले रहते हैं, अच्छे मकान बने हैं, खुशी से रह रहे हैं, ऐसे ही काम होना चाहिए, ख़ाली यह कारख़ाने में चीज़ें पैदा नहीं करनी हैं। लेकिन हमेशा हमें यह याद रखना है कि जो चीज़ हमें भारत में पैदा करनी है असल में वो अच्छे, अच्छे लोगों को, पुरुष और स्त्री और बच्चों को, और चीज़ें तो उनके काम के लिए, आराम के लिए होती हैं, आदमियों को, औरतों को अच्छा पैदा करना है, अच्छा बनाना है। इसलिए कि अगर कारख़ाना बने तो पहले फ़िकर होनी चाहिए कि वहाँ जो काम करेंगे उनके रहन-सहन का कुछ प्रबंध होना चाहिए। और यही वहाँ बड़ौदा में मैंने देखा इस कारख़ाने में, जो तेल का कारख़ाना बन रहा है कि अच्छा उनके रहन-सहन का प्रबंध पहले किया गया है। तो यही ठीक है, ख़ैर।

तो आज सुबह मैं गया वहाँ बड़ौदा और कल मैं अंकलेश्वर जाऊँगा जहाँ तेल के बहुत कुएँ हैं और कुछ बदलते हुए भारत का चित्र देखूँगा मैं। इससे मुझे खुशी होती है क्योंकि नये भारत को देखने से, पुराना तो है ही, और उसके साथ नया होता जाता है। अभी आपके पास आने के पहले मैं आ रहा हूँ साबरमती आश्रम से। साबरमती आश्रम में एक संग्रहालय खुला है महात्मा गांधी के नाम से, उनके संबंध में जो कुछ चीज़ें हैं वो वहाँ जमा की जा रही हैं—चित्र हैं, पत्र हैं, किताबें हैं, और बहुत सारी चीज़ें हैं, बड़ा सुन्दर संग्रहालय बना है और बहुत अच्छा सामान वहाँ अब जमा हुआ है।¹⁰³

तो संग्रहालय के अलावा वहाँ जाकर मेरा मन कुछ पिछले ज़माने पर गया। मैंने सोचा जब मैं वहाँ साबरमती जाया करता था महात्मा जी से मिलने को, महात्मा जी से सलाह लेने को, उसके चित्र मेरे सामने आ गये और मैं सोचने लगा कि कहाँ तक—हमने जो कुछ थोड़ा बहुत सीखा था उनके पास रहकर—कहाँ तक वो बातें हमको याद रहीं, हमने उस पर अमल किया और कहाँ तक हम उससे भटक गये, इधर-उधर फ़िरने लगे। विशेषकर जो आजकल समस्याएँ हमारे सामने हैं, बड़ी-बड़ी समस्याएँ हैं, अन्दर की तो हैं ही देश की, बाहर की, आप पढ़ते हैं कि पाकिस्तान और भारत में, कितनी हमने कोशिश की है,

103. See item 29.

कोई बात निश्चय नहीं होती, तय नहीं होती, कश्मीर के नाम पर झगड़ा चलता जाता है और ऊपर से चीन ने आक्रमण किया, हमला किया हमारे देश पर, बुरी बातें हैं। कहाँ तो हम स्वराज्य के पहले बहुत सोचते थे कि यह स्वराज्य की लड़ाई भी हमारी एक शान्ति की लड़ाई थी, हिंसा की नहीं थी और हम सोचते थे कि यह ख़तम हो जाये, देश आज़ाद हो तो हम शान्ति से रहें, हमारा किसी देश से झगड़ा नहीं हो, हम सारा अपना ध्यान दें अपने देश की उन्नति और तरक्की के लिए, हम ज़रूर बढ़ेंगे ज़ोरों से और हमने यही संदेशा सारी दुनिया में सुनाया। दुनिया में भारत प्रसिद्ध हो गया कि एक शान्तिप्रिय देश है और कुछ गांधी जी के नाम से प्रसिद्ध था, कुछ इससे हुआ, हमारा आदर हर जगह हो जहाँ हम जायें।

और सब अजीब किस्मत का खेल है कि हम लड़ाई-झगड़ों में पड़ते जाते हैं, हम जितने शान्तिप्रिय हैं, ये पेच परेशान करता है। क्यों नहीं, एक पंद्रह वर्ष हो गये हमारी पाकिस्तान से बात तय हुई? हम राज़ी हुए कि पाकिस्तान बन जाये, भारत के दो टुकड़े हों, खुशी से राज़ी नहीं हुए, लेकिन राज़ी हुए और उसमें यह विचार नहीं था कि ये सब बन जाये बाद में हम इससे पिछड़ जायेंगे, बाद में हम फिर इसको मिलाने की कोशिश करेंगे, हमने उसको आखिरी तौर पर निश्चय किया, हम कोई बात करना नहीं चाहते उसके विरोध में। हाँ, हम एक बात ज़रूरी चाहते थे और चाहते हैं कि पाकिस्तान के लोग और भारत के लोग प्रेम से रहें, सहयोग से रहें, दोनों अपने-अपने आज़ाद मुल्कों में रहें और जो चाहें करें अपने-अपने देश में, लेकिन उनमें मित्रता हो, दोस्ती हो, उसमें सहयोग हो। लेकिन कुछ ऐसे पेच में पड़े हैं कि बजाए इसके वो सवाल हल ही नहीं होता, बहुत हमने कोशिशें कीं और करते जायेंगे हम, क्योंकि यह तो असम्भव है कि दो मुल्क ऐसे जैसे भारत और पाकिस्तान हैं, इनका संबंध हज़ारों बरस का है, जिनकी सभ्यता-संस्कृति बहुत मिली-जुली है, जिनका इतिहास मिला-जुला है वो एक-दूसरे से मिलके न रहें। अब देखिए भारत के इतिहास में भारत, सारे भारत के अक्सर कई टुकड़े हुए हैं, अलग-अलग राज्य रहे, लेकिन उत्तर भारत में जो पाकिस्तान का हिस्सा है, जो भारत का उत्तर भारत में हिस्सा है वो करीब-करीब हमेशा जुड़े ही रहे हैं, वो नहीं टूटे, अब पहली दफ़े टूटे। ख़ैर, ये हैं, अब भी हम कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

हमारे सामने शुरू ही में यह प्रश्न पैदा हुआ था जब पाकिस्तान ने हमला कश्मीर पर किया था, याद होगा आपको। स्वराज्य आने के बाद हम फंसे हुए थे बड़े-बड़े कामों में, पाकिस्तान अलग हुआ था, उसमें हम फंसे थे और उसी वक़्त उन्होंने हमला किया, क़बाइल ने, ट्राइबल लोगों ने, उनके पाकिस्तान की तरफ़ से हमला किया और पाकिस्तान की फ़ौजें उनके पीछे रहीं, हम बहुत परेशान हुए क्या करें, हम छोड़ नहीं सकते थे इस तरह से। अगर हम उस वक़्त दब जाते उस हमले के नीचे तो हम कायर थे, हमने अपने साथियों को छोड़ दिया [तो] वो मुसीबत में आये और कोई आदमी कायरता से जो काम करता है, कोई देश [तो] वह गिर जाता है। तो ग़लत बात थी। हमने सोचा कि इस वक़्त हमें उनको सहायता देनी है, हमने दी, हल्के-हल्के बढ़ती गई, बढ़ते-बढ़ते वो एक लड़ाई हो गयी पाकिस्तान से, सवा बरस रही, फिर वो रुकी और सीज़फ़ायर हुआ और उसके बाद

से लड़ाई तो नहीं हुई लेकिन उलट-पुलट होता जाता है कुछ न कुछ, झगड़ा होता जाता है। अब मेरी समझ में नहीं आता, हमने बहुत कोशिश की है कि हम समझौता कर लें, लेकिन पाकिस्तान ऐसी बातें करता है कि असम्भव है उसको स्वीकार करना हमारे लिए। तो ऐसे मौक़े पर करा किया जाये?

एक तो यह पेच है और दूसरा चीनी आक्रमण का हुआ। फ़ौजी, बड़ी फ़ौजों ने आके हम पर हमला किया, इससे भी बहुत दुख हुआ, रंज हुआ और उसका नतीजा एक ही हुआ कि हमने सोचा कि इसका सामना करना है क्योंकि कोई हमसे कहे कि अहिंसा नाम से तुम इसको स्वीकार कर लो, सिर झुका लो, तो वो तो अहिंसा का नाम नहीं हुआ, वो तो कायरता का नाम हुआ, वो तो डरपोकपने का काम हुआ। और अहिंसा बड़ी अच्छी चीज़ है, कोई इसमें संदेह नहीं, लेकिन अहिंसा के लिए, दुर्बल आदमी अहिंसा नहीं कर सकते, कायर लोग। अहिंसा पक्कीतौर से तो गांधी जैसे आदमी कर सकते हैं जो कि जिनमें एक शक्ति ज़बरदस्त थी और अगर वो इस समय होते सलाह देने को तो मैं समझता हूँ हमें कोई अच्छी सलाह देते, जिसमें हमें लाभ होता, लेकिन अब हमें अपनी अक़ल पर चलना है। और इस बात को तो मैं स्वीकार कर, अहिंसा को मानते हुए, पूरीतौर से, और रोज़-ब-रोज़ मेरा विश्वास अहिंसा में एक माने में बढ़ता जाता है लेकिन उसको मानते हुए भी मैं इस बात को नहीं मानता, मान सकता, न आप मान सकते हैं कि हम डर के हम अपना सिर झुका लें और कोई दुश्मन आये, उसका हम स्वागत करें, उसको जो चाहे करने दें, ये तो नामुमकिन बात है। अगर ये बात हम एक दफ़े स्वीकार कर लें तब देश बेजान हो जाता है, बुज़दिल हो जाता है, गिर जाता है, कुछ कर नहीं सकता। पहली बात जो हमें देश में पैदा करनी है, पहली बात जो महात्मा जी ने पैदा किया है, अंग्रेज़ों के विरोध में बड़े-बड़े आगबबूले करते थे लेकिन उनके मन में अंग्रेज़ों को कुछ हराना नहीं था, उनके मन में था अपने देश में लोगों को जागृत करना, कुछ जगाना, जीवित करना, संगठित करना, मिलाना, ताक़त करनी उसकी। सारे आप उनके आंदोलनों को देखिए, उसका मतलब यही था संगठन बढ़ाना और उनमें हिम्मत बढ़ाना, त्याग बढ़ाना, और एक शक्ति पैदा करना। इन बातों से शक्ति आती है, उन्होंने की, आख़िर में उनकी जीत हुई और अंग्रेज़ी राज का अन्त हुआ। तो असली चीज़ यही है।

हमारे लोग भारत में पिछले बहुत बरसों से अंग्रेज़ी राज्य में तो थे ही, अंग्रेज़ी राज्य के पहले भी बहुत दिनों से कुछ एक गहरी नींद में पड़ गये थे। कुछ उनकी, क्या कहूँ उनसे, उनका दिमाग़, उनका मन बन्द सा हो गया था, यानी एक माने में उन्होंने अपनी आज़ादी खुद ही खो दी थी तब दुश्मन ने आके उन पर हमला किया था, हम सारी दुनिया से अलग हो गये थे, कोई दुनिया से हमारा संबंध नहीं रहा था। प्राचीन समय में काफ़ी संबंध था हमारा, दूर-दूर यहाँ से लोग जाते थे, वहाँ से लोग आते थे। आपके गुजरात में भड़ौच जो है वो एक बड़ी बन्दरगाह थी जहाँ रोम और ग्रीस से जहाज़ आते थे, मिस्र से, ये सब था। इधर दूसरी तरफ़ चीन और जापान और इंडोनेशिया, बर्मा, यहाँ सब आते जाते थे, बौद्ध धर्म के सिलसिले में हज़ारों आदमी गये, हज़ारों लोग आये, हमारे देश के

दरवाज़े खुले थे, हम अपना संदेशा और देशों में भेजते थे और वहाँ से भी उनकी कलाएँ आती थीं, उनका ज्ञान आता था, सीखते थे।

फिर एक समय आया जब हमने अपने दरवाज़े और खिड़कियाँ देश की बन्द कर लीं, मालूम नहीं डर के बन्द कर लीं औरों से या क्या समझिए, कई बातें होने लगीं—हमारे यहाँ जातिभेद बहुत बढ़ गया, पहले नहीं था जातिभेद बड़ा। एक-एक जाति अपनी-अपनी कोठरी में बन्द करके ताला लगा के बैठ जाये, दूसरे से मिले कम, औरों से मिले नहीं, देश के बाहर जाना बन्द, बाहर जाना हमारी तरफ़ कहते थे कालापानी जाना, गोया कोई एक देश को छोड़ना ही धर्म को छोड़ देना है। ऐसे-ऐसे हमारे दस्तूर हो गये जिसने देश को दुर्बल कर दिया, कमज़ोर कर दिया, निकम्मा कर दिया, मूर्ख कर दिया। याद रखिए सारी दुनिया बढ़ती गयी आगे, हज़ार बातें हुईं, विज्ञान चला, मशीन का युग चला, हम वहीं के वहीं पड़े हैं और समझते हैं हम बड़े अक्लमंद हैं, हम बड़े पहुँचे हुए हैं, अपने जातिभेद में, उसमें पड़े हुए हैं, हम गिर गये और यह सभी का हुआ। यह आप देखें, अंग्रेज़ों के आने के पहले मुग़ल ज़माने में भी बड़ी शान थी दिल्ली-आगरे की, और शहरों की और शानदार लोग थे, बड़े बादशाह थे लेकिन उनके ज़माने में भी किसी को पता नहीं था भारत में कि देश के बाहर क्या हो रहा है, और देश बदल रहे थे।

एक छोटी सी मिसाल आपको दूँ—यूरोप में छपना शुरू हुआ, छापेख़ाने खुले, किताबें छपने लगीं, पुस्तकें, एक बड़ी क्रांति की बात थी छापना शुरू होना। आजकल आप सोचो कि अगर छापना न हो तो दुनिया बदल जाये, काफ़ी पढ़ाई-लिखाई कैसे हो, गवर्नमेंट का काम कैसे हो, सब छापने से चलता है। अब समझ में नहीं आता कि दुनिया छापने के पहले चलती कैसे थी लेकिन मुग़ल ज़माने में कोई भी यहाँ किताबें नहीं छपती थीं और [जब] उनको मालूम हुआ कि किताबें छप रही हैं यूरोप में, तब भी किसी को वहाँ फ़िकर नहीं हुई कि उसको देखें कैसे होता है, यहाँ करें। इससे मालूम होता है कि हमारे, हम लोगों ने अपने मन को एक ताले में बन्द कर दिया था, एक कोठरी में, कुछ और सीखने को तैयार नहीं थे और जब कोई देश इस तरह से करता है तो वह हल्के-हल्के गिरता है और गिर गया, नई-नई शक्तियाँ पैदा हुईं दुनिया में, नये-नये हथियार हुए [लेकिन] कुछ हमें पता नहीं हुआ। तो वो हाल था।

अंग्रेज़ आ गये उसमें, अंग्रेज़ों के ज़माने में दो बातें हुईं। एक तो उन्होंने बहुत हमारा रुपया ले गये यहाँ से, बहुत शोषण किया, बहुत कुछ किया, कोई शक नहीं, लेकिन एक बात की उन्होंने, की तो नहीं उनके ज़माने में हुई, वो ये कि कुछ दरवाज़े खुल गये और दुनिया के हमारे साथ, और दुनिया की ख़बरें आने लगीं। मैंने आपसे किताब छापने को कहा, पहली किताब अंग्रेज़ों के ज़माने में कलकत्ते के पास छपी है यहाँ, वहाँ मिशनरीज़ में एक छापाख़ाना खुला और किताबें छपनी शुरू की, उसके पहले कोई नहीं छपी थी। किताबें छपीं, किताबें आयीं बाहर से, नयी दुनिया को कुछ हम देखने लगे, कुछ सीखने लगे, कुछ हमें नया एक जोश चढ़ा, अंग्रेज़ों के विरोध में एक जोश चढ़ा, हमने उनका मुक़ाबला किया, नये विचार आये थे यूरोप से इन सब बातों से। तो ख़ैर, मतलब यह है देश उठता है, रुपया-पैसा तो आवश्यक चीज़ है, हम चाहते हैं, लेकिन रुपया-पैसे से कोई

नहीं उठता है, उठता है जान से, हिम्मत से। और इसकी, गांधी जी की सारी कोशिश यह थी उनके ज़माने में कि भारत के मुरझाये हुए दिल में जान भरे और भरी उन्होंने और ग़रीब से ग़रीब आदमी की आँखें कुछ तेज़ हो गईं और चेहरा कुछ अच्छा हो गया क्योंकि उसके दिल में आशाएँ आयीं, निराश होने की ज़रूरत नहीं है। वो दम जो भरा उन्होंने, एकदम से भारत को जीवित किया उन्होंने और उसी सिलसिले में और बातें हुई, आंदोलन हुए और आखिर में हमारी विजय हुई।

तो जो भी कुछ हम करें हमें उस बात को याद रखना है और अगर हम पे कोई हमला करे, आक्रमण करे, हम दब जायें उससे, तो भारत की जान पर असर पड़ता है, हम डरपोक साबित हो जाते हैं, हम कोई बड़े काम नहीं कर सकते। यह तो ना-मुमकिन हो गया हमारे लिए कि चीनी आक्रमण के सामने हम दबें। उसी के साथ यह भी कोई आवश्यक नहीं है बल्कि ग़लत बात है कि हम यहाँ बैठके, चीनियों को बैठके गालियाँ दें, कोसें उन्हें, कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है। अहिंसा के माने ये नहीं हैं कि हम हथियार नहीं चलायें, अहिंसा के माने हैं हम अपने मन को ठीकतौर से रखें और द्वेष न करें किसी के साथ। तो ये बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न आते हैं हमारे सामने, क्या करें, और वहाँ साबरमती में बैठे-बैठे ये सब प्रश्न मेरे सामने आते थे, ये तो आते रहते हैं, परेशानी होती है।

तो अब हमारे सामने ये, ये चीनी आक्रमण का सवाल है, यह स्वराज्य आने के बाद सबमें बड़ा सवाल है, सबमें बड़ा पेचीदा, सबमें ख़तरनाक, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं। और इस सवाल का जवाब कोई हम सभाओं में या जुलूस निकाल के तो देंगे नहीं, हमारी आवाज़ नहीं पहुँचेगी चीन तक, उसका जवाब तो बुद्धि से देना है लेकिन ताक़त से [भी] देना है, ताक़त बढ़ानी है हमें, हर तरह की ताक़त बढ़ानी है। इसलिए लाचार होके हमने निश्चय किया है कि हमें अपनी फ़ौजों को बढ़ाना है, तोप-बन्दूक बढ़ानी है, हवाई जहाज़ बढ़ाने हैं। इसके माने थे और हैं कि बोझा बहुत भारी लादना है अपने ऊपर, लेकिन जो भी कुछ हो अगर इस बात में हम ढील देते हैं तो और सब बातें फ़िज़ूल हमारी हो जाती हैं। तो फिर आपके कारख़ाने बड़ौदा में पास हैं अहमदाबाद के, किस काम के। इसलिए यह तो एक निश्चय है, हमें समझ लेना है कि हम इस बात का सामना करें। इस बात का सामना करने के माने ये भी आप न समझिए [कि] ख़ाली कुछ थोड़ी सी ज़मीन का सामना करना है नेफ़ा में या लद्दाख़ में, वो तो है, लेकिन इसको आप ग़ौर करें तो यह चीनी आक्रमण यह थोड़ी सी ज़मीन के लिए नहीं है, यह एक बुनियादी है। तो इसको नापसंद करते हैं हमारा बढ़ना, हमारी ताक़त, हमारा कुछ नाम दुनिया में, तो हमको नीचा दिखाना चाहते हैं, हमको ज़लील किया चाहते हैं ताकि एशिया में वो ही एक बड़े देश गिने जायें और उन्हीं की तरफ़ सब देखें। हाँ, उस सिलसिले में थोड़ी ज़मीन भी उनको मिल जाये वो भी लेंगे, लेकिन ज़मीन के लिए इतना बड़ा आक्रमण नहीं करते वो। तो यानी जो बहस हमारे और उनमें है और जो लड़ाई है वो सिद्धांतों के लिए है और जिन सिद्धांतों पर हम चले हैं उन पर उन्होंने आक्रमण किया है और उसका हमें, उसका सामना करना है क्योंकि हम तो छोड़ने वाले हैं नहीं अपने सिद्धांतों को, अपने तरीक़े रहन-सहन के। अब वो बड़ा धोखा देने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं और मुझे तो आश्चर्य होता है [कि] कैसे वो अलग बातें,

झूठ बातें, कैसे उसका प्रचार करते हैं, सारी दुनिया में कहते जाते हैं [कि] वो तो बिल्कुल शान्तिप्रिय हैं, हमने उन पर हमला किया इसलिए लड़ाई हो गई। अब वो चाहते हैं कि हममें उनमें शान्ति हो जाये, हम लोग बैठके गोलमेज पर बातें हल कर दें, लेकिन हम राज़ी नहीं होते, यह वो कहते हैं। बात बिल्कुल ग़लत है, आप जानते हैं, हमें कौन सी ग़रज़ थी उन पर हमला करते, क्या हम पागल थे कि ख़ामख़्वाह हमला करें, लड़ाई मोल लें, लेकिन हाँ हमारे देश पर वो हमला करते थे तो हम अपना कर्तव्य समझते थे उनका सामना करना, उनको रोकना और उनको हटाना। और अब क्या बात है? वो कोलम्बो के कुछ देश, अच्छे देश, वो बीच में पड़े इसलिए नहीं कि समझौता करा लें हम, इसलिए नहीं कि हमारे उनके बीच में, सब जो हमारे बड़े सवाल हैं उनको हल करें, लेकिन इसलिए कि कुछ हवा साफ़ कर दें, ताकि हम दोनों लोग मिलकर अपने सवालों पे ग़ौर करें। ख़ैर, हमने कहा कि आप जो चाहते हैं कीजिए ज़रूर, अच्छा होगा, उन्होंने बाद में कुछ बातें तजवीज़, कुछ बातें पेश कीं, ये-ये बातें होनी चाहियें। अगर ये बातें हो जायें तब चीन और भारत के प्रतिनिधि मिलकर असली बातों पर विचार करें। वो पहले पीकिंग गये, चीन गये, वहाँ उनको बताया तो वहाँ उन्होंने कह दिया कि हाँ हम सिद्धांत रूप से आपकी बातों को मानते हैं। हम समझे वो मानते हैं, बात गोल थी, फिर यहाँ आये, हमने उनसे पूछा इसके माने क्या हैं? उन्होंने हमें समझाया क्या माने हैं उनकी तजवीज़ों के और हमने उनको पूरीतौर से स्वीकार कर लिया। इसके माने ये थे कि अगर चीन भी पूरीतौर से स्वीकार करता तब हमारे उनके प्रतिनिधि मिलते और हम बातचीत करते, उसका जो कुछ अन्त और नतीजा होता, अन्त होता तो मालूम नहीं, लेकिन कम से कम बातचीत शुरू हो जाती। उस वक़्त यह मालूम हुआ कि चीन वाले कोलम्बो के सुझाव को नहीं स्वीकार करते पूरीतौर से, अब क्यों नहीं करते तो मैं तो जानता नहीं, लेकिन मैं समझता यह हूँ कि उनकी कोशिश यह है कि वो हमें कुछ बांध लें, बंधन डाल दें हमारे ऊपर, जिससे जब हम कभी मिलें बाद में उसमें हमारे लिए कठिनाई हो जाये उनके सामने पूरा अपना मुक़दमा पेश करने की।

ख़ैर, जो भी कुछ हो, नहीं मानते उसको और हमने कह दिया है कि आप उसको जब तक नहीं मानेंगे उस वक़्त तक बात करने का मौक़ा नहीं होता, बात किस बात की करें जो आप शुरू में नहीं मानते इसको। और भी उनसे कहा कि अगर हम आपस में बात करने के बाद कोई बात निश्चय रूप से नहीं पहुँचे तब हमारा आपका झगड़ा जो बड़ी अंतर्राष्ट्रीय अदालत है, वर्ल्ड कोर्ट है हेग [Hague] में, वहाँ हम भेजने को तैयार हैं, आप भी भेजिए, जो निश्चय करे हम आप स्वीकार करें। तीसरी बात मैंने उनसे कही यह भी आपको मंज़ूर नहीं है तो हम कुछ लोगों को पंच मुक़रर करें, आरबिट्रेटर्स [arbitrators] मुक़रर करें, कुछ देशों को, कुछ लोगों, जो दोनों को स्वीकार हों, उन पर छोड़ दें। आप देखेंगे कि हमने पूरी कोशिश की कि कोई न कोई रास्ता निकालें कि शान्ति से यह बात तय हो। उन्होंने इन बातों का पूरा पक्का जवाब नहीं दिया है अब तक, लेकिन जो कुछ इशारा किया है उससे मालूम होता है कि स्वीकार नहीं करते हैं और जो उनका ढंग है वो अजीब ढंग है। आप जानते होंगे कि उनकी, और उनका मित्र देश एशिया में, रूस है, उसमें बहुत अनबन हो गई है और अनबन बढ़ती जाती है कुछ। खुशी की बात है हमारी, हमारा

रूस से संबंध अच्छा है, मित्रता का है, यहीं जो मैं आज बड़ौदा गया था तेल के बारे में, वहाँ रूस के सहयोग से काम हो रहा है, रूस के इंजीनियर्स वगैरा के, उनकी सहायता से।

तो चीन का मामला रोज़-ब-रोज़ पेचीदा होता जाता रहा है, हम हमेशा तैयार रहेंगे उनसे समझौता करने को शान्ति से, लेकिन यह असम्भव है कि उनके दबाव में, उनके डराने के दबाव में या धमकी में आकर हम किसी बात को उनकी स्वीकार करें। और हर सूरत में हमें अपनी शक्ति बढ़ानी है, आज के लिए आज बढ़ानी है, कल के लिए, परसों के लिए, क्योंकि यह बात लम्बी-चौड़ी है, शायद बरसों तक चले। इसलिए हमारा यह कर्तव्य है कि हम अपने देश के काम को इस तरह से करें कि देश की शक्ति बढ़े, फ़ौजी शक्ति बढ़े, हवाई जहाज़ की शक्ति बढ़े और आर्थिक शक्ति हमारी बढ़े, क्योंकि कोई लड़ाई भी लड़ी जाती है ख़ाली हथियारों से नहीं, वह लड़ी जाती है आर्थिक शक्ति से। अगर हमारी आर्थिक समस्याएँ अच्छी न हों तो हम दुर्बल हों, कमज़ोर हों, कोई और थोड़े ही हमारी तरफ़ से लड़ेगा आके, यह बड़ा प्रश्न है। इसलिए जब हमारे सामने यह चीनी आक्रमण का सवाल आया तो लोगों ने कहा कि यह तो बड़ा बोझा बढ़ जायेगा हमारे ऊपर, यह तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना जो है इसको हमें छोड़ देना चाहिए, कुछ दिन के लिए मुलतवी कर देना चाहिए। हमने सोच-विचार के इसको बिल्कुल पसंद नहीं किया क्योंकि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना, उसी से तो देश मज़बूत होता है, देश की आर्थिक शक्ति बढ़ती है। अगर हम उसको छोड़ दें तो फिर लड़ाई के पीछे शक्ति क्या रह जाती है।

तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में आप देखें, तो क्या-क्या चीज़ें हैं? सबमें पहली चीज़ तो है खेती से अधिक पैदा करना सामान, यह आवश्यक है, चाहे लड़ाई के लिए, चाहे किसी और के लिए, बिल्कुल आवश्यक है। अगर हम अपने देश में खेती से अधिक पैदा नहीं करते ग़ल्ला वगैरा और ऐसी चीज़ें भी जिसको हम बेच सकें बाहर देशों में तो हमारी आर्थिक हालत बहुत ख़राब हो जाती है। फिर इसके बाद हमारे उद्योग-धंधे, इंडस्ट्रीज़ हैं। लड़ाई कैसे लड़ी जाती है? लड़ाई लड़ी जाती है इंडस्ट्रीज़ से जो सामान पैदा होता है। क्या हम उसमें जाके अमेरिका और इंग्लैंड से ख़रीदते जायें या मुफ़्त में उनसे माँगते जायें? एक दफ़े माँग लिया, दो दफ़े माँगे, कब तक आयेगा। अगर हम खुद नहीं पैदा करें तो एक माने में हमारी आज़ादी एक नाम के वास्ते होती है। इसलिए इंडस्ट्रीज़ बढ़ानी हैं। हाँ, कैसी इंडस्ट्री बढ़ायें? यह विचार करने की बात है, कोई ऐसी इंडस्ट्री हो जिससे इस वक़्त ख़ास लाभ न हो लड़ाई के सिलसिले में, उसको चाहे न बढ़ायें लेकिन आमतौर से इंडस्ट्री हमें बढ़ानी हैं।

हमें बिजली की शक्ति बढ़ानी है, इलेक्ट्रिक पावर, यही एक बुनियादी चीज़ जिससे इंडस्ट्री चलती है, सब काम चलता है खेत में, उद्योग-धंधों में काम, उसको बढ़ाना है। हमें नहरें खोदनी हैं खेती वगैरा के लिए, हमें रेलें ज़्यादा बढ़ानी हैं, सड़कें ज़्यादा बनानी हैं, यह सब आवश्यक है लड़ाई के लिए भी और अपनी आर्थिक उन्नति के लिए भी, यही तो हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना है, कुछ और भी है। उनको चाहे छोटी-मोटी बातों को छोड़ भी दें लेकिन अगर पंचवर्षीय योजना को आप सौ समझिए तो नब्बे फ़ीसदी उसमें ऐसी बातें हैं जो कि आवश्यक हैं हमारे लिए, लड़ाई के सिलसिलों में। इसलिए हमने निश्चय किया कि लड़ाई का बोझा तो हम उठायेंगे, उसी के साथ हम पंचवर्षीय योजना को छोड़ नहीं सकते,

उसको भी चलायेंगे, इससे सारे देश को बोझ उठाने हैं इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं। अब और उपाय क्या है? अगर हम ऐसे ख़तरे के समय ये बोझ न उठाये, हम तैयार न हों सामना करने को तो फिर गिर जाते हैं, तो स्वराज्य किस काम का, स्वराज्य रहेगा भी नहीं। तो हमें स्वीकार करना है इसको। ये तो बड़े-बड़े सवाल हैं आजकल के।

दूसरा उसका पहलू है हमारे अंदर घर में हम क्या कर रहे हैं, अपनी यह तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना को चलाने में, क्या हम कर रहे हैं खेती के बारे में? तरक्की हो रही है लेकिन जितनी हम चाहते हैं नहीं हो रही है, पिछले दो-एक वर्ष अच्छे नहीं हुए, उससे कुछ धक्का लगा, मालूम नहीं इस साल कैसा होगा क्योंकि बहुत कुछ तो वर्षा पर है, लेकिन मैं आशा करता हूँ बड़े वो। लेकिन फिर भी यह ज़रूर बात है कि हमें कुछ इसकी चिंता बहुत होती जाती है कि कैसे हम तेज़ी से बढ़ाये अपनी खेती का मामला और कारख़ानों का भी और जो कुछ इसमें है, चिंता की बातें हैं, विशेषकर आजकल जबकि चीन का हर वक़्त डर मौजूद रहता है कि हमला करें।

असल में आजकल एक देश की शक्ति सबमें पहले जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा आदमियों पर है, पुरुषों पर है, मज़बूती पर है उनके, उनके दिल पर है, हिम्मत पर है, लेकिन और देश की शक्ति नये ज़माने में उतरने की है, नये युग में, आजकल का जो नया युग है दुनिया का, उसको पहचानना, उसमें उतरना। उतर रहे हैं हम, भारत बदल रहा है, उसमें कोई शक नहीं, भारत की खेती भी कुछ बदल रही है, हालांकि हमारी खेती आमतौर से वैसे ही होती आई है जैसे दो हज़ार वर्ष हुए होती थी, हज़ार वर्ष हुए, कोई अंतर नहीं हुआ, और देश में सब बदल गया, हम वहीं के वहीं रहे। तो आश्चर्य की क्या बात है अगर खेती से कम पैदा हो, उसको हमें बदलना है और बदल रहे हैं।

ये सब उद्योग-धंधे, मशीनरी, यंत्र वगैरा, ये सब अब आने लगे हैं और आपके यहाँ अहमदाबाद में तो काफ़ी चिमनियाँ खड़ी हैं। चिमनियाँ खड़ी हैं, कुछ लाभ ज़रूर उनसे होता है लेकिन अगर हम चाहते हैं यहाँ इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन करना तो ये कपड़े सस्ते बनाने से कुछ नहीं होता है, यह तो बच्चों का खेल है, ज़्यादा मज़बूत चीज़ें बनानी हैं। कपड़े-लत्ते बहुत आवश्यक चीज़ है, यह तो मैंने माना, लेकिन यहाँ पचास बरस, साठ-सत्तर बरस जाने कब से हैं, वो तो कोई उद्योग की क्रांति नहीं यहाँ लाये, अब आ रही है लोहे के कारख़ाने बनने से। और बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बन रहे हैं जो कि मशीन बनाते हैं, और भी बहुत छोटे-मोटे बन रहे हैं, जिससे आप देख सकते हैं कि इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन जो अंग्रेज़ों के यहाँ डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए आया था, अब यहाँ आ रहा है और तेज़ी से आ रहा है और मेरा ख़्याल है कि एक और दस बरस में एक चीज़ मज़बूती से जम जायेगी यहाँ और फिर हम अपनी शक्ति से बढ़ सकेंगे। उसके माने यह हैं कि इस वक़्त हमें बहुत सहायता की ज़रूरत है, अपनी शक्ति से भी शायद बढ़ते, लेकिन उसमें मालूम नहीं कितने बरस लगते, चालीस-पचास बरस। उतनी देर तक हम ठहर तो नहीं सकते थे लेकिन हमारे यहाँ काफ़ी सामान आ जाये, काफ़ी मशीन बनाने का सामान आये, काफ़ी बिजली का (पावर) पैदा हो, तब हम अपनी शक्ति से बढ़ सकते हैं और बढ़ेंगे। उसकी जड़ और बुनियाद तो पड़ गई है यहाँ, लेकिन अभी उससे पूरा लाभ नहीं हम उठा सकते हैं।

अब यहाँ तेल पैदा होगा, तो यह बहुत बड़ी निशानी है शक्ति के बढ़ाने की। तो मैं आशा करता हूँ कि एक दस बरस और में हमारी बुनियाद बहुत मज़बूत हो जायेगी, लेकिन दस बरस परिश्रम करने से होगा, मेहनत करने से, संगठित रूप से काम करने से, आपस में, हमारी तबियत भटके नहीं छोटे-मोटे लड़ाई-झगड़ों से, इन सब बातों से। तो सवाल तो यही है हमारे सामने, तो क्या हम, लक्ष्य हमारा क्या हो? लक्ष्य एक ही हो सकता है हमारा, हमारे अंदर की बातों में, वो यह कि हम सब भारत के लोगों की हैसियत बढ़े, उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी हो, ग़रीबी न रहे, हरेक को मौक़ा मिले बढ़ने का, हल्के-हल्के हो रहा है लेकिन ज़्यादा तेज़ी से होना चाहिए, रोज़गार सभी के लिए हो, यही बातें हैं, और इसको बड़े पैमाने पर करना है।

आप बड़ा शब्द कहिए, हम कहते हैं समाजवाद के सिद्धांत पर समाज हमारी हो, उसके में तफ़सील में नहीं जाता, जैसे हम उचित समझें, आप उचित समझें, करें, लेकिन उसके मूल सिद्धांत पर आप चलें और ऊँच-नीच बहुत ज़्यादा न हो, अब एकदम से ये चीज़ें बदल नहीं सकती हैं। आजकल हमारे देश में बहुत काफ़ी ऊँच-नीच है और जो-जो, यह भी कुछ देखने में थोड़ा आया है [कि] ज्यों-ज्यों देश आगे बढ़ता है कुछ ऊँच-नीच और बढ़ती ही जाती है लेकिन इसको हमें कम करना है। कम करना है, इस तरह से नहीं कि लोगों का गला काट के, सिर काट के, कि एक आदमी लम्बा है उसका सिर काट दिया जाये कि बराबर हो जाये औरों के, वो तरीक़ा तो नहीं, लेकिन लोगों को उठाने से, उठाकर औरों को कुछ, जो अनुचित बातें हैं उनके धन पैदा करने के, उनको रोकने से। यह बात इस सिलसिले में याद रखिए क्योंकि हमारी शक्ति भारत में इसी बात पर है आम जनता में कि वो समझते हैं कि हम इस तरह जा रहे हैं समाजवाद की तरफ़। अगर उनको शक पैदा हुआ कि हम समाजवाद से फ़िसल गये तो हमारी शक्ति कम हो जायेगी और ठीक कम होगी। हमारे विधान में, संविधान में भारत के यह लिखा हुआ है, समाजवाद का शब्द तो नहीं है लेकिन उसका अर्थ लिखा है, उसी तरफ़ हमें जाना है। यह हमें करना है और इसके लिए हमें अपने देश में अधिक से अधिक पैदा करना है धन, सोना-चाँदी नहीं, सामान पैदा करना है। उसके पैदा करने के तरीक़े आजकल की दुनिया के जो हैं उसी से हम कर सकते हैं—बिजली है, यंत्र हैं बहुत सारे, उनका इस्तेमाल करके ठीक-ठीक, और उसको हम चाहते हैं जो बड़े ऐसे कारख़ाने इत्यादि हों वो आम जनता के हों, शासन के हों, जिससे उनका लाभ देश के बढ़ने में जाये, न कि कुछ लोगों को, मालिकों को जाये। यों प्राइवेट सेक्टर में भी काम बहुत काफ़ी हों, हम उसके ख़िलाफ़ नहीं हैं, वो हों, हम तो चाहते हैं काम जितना हो सके हो, देश में, जितनी तरक्क़ी हो सके पब्लिक सेक्टर, प्राइवेट सेक्टर [में] लेकिन हल्के-हल्के पब्लिक सेक्टर की तरफ़ झुकाव ज़्यादा हो, यह देश में हो।

विदेश के सिलसिले में मैंने आपसे कहा, चीन हमारे विरोध में हो तो हम लाचार हैं लेकिन हम किसी से लड़ाई नहीं लड़ना चाहते हैं, हम पाकिस्तान से लड़ाई नहीं लड़ना चाहते हैं, हम चाहते हैं उनसे समझौता हो जाये, उनके लिए भला हो, हमारे लिए हो। और हम नहीं चाहते कि हम फ़ौजी समझौतों के लिए किसी देश के साथ जायें, जो हमारी नीति थी वही रहे, इससे हमें लाभ हुआ, और लाभ होगा। बस यही है कि हम फ़ौजी समझौते

किसी से नहीं करें और जहाँ तक बन पड़े हरेक से दोस्ती करें, नॉन-एलाइनमेंट इसको कहते हैं, इस नीति को।

बाज़ लोग कहते हैं क्या फ़ायदा? तुम क्यों नहीं, तुम अपने देश की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते अपने आप, और देशों से मिल जाते तो मिलकर करेंगे? यह बात सही नहीं है, अव्वल तो मैं मानता हूँ कि हम अपने देश की रक्षा कर सकते हैं और करेंगे। दूसरी यह कि यह अगर हम अपने देश की रक्षा करने में पूरीतौर से न लगे तो और भी कोई न हमारी सहायता नहीं करेगा। और कौन समुन्दर पार होके, आके हमारे देश की रक्षा करे? सहायता दे-दे और बात है, हम उसको स्वीकार करेंगे, हम उनसे माँगते भी हैं किसी से, वो ठीक है सहायता, लेकिन हम बंधन करें हम उनके लड़ाई-झगड़ों में और लड़ाई-झगड़ों में पड़ जायें, इससे तो हम दुर्बल हो जायेंगे। और हम अगर अपने देश को किसी और के सुपुर्द कर दें तो हल्के-हल्के हमारा स्वराज्य भी कम होता जायेगा और हम लोग समझेंगे कि अब दूसरों का काम हो गया देश की रक्षा करना, हम कुछ न करें, इससे तब हम दुर्बल हो जाते हैं, इससे देश मज़बूत नहीं होता। आखिर में देश आजमाये जाते हैं, देशों का इम्तिहान होता है जब उनके सामने ख़तरा आये, भय आये तब एक आदमी भी मज़बूत होता है और एक देश भी।

यह जो चीनियों ने हम पर हमला किया है, यह एक अच्छा, हमारे लिए अच्छी बात है, मेरी ज़ाती राय है, हालांकि हम ख़तरे में पड़ गये, लेकिन अच्छी बात हुई क्योंकि इसने हमें जगा दिया, इसमें हमारा इम्तिहान हो रहा है दुनिया के इतिहास में। अगर हम इसमें पास हुए और होंगे पास, तब हम तेज़ी से तरक्की करेंगे और अगर नहीं हम पास हो सकते तो हम गिरे रहेंगे। यह हाल है हमारे सामने। यह न समझिए कि इस समय हमारी सरहद पर कोई लड़ाई-झगड़ा नहीं हो रहा है तो शान्ति है, इसलिए कोई ख़तरा नहीं है। जो ख़तरा हमारे सामने हैं वो हैं और वो रहेंगे, हमें चौकन्ना रहना होगा, होशियार रहना होगा और यह ख़तरा ख़ाली हमारे लिए ही नहीं, एशिया भर के लिए है।

दुनिया आजकल बहुत पेचीदा हो गई है और रोज़ नये-नये हथियार निकलते हैं, मालूम नहीं कब ऐसा हो कि हम चाहें या न चाहें दुनिया में बड़ा युद्ध शुरू हो जाये। अभी पाँच-छः महीने हुए इसका अंदेशा हो गया था, वहाँ अमेरिका में और रूस में, क्यूबा के मामले में, बिल्कुल एक-आध दिन यह मालूम हुआ कि कल युद्ध छिड़ता है कि परसों। अगर वो छिड़ जाता तो वह एटम बॉम्ब का युद्ध होता या हाईड्रोजन बम्ब का और फिर यह दुनिया तबाह हो जाती सारी, लेकिन दोनों महान देशों ने अक्लमंदी दिखाई। प्रेज़ीडेंट कैनेडी ने, अमरीका के जो प्रेज़ीडेंट हैं उन्होंने और खुश्चेव साहब ने जो प्रधानमंत्री हैं रूस के और इस लड़ाई को रोक दिया उन्होंने। इससे आशा होती है क्योंकि लड़ाई बड़े देश जो कर सकते हैं अगर वे चाहते हैं तो शायद न हो, लेकिन अंदेशा तो यह है कि चीन जैसा देश, महान देश, हालांकि उसके पास एटम बम अभी तक नहीं है, वो हर वक़्त लड़ाई की बातें करता है, दुनिया की लड़ाई की, अगर उसके हाथ में शक्ति इतनी हो जाये तो कहाँ दुनिया को ले जाये पता नहीं। तो यह ख़तरनाक दुनिया है। बड़े-बड़े ख़तरनाक प्रश्न हमारे सामने हैं, इन सभों का सामना करना है, मर्दों की तरह से, बुज़दिलों की तरह से डर तो नहीं

जाना है, दब तो नहीं जाना है, घबराना नहीं है, चाहे जो कुछ भी हो उसका सामना करेंगे और मुझे यकीन है कि अगर हम संगठित रूप से सामना करें तो हमारी जीत होगी उसमें। यही बात आप याद रखिए और आप किसी गफलत में न पड़ जाइए कि यह मामला ठंडा हो गया है, लड़ाई नहीं हो रही है, अब क्या ज़रूरत है हमें हर वक़्त चौकन्ना रहने की।

मैं तो, हमारे ऊपर बहुत बोझ होते हैं जिन पर सोचना पड़ता है [कि] क्या करें क्या न करें, सोचते हैं लेकिन अगर आपकी शक्ति, आपकी शुभकामनाएँ, आपका आशीर्वाद और आपकी शक्ति पीछे हो तब काम ज़रा हल्का हो जाता है और हिम्मत से करते हैं और इसीलिए हिम्मत से हमने किया और करते जायेंगे। हम समझते हैं कि आपका आशीर्वाद है हमारे साथ और शुभकामनाएँ, लेकिन अजीब ज़माने में हम पैदा हुये। जो नौजवान हमारे हैं आजकल, शायद कुछ उनमें नाराज़ हों कि क्यों हम इस झगड़े के ज़माने में पैदा हुए, लेकिन असल में उनको खुश होना चाहिए, क्योंकि ऐसे ही ज़माने में परख होती है, लोगों की पहचान होती है, देशों की, ऐसे ही ज़माने में लोग बढ़ सकते हैं आगे और देश बढ़ सकते हैं, वो ज़माना हमारे सामने आया।

एक माने में हमारे सामने एक दूसरे तरह का ज़माना था, जब हम लोग जवान थे और भारत की आज़ादी की लड़ाई लड़ रहे थे, ठीक था, हम लोग भी, उसमें कुछ हमारा क्रोध बढ़ा, बड़े हो गये। क्यों बड़े हो गये? कोई, हममें कोई बात तो नहीं थी लेकिन जो काम हम करते थे वो बड़ा काम था, उसकी वजह से हम बड़े हुए और आप लोगों के प्रेम से। अब फिर समय आया है, हम लोग तो थोड़े दिन के मेहमान हैं, ये बोझा आजकल जो नौजवान हैं उन पर पड़ेगा और उनको तैयार होना है, सोच के, विचार के, शारीरिक रूप से, मानसिक रूप से, रुहानी तौर से, इस बड़े शानदार बोझ को उठाने के लिए भारत के। और उसका उठाना काफ़ी परिश्रम करना है, काफ़ी मेहनत करनी है लेकिन काफ़ी आराम की बात भी है, खुशी की बात भी है कि ऐसे-ऐसे बोझ उठाने हैं।

तो ऐसी दुनिया आपके सामने है, ऐसा भारत आपके सामने है। अब आप कैसे भारत का इतिहास लिखेंगे आइन्दा? जो कुछ हमने लिखा वो तो लिखा कुछ और दिन हम लिखेंगे, फिर भारत का इतिहास का क़लम आप लोगों को चलाना पड़ेगा और मुझे आशा है और यकीन है कि अच्छी तरह से चलेगा और भारत का भविष्य उज्ज्वल होगा।

जयहिन्द!

मेरे साथ जयहिन्द तो कहिए तीन बार ठहरिए, .. अरे मेरे साथ कहिए ... अलग-अलग नहीं जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters and Brothers,

We have been reminded that this is my first visit here after the Chinese aggression. I had forgotten. I thought I had come once in between. Anyhow, they must be right.¹⁰⁴

104. See fn 101 in this section.

I came to Gujarat today for a special purpose. I laid the foundation of the Gujarat Refinery near Baroda.¹⁰⁵ It is not going to be one plant for many ancilliary industries will come up around it. As you know, oil is extremely important in today's world. Gold and silver are insignificant before oil. I do not know if the discovery of oil in Gujarat will add to its beauty but it will certainly add to its wealth. It will mean more jobs for the people of Gujarat. It will benefit the whole country. This project has been undertaken with the collaboration of the Soviet Union. It will mean closer ties between the two countries. The discovery of oil means a great deal to India's future. It will definitely benefit us. We can already feel that. At the moment, the oil is being sent to the Bombay refinery. Once the Gujarat refinery is completed, it can be processed here and then sent to the whole of North India.

Oil was first discovered in Assam a few years ago. But strangely enough, no effort was made to look for oil. In fact, big foreign oil companies frequently told us that there was no oil here. Then we started prospecting seven or eight years ago with the help of some other countries. We gathered together some of our intelligent young science and geology graduates and gave them special training. They were then sent off to chosen places in India where we hoped to find oil. In the beginning we were taking the help of foreign experts and to some extent still do. In this way, in the last five, six years we have laid the foundations of this institution in which hundreds of our bright youngsters are working with all their might. They know that their discovery is bound to have a great impact on India's future. Then we set up an Oil and Natural Gas Commission for this purpose about seven years ago. You can gauge for yourselves how it has benefited the country. Our people have achieved in five or six years what the foreign companies could not do in decades. Now that we have laid the foundations, the foreign companies are also tempted to take it up. We have no objection to that but we want to keep a control over this. Otherwise, foreign companies will make undue profit with no one to stop them.

Anyhow, we are making good progress in this field. I congratulate the members of the Commission on their success. Gujarat, of course, stands to gain particularly. I have gone around the estate and seen that the employees have good housing and are happy. This is the way it should be. Our goal is not merely to produce things from factories but good human beings, men and women. Therefore, when a plant is set up our first concern ought to be to make proper arrangements for the employees. I found that the arrangements in Baroda where the refinery is coming up are excellent.

105. See fn 102 in this section.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I went to Baroda this morning. Tomorrow I shall visit Ankaleshwar where the oil wells are and see the changing face of India. It fills me with happiness to see the new India emerging out of the old. I have just come from Sabarmati Ashram. A museum has been set up to display artefacts connected with Mahatma Gandhi like photographs, letters, books and other things. It is a beautiful museum with a good collection of exhibits.¹⁰⁶

When I went to see the museum, my thoughts went back to days gone by, to the times when I used to go to Sabarmati to visit Mahatma Gandhi to consult him and take his advice. My mind was filled with the memory of Gandhiji and I wondered how far we had implemented the little that we had learnt from him and in what we had strayed away from it. There are grave problems before us, both internal and external. As you know, in spite of all our efforts, the problem between Pakistan and India has not been resolved. The dispute over Kashmir drags on. On top of that, the Chinese have launched a massive attack upon our borders. Before India became free, we had dreamt of abiding peace. We even fought for freedom in a peaceful, non-violent way. We wanted to fight with no one but to concentrate all our energy on India's development and progress. This is message that we sought to propagate in the world. India became famous throughout the world as a peace loving nation, both due to Gandhiji and our own policies. India was held in great respect everywhere.

It is a strange quirk of fate that we have now been drawn into these quarrels and disputes. It is a great dilemma. Fifteen years ago, we agreed to the division of India, not without great unhappiness, and to the creation of Pakistan. But we had no inkling then that we will slide back once again in our relationship. We never had any intention of trying to annul the Partition. The decision was final and we shall do nothing to upset it. All we want is that there should be friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the two countries. There should be no interference in one another's internal affairs. However, in spite of all our efforts which we shall keep up, the problems between the two countries like India and Pakistan with a common history, culture and civilisation of a thousand years should not exist together in amity. You will find that India was often in fragments but the part of North India which is Pakistan now has always been inseparable. It is only after partition that it was separated. Well, we continue to make efforts.

As you may remember the problem with Pakistan reared its head first when there was an attack on Kashmir immediately after independence when we were beset with problems. The tribals had attacked Kashmir with the tacit support of the Pakistani forces. We were deeply perturbed and could not abandon Kashmir

106. See fn 103 in this section.

to its fate. It would have been a cowardly thing to do not to help in times of stress. That would have been wrong. So we went in and gradually it escalated into a major war with Pakistan which continued for a year and a quarter. Then there was a ceasefire but the problem has remained unresolved. We have tried our best to come to an agreement. But Pakistan puts forward such impossible conditions that we cannot accept them. So we are in a dilemma.

Then came the attack from China which has distressed us deeply. Anyhow, it was clear that we would have to fight back. It would have been cowardice on our part to accept the Chinese suzerainty over part of our territory in the name of non-violence. Non-violence is no doubt a good thing but cowards cannot follow non-violence. It is only people of great strength of character like Mahatma Gandhi who could practice true non-violence. I think if he had been alive today, he would have given some sane advice. But we have to rely on our own wits now. I accept non-violence without reservations and my faith in it, in a sense, increases day by day. Yet I cannot tolerate our bowing down to enemy aggression in the name of non-violence. That is impossible. Once we give in to such bullying tactics, the country will become weak and lifeless. The first thing that we have to do is as Mahatma Gandhi did against the British to create waves of opposition in the country. But his main goal was not to throw out the British but to awaken the people, to organise them and infuse a new vitality into them. Take any of his movements and you will find that his aim was to infuse a spirit of strength and sacrifice among the people. Ultimately he succeeded in throwing out the British. So this is what we must do.

The people of India had become stagnant of centuries, even before the British rule. Their minds had become closed and in a sense, they were themselves responsible for losing their freedom. They had become so vulnerable that the enemy could easily conquer the country. We were completely cut off from the world for a long time. In the ancient times, we had had close relations with other countries, Bharuch in Gujarat used to be a great sea-port with ships coming from Greece and Rome, Egypt, etc. Then, on the land route there was constant coming and going between India and China, Indonesia, Burma, Japan. Thousands of Buddhist pilgrims used to travel back and forth. The doors of India were wide open to new influences and ideas. People from India used to go to far-off places, carrying the message of our religion, culture and the arts.

Then came a time when we deliberately closed the doors and windows of our minds out of fear or something else. Casteism became very rigid unlike in the earlier days. Every caste lived in separate compartments, with no intercourse with other castes. Travel outside the country became taboo and those who dared to do so became outcasts. All kinds of traditions and social customs grew up which shackled and weakened us and made us ignorant. All this while, the world

was advancing rapidly. The age of science and machines was being ushered in while we remained like frogs in a well, steeped in conceit and social taboos. So we fell. Even before the coming of the British, during the days of the Mughal pomp and splendour, there was complete ignorance in the country about the rest of the world and the changes that were taking place.

Let me give you a small example. Printing was invented in Europe a long time ago and books were being printed which was a revolutionary event. Without printing, there could have been no widespread of education. It is inconceivable to think of a world before printing was known. But it was not adopted here in India during the days of the Mughals even though they knew about it. Books were brought from Europe to the Mughal court. But nobody showed any interest in them. This shows how we had closed our minds and refused to allow new ideas to come in. We were not prepared to learn anything new which was one of the main reasons of our downfall. New forces appeared in the world, new weapons were invented but we were quite oblivious to everything.

Then the British came. There is no doubt about it that they exploited us economically and drained away a great deal of our wealth. But one good thing that happened in their time was that we established links with the outside world once again. It is for the first time during the British rule that books began to be published in Calcutta. The missionaries started a printing press. Before that printing was not known in India. Once books began to be circulated, our minds began to absorb new influences and ideas. We were filled with a spirit of revolt against the British. Well, in short, though economic resources are important, ultimately a nation's progress depends on its ability, daring and vitality. Gandhiji's entire effort those days was to infuse new spark of life into the people which he did. The poor wretched masses were suddenly filled with a new hope and their eyes sparkled with a new light. He brought India back to life and then followed our struggle against the British.

So, whatever we do, we must remember this. If we bow down to enemy aggression, it will affect our entire nation and prove that we are cowards. We will be incapable of doing anything great. Therefore it is impossible that we should cower before the Chinese. At the same time, we need not abuse them either. That is not civilised. Non-violence does not mean that we should not wield weapons. It means that our minds should be free of bitterness and hatred for anyone. These are the big problems which confront us. My mind was filled with them as I sat in Sabarmati.

There is no doubt about it that the border problem is the most complex and dangerous that we have had to confront since independence. The answer is not to take our processions or shouting slogans. It will have no impact on the Chinese. We must handle the crisis with courage and strength. We must

increase our strength in every possible way. That is why we decided to increase our armed strength. It means a very heavy burden upon us. But if we slacken in this respect, all our other efforts will come to naught. What is the use of all these factories in Baroda and Ahmedabad without freedom? Therefore we have to be clear in our minds that we have to face the situation. You must remember that it is not a question of ceding a few miles of territory in NEFA or Ladakh though that is also there. But the causes of the conflict go far deeper than that. China does not like to see us growing in strength and fame and so they want to do us down. They want to humiliate us so that they can be supreme in Asia. They will, of course, grab whatever territory they can. But they have not launched this attack merely for territorial expansion. The conflict between India and China is on ideological grounds. Therefore we have to give a fitting reply to their challenge for we are not prepared to give up our principles or way of life. China is now indulging in false propaganda. They are saying that they want peace but have been forced into this war because India committed aggression. They accuse India of stalling, not agreeing to come to the conference table which is absolutely wrong, as you know. Why should we want to go to war with China? Naturally we had to defend ourselves once they crossed our borders and attacked us. The Colombo Powers are trying to mediate and clear the air. Not that they can solve the problem. Well, we agreed to that. They presented certain proposals as a pre-condition to our holding talks. They took them first to Peking where the Chinese said they agreed on principle to the Colombo proposals. We asked them to explain at length all their proposals and then we agreed to them. That meant that if China had also accepted, the representatives of the two countries would hold talks. Nobody knows what the outcome would have been. But at least the talks would have started. Then we came to know that the Chinese did not accept the Colombo proposals in their entirety. I cannot say why they don't. But I feel that they are trying to tie us down in some way so that in future, whenever we hold talks, there will be complications in presenting our case properly.

Well, whatever the case is, they do not accept the proposals. We have said that until they do so, there are no common grounds for holding talks. We have also made it clear that if, after holding talks, we are unable to reach a decision acceptable to both, we would be prepared to take the matter to the International Court of Justice. Their decision can be final. Thirdly, we said that in case they did not agree to this, we can appoint some countries as arbitrators and leave the matter to them. So as you can see, we have made all efforts to find a way to resolve the matter peacefully. There has been no final reply from the Chinese side. But from the hints that have been dropped, it seems that they are not prepared to accept any of these suggestions. Their behaviour is extremely

strange. You may be aware that they are at loggerheads with the Soviet Union now. Our relations with the Soviet Union, on the other hand, are very friendly. Today I had gone to Baroda where an oil refinery is being set up with Russian collaboration.

So the Sino-Indian dispute is becoming more complex day-by-day. We shall always be prepared for a peaceful agreement. But it is impossible that we should give in to threats or pressures and accept anything that they say. We must increase our strength in every way. This affair may drag on for years. Therefore it is our duty to augment our strength in every way, economic strength as well as military strength. You need not merely weapons but economic strength as well to fight a war. If we are economically weak, we cannot fight. Some people seemed to feel that we should give up planning for a time as the war will increase our burden. After considerable thought, we decided that that was not a good idea because the Five Year Plans contribute to our economic strength. Without that, how can we fight a war?

What is the Third Five Year Plan? Firstly it means increasing production from land which is always essential whether there is a war or not. If we are not self sufficient in food, our economic condition would be very bad. Then there are industries which are particularly essential for the war effort. We cannot keep importing weapons and other military equipment from the US and the UK, nor will we get them free from somewhere. Unless we are self-sufficient in these areas, in a sense, our freedom will be in name only. Therefore we need to expand industries in general. We could postpone something which are not directly relevant to the war effort.

We need electric power which is fundamental to all industries and even agricultural production. There must be more irrigation canals, railway network, road, etc., which are essential both for fighting a war as well as our economic advancement. This is what the Five Year Plan is all about. We can give up the minor things but ninety per cent of the Plan is connected with the war effort too. Therefore we have decided that we shall shoulder the burden of the war as well as the Five Year Plan. There is no doubt about it that it will cast a very heavy burden upon the entire nation. But what is the alternative? If we are not prepared to shoulder these burdens in a crisis, we will become weak and freedom will slip away. Therefore we must make up our minds to do this.

Another aspect of this is our achievements on the domestic front. We have made considerable progress in agricultural production but not as much as we would like it to. The last two years have not been very good which has caused a setback. I do not know what it will be like this year. A great deal depends on the monsoons. I hope production will go up. It causes us grave concern to have

to find ways of increasing production on the agricultural and industrial fronts, particularly now when the danger of China is ever present.

As I said in the beginning, the strength of a nation depends on the human beings, men and women who live there, their strength of character, spirit and daring. It depends also on its ability to adapt to the modern age. We are gradually doing so. There is no doubt about it that we are changing. Agriculture is changing. We had been following the same techniques for the last two thousand years. Everywhere else there were changes but we continued to work in the old way. So it is not surprising that agricultural production remained low. We are trying to change all that.

Industrialisation is spreading. You can see stacks of chimneys everywhere in Ahmedabad. But we want to bring about an industrial revolution. Textiles are not enough. We need more essential goods. The textile mills have not wrought a great industrial revolution in the sixty, seventy years of their existence. Now we are doing so by setting up steel plants and huge machine-building industries. Other ancilliary industries are also coming up. The Industrial Revolution which occurred in England a hundred and fifty years ago is now making its appearance here and very rapidly too. I think within the next ten years, we would have stabilized our achievements and take off from there. That means that we need a push just now. If we go at a slower pace, it would take us forty, fifty years. We cannot wait that long. We must produce essential consumer goods machines and power in great abundance. We have laid the foundations for all that but it will take a little while longer to reap the benefits.

Production of oil is a sign of progress. I hope that in another ten years, we would have strengthened our foundations further. But that depends on hard work and organised effort for the next ten years. We must not allow ourselves to fritter away our energies in futile squabbles. Our ultimate goal is to raise the standard of living of everyone in India, eradicate poverty and to provide opportunities for progress. It is happening gradually. But we must accelerate the pace. Everyone must get jobs. We must do all these things on a larger scale.

We have declared that we want to build a socialist pattern of society in India. I will not go into the details. The fundamental principle of socialism is equality. It is not possible to change everything at once. There is great disparity between the haves and the have-nots. It has been found that with progress, the gap between the rich and the poor is widening. We must stop that. I am not saying that we must make everyone forcibly equal, physically or otherwise. But we must give an opportunity to everyone and prevent unfair methods of profiteering. You must bear in mind that our strength lies in the people's belief that we are trying to establish socialism in the country. If they find that we are straying from that path, we will be weakened. Our Constitution lays down quite

clearly the direction that we must take without mentioning the word socialism. For that it is imperative that we increase production of essential consumer goods through modern techniques, machines and the use of electricity, etc. We also want that the heavy industries should be in the public sector so that the profits do not go to private individuals. We are not against the private sector. We want both the public and the private sectors to expand but gradually, we must lean more towards the public sector.

About our foreign policy, I told you that we are helpless that the Chinese are against us. We do not wish to fight with anyone. We do not wish to fight with Pakistan either but want to come to an agreement with them, in our mutual interest. We do not wish to join any military blocs. This has been our policy which has benefited us in the past or will do so in future. We believe in friendship with all countries and keeping aloof from military blocs. This is known as non-alignment.

Some people seem to feel that we should join some alliance or the other to defend the country. This is not correct. For one thing I believe that we are quite capable of defending our country. Secondly, unless we prove ourselves capable of defending ourselves, no other power will help us. Others help us and we take it willingly. But we will become weak if we tie ourselves down in a military alliance. Moreover, our freedom will slowly diminish if we hand over the country's defence to some other power. We will not feel that it is our duty to defend ourselves which will make us weak. Ultimately, a nation's strength is tested in times of crisis. The same is true of individuals.

In my personal opinion, I think the Chinese aggression has been a good thing for us because it has jolted us out of our slackness. We are being tested in the eyes of the world. If we pass this test, we can progress very rapidly. Otherwise we will remain backward. You must not think that because there is no fighting on the border, there is no danger any more. The danger will persist for years. We must remain vigilant. This is a danger that threatens the whole of Asia.

The world has become an extremely complex place. New weapons are being invented and nobody knows when a world war will break out. Just a few months ago, during the Cuban Missile crisis, for a day or two the world hovered on the brink of war. If there had been a nuclear war, mankind would have faced extinction. But the two superpowers showed great circumspection. President Kennedy of the United States and Mr Khrushchev, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, succeeded in averting a war. It leads us to hope that a war will not break out. But the dangers will arise if a country like China acquires nuclear power. It is always talking of war and nobody can predict where it may lead. The world is a ruthless, dangerous place. There are grave problems

before us. But we have to face them with courage and not give in to panic. I am convinced that we will emerge victorious if we face the problems in an organised manner. Please remember that. You must not deceive yourselves that the war is over and we need not be vigilant any longer.

There are great burdens upon us. But if we have your good wishes and cooperation, the burden grows lighter. We gain fresh heart from you. We are living in strange times. But our youth in particular must be happy that they are being given an opportunity to prove their mettle. It is only in times of crisis that a nation can prove its worth. It helps people grow in stature. We are passing through such a phase now.

When we were young, we lived through India's freedom struggle. It added to our stature because we were taking part in a great task. Now we are being given yet another opportunity. We have very little time left now. The burden will fall upon the youth and so they must prepare themselves physically, mentally and spiritually to carry the precious burden on India's behalf. It requires a great deal of hard work. But it will be extremely rewarding too.

So this is the India and the world in which you live. It is up to you to make the history of India in the future. We have done our bit and may do so a little longer. After that, the reins will pass into your hands. I am sure that you will discharge your duties well and India's future will be a glorious one. Jai Hind.

Jai Hind!

Please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

32. In Ankaleshwar: Public Meeting¹⁰⁷

भाइयो और बहनो और बच्चो,
आपने देखा कि मैं यहाँ अंकलेश्वर में किसलिए आया हूँ? आपके यहाँ तेल ने बड़ा ज़ोर किया, बहुत दिन से ज़मीन के नीचे जमा था, अब हल्के-हल्के निकल रहा है धूम-धाम से और बड़े-बड़े यंत्र और कलें लग रही हैं उसको निकालने के लिए। तो अंकलेश्वर भी भारत में प्रसिद्ध हो गया है, तेल की करने, और तेल की यहाँ उत्पादन, पैदावार बढ़ती जाती है और जिससे आपको लाभ होता है, गुजरात को और देश भर को। पाँच-छः बरस से ये, यह हमने तेल का काम शुरू किया, यहाँ की शासन ने, सरकार ने और इस ज़माने में काफ़ी हमारा, हमें सफलता मिली कई जगहें, विशेषकर गुजरात में और आसाम में, और

107. Speech, 11 May 1963, at Kanwa. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10422, NM No. 1843.

जगह भी होगा। और आजकल आप जानते हैं कि तेल बड़ी आवश्यक चीज़ है दुनिया में, तेल से बहुत बातें होती हैं, तेल से हवाई जहाज़ उड़ते हैं, मोटरें चलती हैं, और कितने काम होते हैं। चाहे किसी देश में सोना हो या ना हो कोई हानि नहीं होती, लेकिन तेल न हो तो बड़ी हानि होती है।

तो तेल यहाँ निकलना यह अच्छी बात हुई, हमारे देश के लिए और आप सभी के लिए, और यह बात बढ़ेगी और हल्के-हल्के जो कि यह काम बढ़ता है कारखाने बनेंगे तरह-तरह के। अभी कल मैं गया था बड़ौदा के पास, वहाँ एक रिफ़ाइनरी बनने वाली है,¹⁰⁸ जहाँ यह इस समय यह तेल आपका जाता है, यहाँ से लाद के बम्बई जाता है, बम्बई में कारखाने में साफ़ होता है, यहाँ तो गंदा सा निकलता है, [वहाँ] पर साफ़ होकर फिर वो बेचा जाता है। तो अब बड़ौदा के पास यह सफ़ाई का तेल का काम होगा और बड़ा कारखाना बन रहा है, बम्बई जाने की आवश्यकता नहीं होगी और उसके चारों तरफ़ और बहुत सारी चीज़ें बनेंगी, कारखाने, जो कि उस तेल को काम में लाती हैं। इस तरह से काम बढ़ता जायेगा, बहुत लोगों को रोज़गार मिलेगा और आपको और औरों को काफ़ी लाभ हो जायेगा। तो मुझे खुशी है यहाँ आकर, देखकर कि दो-चार बरस में कितना फ़ायदा हुआ, कितनी-कितनी उन्नति हुई, बढ़े। इस काम में हमें खुशी विशेषकर यह है कि हमारे नवयुवक लोग काम कर रहे हैं और उनको सहायता मिल रही है, हमारे एक मित्र देश रूस की, सोवियत यूनियन की सहायता है, वहाँ से कुछ लोग आये हैं, सीखे हुए लोग और वो कुछ बताते हैं लेकिन बाक़ी हमारे ही लोग काम कर रहे हैं और सीखते जाते हैं और सीख गये हैं। तो इस तरह से जो कुछ इस काम में लाभ होगा वह, यह काम शासन की ओर से है, वो जनता को जायेगा, वो जैसे निजी कारखाने के मालिकों को नहीं जायेगा, यह भी अच्छी बात है। तो मैं आपको बधाई देता हूँ, जो काम यहाँ शुरू हो रहा है और शुरू क्या, कुछ उसने अपनी सफलता दिखा दी है।

अब आप यहाँ बड़ी तेज़ धूप में देर से बैठे हैं, तो मैं आपको अधिक तो बैठाऊँगा नहीं, लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि हमारे देश के सामने क्या बड़ी-बड़ी समस्याएँ हैं? सबमें हमेशा तो समस्या यही है कि देश के, किस तरह से देश के उत्पादन, पैदावार को बढ़ायें, खेती से बढ़ायें, कारखाने से बढ़ायें, हर तरह से, क्योंकि जितना हम पैदा करेंगे उतनी ही देश की उन्नति होगी और जनता की होगी, और हम देश से ग़रीबी निकाल दें सकेंगे, और रोज़गार बढ़ेगा। ये तो बड़ा प्रश्न है और इसीलिए हमने पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरा की हैं और उसके करने में एक बुनियाद डालनी होती है, आजकल की नयी-नयी बातें दुनिया से सीखनी पड़ती हैं, नये-नये यंत्र आते हैं, नये-नये कारखाने बनते हैं, खेती में भी नये-नये तरीक़े लगाये जाते हैं जिससे पैदा अधिक हो। हमारे यहाँ, आपके यहाँ ज़मीन बड़ी अच्छी है और अच्छा काम आप लोग करते हैं लेकिन फिर भी जो हम पैदा करते हैं ज़मीन से आजकल यहाँ, उसका दुगुना-चौगुना और देशों में पैदा होता है, एक एकड़ ज़मीन से जो यहाँ पैदा होता है उससे दुगुना-चौगुना और देशों में होता है। क्यों न हम अधिक करें?

108. At Koyali, see item 30.

हम कर सकते हैं, जहाँ-जहाँ कोशिश हुई है वहाँ किया है उन लोगों ने, लेकिन सभों को करना चाहिए, उससे आप समझें कि देश का धन-दौलत दुगुना हो जायेगा, आपका हो जायेगा, कितना बड़ा लाभ होगा, यह करना है। और कारखाने बनाना है, कारखाने से सामान बनाना है, सामान भी धन-दौलत होता है, सोना-चाँदी धन-दौलत नहीं होता, सामान होता है, ये सब करना है।

इसके लिए हमें पढ़ाई बहुत फैलानी है क्योंकि पढ़े हुए लोग इस काम को अच्छी तरह से कर सकते हैं, चाहे वो किसान हों, ज़मीन पे काम करें या कारखाने में, सब हमारे पढ़े-लिखे हों, उनके बच्चे पढ़ें तो उनकी हालत भी अच्छी होगी, काम भी अच्छा होगा। हम चाहते हैं कि ऐसी समाज बनायें जिसमें सब लोगों को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले, और अवसर मिले आगे बढ़ने का, आजकल तो नहीं है वो, लेकिन हल्के-हल्के ऐसा बनाना चाहते हैं, उसको समाजवाद हम कहते हैं और इस तरह से देश में, देश से हम दरिद्रता, ग़रीबी को निकाल देना चाहते हैं। और सब लोग और सब जनता को खुशहाल तरीक़े से रहने का मौक़ा मिले, सभों को खाने-पीने को ठीक-ठाक मिले, वस्त्र पहनने को मिलें, घर रहने को मिलें, उनकी शिक्षा का प्रबंध हो, उनके स्वास्थ्य का हो, और उनके काम का प्रबंध हो, ये बातें सभों को होनी चाहियें। तो हमारा देश बहुत बड़ा है, एकदम से तो हो नहीं जाता ये सब, लेकिन उसकी बुनियाद लगाई जा रही है, बड़े-बड़े कारखाने खुल रहे हैं। ये जो यहाँ तेल का काम है, जिसकी बड़ी बुनियाद है, नींव है, बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारखाने हैं, इसी से हम फिर और कारखाने बनाते हैं। तो मुझे तो विश्वास है कि यह काम सफल होगा और इसकी सफलता से भारत का रूप बदलता जायेगा, लेकिन यह काम ख़ाली बड़े कारखाने खोलने का नहीं है और यह सारी जनता को इसमें अपना-अपना काम करना है। आप ज़मीन पे काम करते हैं, खेती करते हैं, तो खेती अच्छी है, आप कारखानों में करते हैं तो उसको अच्छे ढंग से करें, तभी चीज़ अच्छी होगी और उससे सफलता होगी।

आपने तो यहाँ बड़ा काम शुरू किया है, अंकलेश्वर में। तो उसके लिए आपको बधाई और उसको ख़ूब अच्छा चलाइए कि उससे लाभ हो आपको भी और देश को भी।

और आप जानते हैं आजकल एक हमारे सामने कठिन, बड़ी कठिन समस्या और आयी है, हमारे सीमा पर, तिब्बत की सीमा पर चीनी लोगों ने आक्रमण किया है, हमला किया और उससे बहुत हमारे ऊपर असर पड़ा है, बहुत हमें दुख हुआ है, परेशानी हुई, तकलीफ़ हुई और हमने यह निश्चय किया कि हमें पूरी तौर से तैयार करना है अपने देश को इसका सामना करने के लिए, मुक़ाबला करने के लिए, क्योंकि किसी के आक्रमण करने पे हमारे देश के, हमें उसके सामने झुक तो नहीं जाना है, उसकी हार तो नहीं मान लेने की, उससे तो हमारा देश बिल्कुल दुर्बल हो जायेगा, कमज़ोर हो जायेगा और बेजान हो जायेगा। हम तो, हमारी फ़ौज वगैरा बहुत अच्छी है, रहती थी लेकिन फिर भी हमारा मन लड़ाई की ओर नहीं जाता था, हम नहीं समझते थे कि हमारी कोई बड़ी लड़ाई होगी हमारी सरहद पर। तो हम तो शान्तिप्रिय देश थे लेकिन चीन वालों ने, चीन वालों का देश जो लड़ाई के सिद्धांत पे चलता है और लड़ाई के लिए तैयारी करते हैं, बड़ी तैयारी की थी और शुरू-शुरू में जो आये हमारे देश में तो हमें धक्का लगा, हमें हानि पहुँची, यह बात ठीक है लेकिन

उससे कोई आखिरी फ़ैसला तो नहीं हो जाता है। हम जब से तैयार कर रहे हैं अपने को, बड़े बोझ उठाने हैं, एक तो देश की उन्नति, तरक्की में बड़ा खर्चा होता है, बाद में लाभ होता है। पंचवर्षीय योजना का बोझ और दूसरे चीनी आक्रमण के सिलसिले में जो कुछ हमें करना है उसका बोझ उठाना है, हम किसी को छोड़ नहीं सकते हैं। जब देश पे कोई ख़तरे भी पड़ें, भय भी पड़ें तो उस वक़्त बोझ उठाने ही होते हैं सबको, यहाँ तक कि लोगों को अपनी जान तक भी देनी होती है देश की रक्षा करने के लिए, और तो बोझ और हैं, यह हालत है इस समय। तो हमें उसका सामना करना है और शायद उसका सामना करने से ही हमारी शक्ति बढ़े, ताक़त बढ़े और हम ज़्यादा तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ें।

अब ये ही बातें दो-चार मैंने आपसे कहीं। बातें तो बहुत सारी कहने की हैं, आजकल दुनिया अजीब है, क्रांतिकारी दुनिया है, हमारा देश भी क्रांतिकारी है, अपने ढंग का और ये ख़तरे, भय हमारे साथ हैं, हमारे सामने हैं, उनका सामना करना है। तो एक ही तरह से हम कर सकते हैं कि हम लोगों में, देश भर में एकता हो, मिलके हम काम करें, संगठन हो, एकता हो।

अब आपके यहाँ अंकलेश्वर का जो तेल के कारख़ाने बनेंगे, तेल के कुएँ हैं उससे लाभ सारा देश उठायेगा, गुजरात भी उठायेगा और सारा देश भी उठायेगा। इसी तरह से जो कुछ हमें लाभ देश में होता है वो सारे देश के लिए होता है, जो कुछ हानि होती है वो भी सारे देश के लिए होती है, जो बोझ उठाने पड़ते हैं सब देश के। तो हमें एकता रखनी है, सब तरह के लोगों में, सब प्रदेशों में, प्रान्तों में अलग-अलग धर्म हैं, धर्म के लोगों में, हिन्दू हों, मुसलमान हों, ईसाई हों, जैन हों, सिख हों, पारसी हों, बौद्ध हों, सब धर्म हमारे देश के हो गये हैं, हमें उनका आदर करना है, सभी का और सभी से अच्छी तरह से अपना बरताव करना है। कभी-कभी भाषा के नाम पर लड़ाई होती है, फ़िज़ूल बातें हैं, सब भाषाएँ हमारी एक हैं, चाहे गुजराती हो, चाहे हिन्दी हो या मराठी हो या तमिल हो या बंगाली हो, सब हमारे देश की भाषाएँ हैं, उनका आदर करना है, बल्कि जहाँ तक बन पड़े उनको सीखना भी है। इस तरह से हम अपने देश को मज़बूत बनायें, मज़बूत, संगठित देश हो, जिसमें सारे देश में एकता हो और हल्के-हल्के हम ग़रीबी को निकाल दें इस देश से, देश खुशहाल बने और एक समाजवाद यहाँ आ जाये, समाजवाद के सिद्धांत आ जायें, यह हमारा कार्यक्रम है और यह कोई ख़ाली सरकारी हुक़ूम से नहीं होता, ये तो सभी के मिलजुल के काम करने से होता है। मालूम नहीं मुझे आपके यहाँ ये पंचायत समितियाँ होंगी? वो हैं।

[डॉ. जीवराज जी¹⁰⁹ के साथ बात करते हैं।]

डॉ. जीवराज मेहता ज़रा थक गये हैं धूप में फ़िरते-फ़िरते, थक तो मैं भी गया हूँ। तो आपके यहाँ अब वो पंचायती राज का प्रबंध हो गया है सब गुजरात में और देश के हिस्सों

109. Jivraj Mehta, Chief Minister of Gujarat.

में भी, और पंचायती समितियाँ हैं, उनके नाम जो कुछ हों, उनको बहुत कुछ अधिकार मिले हैं। और अधिकार मिले हैं काम करने का अपने इलाके में और पैसों का भी प्रबंध हुआ है और आप सहकारी समाज, सहकारी सभाएँ भी आप बनाते हैं, कोऑपरेटिव्स। ये सब बातें, बड़ी भारी बातें, बड़ी क्रांति की बातें हैं, इससे बहुत लाभ होगा क्योंकि इससे हम सारी जनता के अधिकार में, बहुत कुछ राज्य के अधिकार दे रहे हैं, राज्य के, हुकूमत करने की शक्ति जनता के हाथ में जाती है अपने-अपने इलाके में और पुराना तरीका कि बड़े-बड़े अफसर सब करें वह अब बदलता जाता है, ये बहुत अच्छी बात है। वो अच्छी बातें अभी तक हैं जब आप अच्छी तरह से काम करेंगे, आप अगर बुरी तरह से काम करेंगे तो आपको हानि होगी, आपको नुकसान होगा। इस तरह से असल में स्वराज को हम फ़ैला रहे हैं गाँव-गाँव में, ख़ाली ऊपर नहीं है स्वराज, ऊपर तो है ही बड़ी-बड़ी सभा का, आप सुनते हैं लेकिन गाँव में असली स्वराज्य हो, स्वतंत्रता हो और सहकारी सभाएँ हों, कोऑपरेटिव्स, जिसमें आप लोग सब मिलके अपना काम करें, उससे आप बड़े-बड़े काम कर सकते हैं, अपनी खेती को अच्छी कर सकते हैं, छोटे-छोटे कारख़ाने भी खोल सकते हैं, सभी का लाभ हो।

तो ये बहुत सारी बातें हैं आपको करने की और हमारे सभी के करने की। और पहली बात तो यह है कि आप समझें हम किधर जा रहे हैं, समझ के हम लोग फिर यात्रा करें, मिलके जैसे हमने यात्रा की थी स्वराज की और स्वराज पे पहुँचे सब लोग मिलके। तो ऐसे ही अब यात्रा करनी है भारत की, अन्दर से बदलने की, जिससे हम यहाँ से ग़रीबी निकाल दें और सब लोग पुरुष-स्त्री-बच्चे अच्छे होते जायें और उनको पूरा मौक़ा मिले अच्छा जीवन रहने का और उन्नति करने का। यह बड़ा काम है हमारा, इसमें ज़रा तकलीफ़ है, बोझा उठाना है, परिश्रम करना है, बग़ैर परिश्रम के कोई देश तो उठता नहीं है, ख़ाली उखाड़ने और डराने से और ख़ाली माला जपने से कोई नहीं उठता है, परिश्रम करके करना होता है। तो हमारे लिए परिश्रम का ज़माना है, सबके लिए और अगर ठीक-ठीक संगठित रूप से हम करें तो उसका फ़ल ज़रूर पायें और देश बड़े।

बिलफ़ेल तो आप यहाँ देख रहे हैं कि पिछले दो-चार बरस से अंकलेश्वर के यह तेल का काम बढ़ता जाता है, और बढ़ेगा, जिससे आप सभी को लाभ होगा। इसमें बहुत से लोग भारत के और हिस्सों से यहाँ आ रहे हैं काम करने, सीखे हुए, तो यह भी एक छोटा सा भारत हो जाता है, सब मिलके रहें, काम करें और उससे भारत की और आपकी ख़ूब तरक्की हो। बस अब आप लोग धूप में बहुत गरम हो गये हैं और मुझे भी जाना है अहमदाबाद।

जयहिन्द!

अब मेरे साथ आप लोग कहिए तीन बार जयहिन्द!

अरे कैसी ये बात है, क़ायदे से होती है, जब मैं कहूँ तब कहो जयहिन्द! ज़ोर से कहिए मिलके, जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द!

हमारी बहनों ने नहीं कुछ कहा, वो चुप बैठी रहीं, यह क्या बात है यहाँ की, यहाँ की स्त्रियाँ क्या चुप रहा करती हैं बहुत। अच्छा, अब ख़ाली हमारी बहनों को कहना चाहिए जयहिन्द!

आप न कहिए, कहिए तो जयहिन्द! ख़ैर, कुछ आवाज़ तो निकली।

जनता: नेहरु चाचा ज़िन्दाबाद।

[Translation begins:

Brothers, Sisters, and Children,

You have seen why I have come to Ankaleshwar. Oil has been discovered here. It has remained hidden underground for a long time and is now being taken out with great show. Big machines are being used to take out the oil. Ankaleshwar has become famous in India for its oil wells. The production is going up which will benefit Gujarat and the country. The Government of India took up this task five or six years ago and we have succeeded in discovering oil in many places, in Gujarat particularly and Assam and elsewhere. As you know oil is very important in the modern world. It is used for various purposes for aeroplanes, motor cars and industries, etc. It does not matter very much if a country does not possess gold or silver. But it cannot do without oil.

So it is a very good thing for the whole country that oil has been discovered here. It will help greatly in the process of industrialisation. I went to a place near Baroda yesterday where an oil refinery is coming up.¹¹⁰ The oil from the oil wells goes to the refineries in Bombay to be cleaned before it is sold. Once the refinery near Baroda comes up, the oil will not have to be sent to Bombay. Other auxiliary industries will come up around it, so it will go on. There will be employment for innumerable people. So I was happy to see the progress that has been made in this area in the last two or three years. I am particularly happy that our youth is involved in these tasks. They are getting help from one of our friends, the Soviet Union, and experts have come to train our people. The profits from this oil refinery will benefit the people directly, not go into the pockets of private industrialists which is an excellent thing. I want to congratulate all of you on the success that has been achieved here.

You have been sitting under the hot sun for a very long time. So I will not keep you very long. But all of you are aware of the great problem which India is facing. The one problem which is constant is that of increasing production from land and industries and in every other way. The more we produce, the greater our progress will be. We will be able to get rid of our poverty and

110. See fn 108 in this section.

employment will be available. It is to deal with this big problem that we have taken up the Five Year Plans and laid the foundations of future progress. We have to imbibe new scientific and technological knowledge, use new techniques of production in order to increase wealth. In agriculture too, we need to use new techniques to produce more. The farmers in India are very hard working. But other countries manage to produce two or three times as much as we do in India from an acre of land. Why can we not produce more? In fact wherever the efforts have been made, we have succeeded in increasing production. But everybody should do this, for it will immediately double the national wealth. It is necessary for purposes of industrialising the country too. Industries are necessary to produce more goods which is the real wealth of the nation. It is not gold or silver which is real wealth.

It is necessary to spread education in the country because it is only educated people who can take the country towards progress by adopting improved methods of production. The children must be educated. We want to build a society in which everyone gets equal opportunity for progress which is not available today. But we will succeed in building a society like this gradually through socialism. We want to eradicate poverty completely from the country and raise the standard of living of the people. We want to ensure that the basic necessities of life like food, clothing, houses, education, health care facilities and means of earning a livelihood are available to everyone. India is a very large country and so it is difficult to do all this quickly. But we are laying the foundations. Big industries are coming up. The work of drilling for oil is going on. The foundation for all industries is steel. We have set up huge steel plants so that the steel which is produced can be used to build other industries. I have full faith that we will succeed and India will be completely transformed. But it is not a question of building industries. The people must do their bit, you must work hard at whatever your chosen profession is, whether you are a farmer or factory worker of something else. Only then can we succeed in reaching the goal that we have set before us.

I congratulate you on the work that is being done here in Ankaleshwar. You must work hard to run it efficiently so that all of you and the country can profit by it.

As you know, we are facing an extremely difficult problem at the moment. The Chinese attacked us on our borders which has upset and grieved us very much. We have decided that we must make full preparations to face this threat. We will not bow down before naked aggression and accept defeat. If we do, India will become weak and lifeless. Our armed forces have always been excellent. But our thinking has never been conditioned for war. We did not think that there was ever any likelihood of a major war on our borders. We have always been a

peace loving nation. But China follows an aggressive policy and keeps making preparations for war. When they launched a massive attack on our borders, it was big shock to us, and it is true that we suffered some reverses. But that was by no means the final outcome. We have been making preparations ever since. We have to bear great burdens. On the one hand, we have to invest enormous sums of money for the country's development. The Five Year Plans cast a very heavy financial burden upon us, and now, on top of that, we have to bear the burden of war. We cannot give up either. Even when danger threatens, we have to continue carrying the burden and in fact, people have to be prepared to give up their lives, if necessary, to defend the country's freedom and honour. This is the situation at the moment. We have to face it with courage and perhaps we shall emerge from the experience as a stronger nation and will be able to go on with a greater momentum.

I have outlined some broad ideas to you. There is always a great deal to say. The world is a strange and revolutionary place today. India is passing through revolutionary times too in its own way. Now this new danger threatens. We must face it with courage and that is possible only if we maintain complete unity in the country and work in an organised manner.

The whole country will benefit from the oil which will be produced at Ankaleshwar. Gujarat will of course benefit directly. Whatever we do is for the benefit of the whole country. The losses, if there are any, have to be borne by everyone too. We must maintain unity among the people of different provinces following different religions. Whatever they are, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jains, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists or something else, they belong to India. We must treat all religions with respect. Sometimes people fight in the name of language which is absurd. All our languages are equally important, whether it is Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil or Bengali. They are all national languages and must be treated with respect, and whenever possible, we must learn them. This is the only way to make India a strong and stable country with complete unity. We can then gradually eradicate poverty from India and raise the standard of living of the people. Our goal is to build a society based on socialistic principles. But we cannot do it by issuing a governmental fiat. All of us will have to work together in unity and cooperation. I do not know if you have panchayat samitis here.

[Aside to Jivraj Mehta¹¹¹]: You do?

Dr Jivraj Mehta has become somewhat tired going about in the heat. I am also tired. Panchayati Raj has been adopted in Gujarat and in other parts of

111. See fn 109 in this section.

India. Panchayat samitis or whatever they are called, have been given greater powers and autonomy to administer the funds for development in their areas. Cooperatives are being formed everywhere. These are revolutionary steps which will benefit the people. We want to delegate the power of governing the country to the people. The old system of officials exercising all power is slowly changing which is a good thing. But it will work only if the people discharge their duties well. If there is any slackness or dishonesty, it is you who will suffer. In this way, we are trying to spread democracy to every village. Democracy is not a superficial thing. There can be true democracy only if it spreads to the villages. There must be cooperatives in the villages through which you can do big things. You can improve agriculture and open small industries which will benefit everyone.

There are many things which all of us have to do. But first of all we must understand clearly where we are going. We have embarked upon a great journey as we had done in the past to free India of foreign rule. We have achieved that goal. Now our journey is to build a new India, eradicating poverty and ensuring a life of equal opportunity for all. It is a great burden which we have to bear and work hard for no country can progress without that. We cannot go very far by uprooting everything or counting beads. What is required is hard work. So this is a time of hard work for all of us and if we go about it in an organised manner, we shall certainly reap the reward and India will progress.

Anyhow, you have seen for yourselves the progress made in Ankaleshwar in the last three or four years. Everyone will benefit by the oil which has been discovered here. People are coming from all over the country to work here and Ankaleshwar has become a miniature India. All of them must work together in mutual cooperation. All right, you have been sitting in the hot sun for a long time, and I have to leave for Ahmedabad.

Jai Hind!

Please say Jai Hind with me three times. What is this? Please do it in an orderly way. All right, all together.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

I do not know why the women kept silent. All right, now I want only the women to say Jai Hind. Well, at least some of you said it.

Translation ends]

33. In Ahmedabad: At the Vidya Mandir¹¹²

Governor,¹¹³ Chief Minister,¹¹⁴ Kasturbhaiji¹¹⁵ and Friends,
Just before my return to Delhi after three days' stay here, I have come here to participate in this delightful function. I had heard something about this Vidya Mandir, from Kasturbhaiji, both, of the treasures inside it, and of the architecture of the building, and I was eager to see it.¹¹⁶ Well, I have just been there and seen it and I cannot say that I have examined the manuscripts which is almost, I should imagine, a lifetimes work, but I have seen where they are kept. There is something, the way has been devised to keep them cool and properly kept in spacious room where they can be studied, without the modern methods of air-conditioning etc. and yet getting the advantage. But the whole architecture of the building has impressed me and I should like to congratulate the architect on it. The architecture is after all to contain something and I am glad the effort has been made to collect rare manuscripts and other cultural papers from round about here and to keep them in proper condition for scholars, for others to see. I have often felt that this kind of thing must be done on a big scale in India.

I remember once looking at a list, about thirty or twenty years ago, of Sanskrit manuscripts. There were 50,000 in that particular list that I saw and that certainly was not a complete list. Then I wondered how they could be got together for study, reference and possibly to have them, some of them, published. But they are spread out all over India, and what is more, beyond India. Quite a number of these manuscripts have been found in the Gobi desert, in Turfan. Some of the earliest dramas of Bhasa, we have found, they have not been discovered in India. And all over Tibet and China, there are either the original manuscripts or the translations of books, the original of which have been lost or may be somewhere and not been found yet. But I think from the point of view of historical scholarship and other points of view, it is important that we should keep them properly, otherwise they will gradually disappear or go to pieces if they are not properly looked after. I shall imagine a vast collection could be made if a thorough enquiry is made of this type, and not only one Vidya Mandir like this, but many Vidya Mandirs would be required to keep

112. Speech, 11 May 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10101, NM No. 1813.

113. Mehdi Nawaz Jung.

114. Jivraj Mehta.

115. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, industrialist.

116. Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskrit Vidya Mandir (Institute of Indology) was inaugurated by Nehru on 11 May 1963. See *The Hindu*, and the *National Herald*, 13 May 1963, p. 7 and p. 4 respectively.

them. So, I am glad this step has been taken here and I congratulate Kasturbhaiji and all trustees of this organisation.

May I say that during these three days that I have been here in Ahmedabad, I came here mainly for a very mundane purpose, that is, the laying of the foundation stone of the Oil Refinery¹¹⁷ near Baroda. But I have had occasion to visit several places in Ahmedabad and I have got a strong impression, the impression I had previously, but has been strengthened, how Ahmedabad is making itself a home of cultural activities of some very attractive buildings, housing these cultural activities, and that the citizens of Ahmedabad, particularly many of them, are very proud of their city and want to embellish it and to beautify it and make it a good centre of many of these desirable activities. Normally speaking, I find that lacking, that particular civic sense. Most people may be proud of the cities they live in and all that, but taking an active and constructive interest in improving them is often lacking. It is left normally to the Corporations of the Municipal Committees of the place, who are so terribly busy with other activities and they forget their city [Laughter]. It does seem to me in Ahmedabad whether it is a Corporation or whether it is a citizen independently of the Corporation or both, anyhow a good deal of attention is paid to the city, to the improvement of the city and to filling it with these fine buildings, enshrining many of these cultural activities. I have a vague recollection of Ahmedabad, I suppose, about forty-five years ago and I am afraid I had reacted rather strongly against it then. It had no pleasant aspect at all, except a lot of chimneys belching out smoke, and there was nothing else. But it is very different now, and it is a pleasant city with pleasant avenues, gracious buildings and altogether it is a pleasure to come here in spite of the warm weather. So I should like to congratulate the citizens of Ahmedabad on the way they are looking after their capital city and making it one of the important and valued cities of India in regard not only to its general appearance but more especially because of what it contains in the shape of valuable material, scholarly material and historical and other relics.

Anyhow I am glad that as I go to the airport on my way to Delhi, I carry away with me the memory of this Vidya Mandir, which is so eminently suited to be a real Vidya Mandir and to have all these valuable books and manuscripts collected here for the benefit, our own benefit and the benefit of the future generations. I have already been there and performed, opened the doors, etc., so I need not say that I inaugurate it, which has been done.

Thank you.

117. At Koyali.

Uttar Pradesh Tour

34. In Kanpur: At the Cancer Institute¹¹⁸

श्री पदमपत् जी,¹¹⁹ बहनो और भाइयो,
जब मुझे निमंत्रण दिया गया यहाँ आने का, कुछ ज़माना हुआ तो खुशी से मैंने इसको स्वीकार किया क्योंकि यह काम कैंसर रिसर्च और रेडियोलॉजी में बहुत ज़रूरी काम है और मुझे अच्छा लगा कि यहाँ कानपुर में यह इंस्टीट्यूट¹²⁰ बनायी गई है। शायद जो तरह-तरह की बीमारियाँ इंसान का पीछा करती हैं और सताती हैं उसमें सबमें भयानक कैंसर समझी जाती है। मुझे ठीक मालूम नहीं कि मुक्राबला कैसे किया जाये लेकिन कोई शक नहीं कि बुरा नाम है इसका और बावजूद बहुत कोशिशों के पूरीतौर से इस पर क़ाबू नहीं पाया। तो इसलिए अच्छा है कि पूरी खोज हो इस बात की कि कैसे यह क़ाबू में आ सकती है और जो कुछ आराम दिया जा सकता है वो दिया जाये।

एक बात अजीब है कि हमारे आजकल के सिविलाइज़ेशन का एक नमूना है कि हम पहले ऐसी बातें करते हैं जिससे इंसान को नुक़सान पहुँचे और फिर उसके इलाज करने की कोशिश करते हैं, पहले लड़ाई करते हैं फिर बड़े-बड़े अस्पताल रखते हैं कि ज़ख़मी आये, यहाँ से उनका इलाज किया जाये, बजाए इसके कि शुरु ही में ऐसी चीज़ न होने दें जिसके इलाज की ज़रूरत हो। ख़ैर, कैंसर तो किसी ऐसी बात से नहीं होता लेकिन शायद कैंसर भी अगर आमतौर से हालत लोगों की अच्छी हो तो कैंसर कम हो। मैं तो बहुत ज़्यादा जानता नहीं, पदमपत् जी ने कुछ तफ़्सीलें सुनायी हमें, कहाँ कित्ता होता है, किस उम्र में होता है, किस किस्म का होता है, मालूम नहीं मेरी उम्र अभी उसके दायरे में है कि नहीं।

तो मैं क्या कहूँ आपसे सिवाए इसके कि इन चीज़ों का सामना करना चाहिए, आगे आना चाहिए लेकिन शायद इसके साथ-साथ यह भी कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि जो बुनियादी वजूहात हैं, जिनसे होता है यह, वह कम हों। यक्रीनन टी.बी. है, तपैदिक है, कैंसर और टी.बी. दो ख़तरनाक बीमारियाँ हैं। मैंने सुना है कि बजाए कुछ कम होने के कुछ हल्के-हल्के बढ़ रही हैं हिन्दुस्तान में बावजूद अस्पतालों के, तरक़ीबों के। मैं नहीं जानता क्यूँ बढ़ रही हैं लेकिन हर सूरत से कुछ आम लोगों का रहन-सहन बेहतर हो तो ग़ालिबन ज़रूर उसका असर होगा और फ़ायदा होगा। ज़ाहिर है कि जब कोई बीमार हो जाये तो उसका इलाज करना है लेकिन उससे ज़्यादा बेहतर है कि बीमार न पड़े वह, इसके तरफ़ ज़्यादा तवज्जोह जाये और इसी वजह से यूरोप ने पब्लिक हैल्थ वग़ैरा में बहुत तरक़्की की है। यह कैंसर रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट जो-जो दुनिया में खोज हो रही है, तलाश हो रही है, इसको उसमें मिलकर

118. Speech, 12 May 1963, inaugurating the Institute. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 9781, NM No. 1800.

119. Padampat Singhanian, President of the JK Group.

120. J.K. Institute of Radiology and Cancer Research, Kanpur, was established by J.K. Charitable Trust. See the *National Herald*, 13 May 1963, p. 1.

यह भी मदद करेगा और उम्मीद करता हूँ कि कामयाब होगा, इससे कुछ रास्ते निकालने में [कि] किस तरह क्राबू में आये यह। और मैं उसको शुभकामनाएँ अपनी देता हूँ इस काम में और आपने, जिन्होंने इसको बनाया वगैरा है, उनको मुबारकबाद करता हूँ।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Shri Padmapatji, Sisters and Brothers,

When I was invited to come here some time ago, I gladly accepted because this work on Cancer research and radiology is extremely important and I liked the idea of this institute which has been set up in Kanpur. Among the various diseases which plague men, cancer is perhaps the most deadly. I do not quite know how it can be cured. But there is no doubt about it that it is a terrible disease and inspite of all the efforts it has not been brought under control. Therefore it would be a good thing to continue the research to find a cure and some method of giving relief to the patient.

It is really strange that one of the half-marks of our modern civilization is that we first do things which will harm human beings and then try to find a cure for it. Wars are fought and then the wounded are treated in hospitals instead to trying to avert a contingency which necessitates such treatment. Anyhow, nobody knows why cancer is caused. But perhaps its incidence will be less if the general condition of the people is good. I do not know very much about it. Padmapatji gave some details about, the age at which the disease occurs and the number of cases which are reported from various areas. I do not know if I fall into that age limit.

What can I say to you except that we must face this challenge and try to find a cure. But perhaps at the same time, the effort should also be to minimize the fundamental causes which could lead to cancer. There is no doubt about it that T.B. and cancer are two dread diseases which I have heard are gradually increasing in India instead of decreasing, inspite of all the hospitals and methods adopted to prevent them. I do not know why this should be so. But there is every chance that if the general condition of the people improved, it would definitely prove beneficial. It is obvious that when someone is ill he should be treated. But it would be much better if he were not to fall ill at all. We should pay more attention to this. There has been great in advance in Europe in the field of public health. The Cancer Research Institute here will contribute to the research being conducted all over the world and I hope will succeed in finding a

cure for the disease. My good wishes are with you in this task and I congratulate those who have been responsible for building this institute.

Jai Hind !

Translation ends]

35. In Kanpur: To Congress Workers¹²¹

Nehru: Self-Seekers must be Removed
Congressmen told to make Party Strong

Kanpur, Sunday (May 12) – Prime Minister Nehru today called upon Congressmen to strengthen the organisation by weeding out bogus members and those who were in the party for “self-aggrandisement”.

Addressing a meeting of Congress workers shortly after his arrival here from New Delhi, Pandit Nehru said that those members who did not consider the Congress as an instrument for serving the country and who wanted to exploit the organisation for their personal ends were “misfits” and should be “turned out”.

Pandit Nehru warned that the defects and weaknesses that were developing in the Congress organisation were more dangerous than even the Chinese aggression. Nobody could defeat India if she remained strong and united and pursued the right path. He, therefore, appealed to Congressmen to make the organisation, strong and effective.

Pandit Nehru condemned the use of money for boosting up individuals in the organisation, and said that this tendency had been particularly responsible for bringing the Congress a bad name to Kanpur City.

The Prime Minister emphasised that there was no organisation other than the Congress which could build a strong and democratic nation. He regretted that opposition parties pursued a negative approach and indulged in condemnation of the Congress at a time of great stress.

“Small minds cannot solve big problems, and we cannot overcome our difficulties merely by taking out processions and shouting slogans”, he added.

In a reference to the by-elections in the state next Sunday, Pandit Nehru said the Congress had to fight and win elections, but, “we will not progress even if we win one thousand elections if we do not remain strong and adhere to our ideas”.

121. Report of speech, 12 May 1963. *National Herald*, 13 May 1963, p. 1.

Conflict with China Long-Term Affair

The Prime Minister described the conflict with China as a “long-term affair” and said that the country should build herself up militarily and economically so that she could stand up to any future attack. Though there was no fighting at present on the borders, it did not mean that the problem had become less acute. China was intent on making some gains out of her aggression.

Indo-Pakistan Relations

On Indo-Pakistan relations, he said that India could not submit to any pressure that Pakistan wanted to put on her taking advantage of our involvement with China. “We cannot accept anything which goes against our basic attitudes, whatever be the difficulties we have to face”, Pandit Nehru declared.

Plan part of Defence of Country

The Prime Minister said that the Third Plan was part of the country’s defence effort and could not be given up. There might, however, be certain adjustments, but the major features of the Plan, whether agriculture, industry, transport or power, had become more essential in the present situation. The people had to bear willingly the twin burdens of defence and development.

“We cannot depend on outside help for everything. We must produce our own defence needs, taking all the help that is given by friendly countries”, he said.

Pandit Nehru began his address with a reference to the Chinese aggression, and said that it had placed new problems before the country. China’s attack on India also raised some basic questions in regard to relations between neighbouring countries. The Chinese Government had made wild allegations about the treatment of Chinese nationals interned at Deoli. These had been proved to be baseless. He wanted the people to realise that the Chinese aggression could only be met by the strength and determination of our people. “We cannot drive the Chinese out by shouting slogans or taking out processions”, he said.

“Strange Spectacle” of Pakistan

On the other side, there was the “strange spectacle” of Pakistan—which had militarily aligned herself with the West to fight communism—having come to a border pact with China. Pakistan agreed with China on everything, and ceded her some territory and her newspapers were full of praise for China.

Pandit Nehru said that from the beginning, India had taken the stand that India and Pakistan were neighbours with a common history and tradition dating back to thousands of years and should, therefore, live in utmost friendship as two independent nations. But all our efforts to that end had not succeeded.

At a time when India was in great difficulty, following the Chinese invasion, Pandit Nehru said, Pakistan sought to take advantage of the situation and put pressure on her “to make us accept something which we cannot accept, whatever be the difficulties we have to face.”

Pandit Nehru said that the situation arising out of the Chinese invasion had to be met militarily and, therefore, demanded preparations by way of strengthening our defences and producing weapons and other articles needed for defence. But this was going to be a long-term affair. The Chinese strategy was not clear, but it appeared that they certainly wanted to profit by their suggestion.

The Prime Minister said that the conditions through which the country was passing demanded hard work and utmost devotion on the part of the kisans, workers and every other section of the community.

Special Responsibility of Congress

Pandit Nehru asked Congressmen to remember that the country was more important than the Congress. Love for the Congress should go with love for the country. “Those in the organisation who serve themselves and not the organisation and exploit it for their own ends are misfits and should be turned out.” [Applause]

The Congress, he went on, had a special responsibility in the dangerous situation in which the country had been placed following the Chinese attack. “We have to make the people realise that we should bear the burdens of defence and development and not look for outside help. Whatever help has been given by some countries, including the USA and the UK, we accept and we are grateful to them. But if we do not bear the burden ourselves, we will become weak and vulnerable to new dangers.”

Pandit Nehru said that but for the Congress, the situation in India would have been quite different. All the smaller parties which fought with one another could not have taken the country forward. In Asia especially, there was no country except India, among the newly independent nations, which had made economic progress on the basis of a strong democratic structure. India had dedicated herself to building up a new Bharat by utilising science and technology.

New Spirit Needed

The Prime Minister said that mere machines, however modern and imported from abroad, could not change a country. Crores of people had to be attuned to a new spirit, and determination to forge ahead. Pandit Nehru emphasised the importance of modern methods of agriculture in raising the country's production. Development of science was equally important, as science was neither communistic nor capitalistic. There were no barriers of ideology so far as science was concerned. China, Pandit Nehru was pointed out, had devoted a good deal of resources on scientific research in the last fifteen years, and had become powerful.

Pandit Nehru said: "We have to make long-term preparations. We are not a fighting people. We are wedded to peace. We are known as a peace-loving nation. However much we are peaceful and do not want to fight, when there is aggression on our country, we, have to face it. The greatest apostle of non-violence and peace, Gandhiji, taught us the lesson that we should not succumb to evil. Otherwise, the country will go down."

In today's situation, Pandit Nehru said, the Congress, which ran the administration of the country, shouldered a heavy burden. "If we become weak and divided, there is no question of our standing up to external aggression. We have to do big things. We have to strengthen the Congress and go on the right path and not do wrong things. Bogus membership gives the organisation a bad name. I would specially appeal to you to see that the Congress organisation in UP is rid of such things."

Need for Discipline and Honesty

Pandit Nehru added that it was not the Government of India sitting in Delhi that could resist the Chinese aggression, but the whole country. Now adequately they strengthened the country both for defence and development would determine the future of India. In a democracy, elections were important and every party had to fight them vigorously, but elections were only one step in the process of building up a country. Strength did not come automatically with winning elections. Hard work, discipline and honesty alone could make the organisation strong. If the Congress lacked strength, gradually the Government it controlled at the Centre and in the states would come to an end. He, therefore, wanted Congressmen to see that the organisation was made strong and restored to its original position as one imbued with high ideals and comprising workers who wanted to serve the country and not themselves.

Pandit Nehru said that those who wanted to be in the Congress should fully subscribe to its ideal of socialism, which was intended to bring down disparities and give everybody equality of opportunity for progress.

In a brief reference to India's policy of non-alignment, Pandit Nehru said that this policy had been the right one. The fact that China committed aggression on India did not make the policy bad. "We want to pursue a policy, of friendship with all nations and keep aloof from military blocs. Once we align ourselves with any bloc, we become subservient to it, and our independence ceases to have meaning. We have not accepted the concept of blocs not because it was an ideal, but because such a policy did not benefit us."

Earlier, Mr C.B. Gupta, Chief Minister of UP, hoped that Mr Nehru's visit to Kanpur and his advice to Congress workers would create a new awakening in the state organisation.

36. In Lucknow: To the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, UP¹²²

माननीय शास्त्री जी,¹²³ बहनो और भाइयो,
कुछ दिन हुए जब प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री जी ने मुझे निमंत्रण दिया था इस हीरक जयन्ती के समय यहाँ आने का, वह कुछ देर के लिए मैं एक पेच में पड़ गया। एक तरफ़ से मेरी आने की इच्छा थी, प्रबल इच्छा, ऐसे समय पर, दूसरे तरफ़ से मुझे ख़्याल हुआ कि मैं आमतौर से ऐसी कुछ ढंग की सभाओं में जाता नहीं हूँ। एक तरफ़ से आर्यसमाज की जो उसके काम हुए हैं उसका मैं बहुत आदर करता हूँ और बहुत बड़े काम हुए हैं। स्वामी दयानन्द जी के समय से जो उन्होंने एक महान शक्ति चला दी यहाँ और अब तक चल रही है ज़ोरों से और उससे बहुत लाभ हुआ। दूसरे तरफ़ से कुछ बातें मेरे मन में आती थीं जिनसे मैं पूरीतौर से सहमत नहीं था, एक ढंग काम करने का या कुछ शायद विचार हो, जो कुछ हो। तो मैं इस पेच में पड़ा कि ऐसी हालत में मेरे लिए उचित क्या होगा।

खैर, ये ज़ाहिर है कि मैंने निश्चय किया मैं यहाँ आऊँ और चुनांचे मैं हाज़िर हूँ और इसमें तो कोई संदेह नहीं आपने सुना और सब लोग जानते हैं कि आर्यसमाज ने क्या-क्या बड़ी बातें की भारत में। उन्होंने, एक स्वामी दयानन्द जी ने एक आंधी की तरह से बहुत लोगों को हिला दिया, बहुत पुरानी बातों को दबाया और नयी तरफ़ ध्यान दिलाया। विशेषकर शिक्षा में तो जो आर्यसमाज ने किया है शायद ही किसी संस्था ने किया हो और समाज सुधार में भी जो कुछ हुआ है उसमें बहुत वह इस समाज को आगे बढ़ाया है

122. Speech, 12 May 1963, inaugurating the diamond jubilee celebrations, DAV College grounds. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 9783, 9782, NM No. 1802, 1801. For reports, see the *National Herald*, 13 May 1963, p. 1; *The Times of India*, 13 May 1963, p. 7 cols 1 & 2.

Later he laid the foundation stone of the new building of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha. See *The Hindu*, 14 May 1963, p. 5.

123. Prakash Vir Shastri, Lok Sabha MP from Bijnor, Congress; President, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, UP.

और बुनियाद डाली है उन बातों की जो बाद में हुई। यह सब बातें सही हैं और इसलिए आर्यसमाज को मैं, और मैं समझता हूँ सभी लोग उसकी बहुत प्रशंसा करेंगे और उसके लिए अपनी श्रद्धा पेश करेंगे। ये बात ठीक है।

आप देखें कि उन्नीसवीं सदी में, के शुरु में, आरम्भ में क्या भारत का हाल था, अंग्रेज़ कुछ जम गये थे, फ़ैलते जाते थे, ख़ाली हुकूमत उनकी नहीं फ़ैल रही थी लेकिन कुछ उनका रोब फ़ैल रहा था, यानी भारत में लोग हर तरह से उनको ऊँचा मानते थे। बाज़ बातों में ऊँचे थे वो, कोई शक नहीं लेकिन उसी सिलसिले में हमारी संस्कृति, हमारी बातें कुछ उनके मुक़ाबले में कम मालूम होती थीं, नीच मालूम होने लगी थीं, दबने लगीं, अंग्रेज़ियत का सिक्का जमने लगा था। मैं कोई अंग्रेज़ियत बुरे माने में नहीं कहता, उसमें अच्छी बातें हैं बहुत कुछ, लेकिन फिर भी वह अंग्रेज़ियत थी। इन सब बातों का असर हमारे बहुत लोगों में पड़ा, विशेषकर जो अंग्रेज़ी जानकर कुछ अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत से ज़्यादा संबंध रखते थे, जो स्कूल-कॉलेज में उस ज़माने के पढ़कर निकलने लगे। तो ऐसे मौक़े पर फिर एक उल्टी हवा भारत में हल्के-हल्के चली, यानी लोगों ने, बाज़ लोगों ने इस बात को नापसंद करके बताया कि ये हो रहा है, कि हम दबे जाते हैं अंग्रेज़ी बातों में, अंग्रेज़ी संस्कृति में, जो कि भली थी, उसमें बुरी बात नहीं थी लेकिन हमारा दब जाना बुरा था उसके नीचे, तब कई बड़े-बड़े आदमी हुए जिन्होंने इसका मुक़ाबला किया। बिल्कुल उन्नीसवीं सदी के शुरु में आप जानते होंगे राजा राममोहन राय हुए, बहुत क़ाबिल थे, बहुत विद्वान थे और उन्होंने इसका अपने ढंग से, पढ़े-लिखे आदमियों के लिए, इस बात का बहस करके मुक़ाबला किया। और भी हुए, स्वामी दयानन्द जी हुए, उन्होंने अपने ढंग से अपनी तरफ़ से बहुत ज़ोरों से इसका मुक़ाबला किया और एक नये तरफ़, नये ढंग से देश का ध्यान दिलाया, नये तरफ़, यानी विशेषकर धार्मिक बातों में, क्योंकि यह भी कुछ आम जनता में तो नहीं लेकिन ख़ास लोगों में जो उस ज़माने के पढ़े-लिखे कहलाते थे, कुछ धर्म के बारे में भी भ्रम हो गये थे। और फिर रामकृष्ण परमहंस हुए, स्वामी विवेकानन्द हुए, और बड़े-बड़े लोग हुए जिन्होंने अपने देश के धर्म के कुछ नये माने पहनाना तो मैं नहीं कहता लेकिन नये तरफ़ ध्यान दिलाया। हमारे धर्म में आम जनता के लिए तो विचारों का जहाँ तक हो ज़्यादातर पूजा-पाठ का हो गया था और उसका जो असली अंश है शायद ही कुछ लोग भूलने लगे थे।

तो इन लोगों ने फिर उसको जगाया और भारत की संस्कृति जो बुनियादी है उसकी तरफ़ ध्यान दिलाया और उसका नतीजा ये हुआ [कि] उन्नीसवीं सदी में फिर से भारतीय धर्म, जो कुछ कहिए, हिन्दू धर्म, आर्य धर्म, उसके तरफ़, वह बजाए कमज़ोर होने के मज़बूत होने लगा। और बहुत उसके कारण थे, बहुत लोग थे और उसमें आख़िर महात्मा गांधी भी थे, वह धर्म का बहुत नहीं कहते थे लेकिन असल में वह बड़े धार्मिक पुरुष थे आप जानते हैं। और इस सब सिलसिले में जो बड़ी-बड़ी लहरें आयीं भारत में और भारत के दिमाग़ पर असर डाला, स्वामी दयानन्द जी का बड़ा भारी असर हुआ और ख़ासकर जो ख़राबियाँ धर्म के नाम से चालू हो गयी थीं उस पर, उनकी निन्दा की जो हमारे समाज को जिसने कमज़ोर किया था, गिराया था।

अब वह बातें जैसे कि अभी कहा शायद प्रकाशवीर जी ने या किसने कि जिस समय आर्यसमाज ने यह आवाज़ उठायी थी उस समय ज़रा वह आमतौर से नहीं बुरी मानी जाती थी। अब तो सब कहने को तैयार हैं, अब तो बहुत बातें क़ानून से भी हटा दी गयीं और आम समाज के विचार भी उससे त्याज्य हैं। तो यह सब हुआ। अब एक किसी-किसी समय मैं देखता हूँ कि बावजूद अंग्रेज़ियत के, सब बातों के भारत में अक्सर पढ़े-लिखे हिन्दू भी कुछ ज़्यादा उनके समझ में आ गयी बात, अपने धर्म के सिद्धांत और धर्म की बुनियादी बातें और ऊपरी बातों से हट गये। विशेषकर एक क़दर बढ़ने लगी उपनिषद की और भगवद्गीता की और अब आप देखें कि उपनिषद में और भगवद्गीता में कुछ करना, धर्म के, विस्तार से बताया है कि क्या चीज़ है।

मैं बहुत बड़ा धार्मिक आदमी नहीं हूँ और मुझे आप माफ़ करेंगे मैं कोई ग़लती, ग़लत बात कहूँ लेकिन ये, मोटीतौर से ये बातें समझ में आयीं मैं आपसे कहता हूँ। एक तो धर्म का शब्द ही जो है उसका अनुवाद आप करें तो शायद ठीक अनुवाद न हो रिलिजन से या मज़हब से। रिलिजन और मज़हब भी उसमें हैं, इसमें कोई शक नहीं, लेकिन कुछ अधिक उससे एक और भी चीज़ है—एक आदमी का धर्म एक आदमी का कर्तव्य होता है, एक आदमी का कर्तव्य वो जाति का और देश का कर्तव्य उसका धर्म होता है। तो इस माने में ज़रा इसके माने बढ़ जाते हैं। कर्तव्य दो तरह के होते हैं, एक किसी सिद्धांत से निकले कर्तव्य और एक कर्तव्य जो कि बदल सकता है समय आने पर। तो कर्तव्य कुछ तो सिद्धांत रूप से कमोबेश एक ही होना चाहिए, उसकी बुनियाद एक ही होनी चाहिए, दूसरे बहुत कुछ उसका दारोमदार है उसको मैं कहूँ युग, धर्म पर। क्योंकि दुनिया बदलती है मूल सिद्धांत एक रहे, लेकिन बहुत बातें बदलती हैं और जब वह बदलती हैं तब लोगों के, लोगों का कर्तव्य दुनिया के सामने बदल जाता है और जो लोग नहीं बदलते हैं, जो नहीं समझते हैं दुनिया बदली है वो पिछड़ जाते हैं, वह रह जाते हैं पीछे। जो हमारे साथ हुआ है बार-बार हमारे इतिहास में, हम पिछड़ गये और हम समझे नहीं कि युग का धर्म क्या है। यह आवश्यक बात है कि हम समझें युग को और युग के धर्म को, उसी पर हम चलें, ख़ाली एक सिद्धांत रूप से कोई बात बिल्कुल सही हो, उसको कहने से, और कुछ अमल में नहीं लाने के हम बहुत सफल नहीं होते हैं, क्योंकि अमल में लाना अधिकतर युग के धर्म पे होता है।

तो यह बात आप देखें, भगवद्गीता में बार-बार लिखा है कि इस बात को कृष्ण जी कहते हैं कि 'सम्भवामि युगे युगे', आते हैं सम्भालने के लिए 'धर्म संस्थापनाथार्य सम्भवामि युगे युगे' वगैरा। इसके माने जो कुछ बड़े-बड़े शास्त्री लोग करें, करें, लेकिन मोटे माने यह हैं कि अवतार बार-बार होते हैं, होते होंगे, मैं नहीं जानता लेकिन मैं यह जानता हूँ कि हर युग का, हर युग में विचार नये होते हैं, चाहे अवतार हों, चाहे किसी तरह से आ जायें, विचार पैदा होते हैं उस युग के लिए और उसको समझना, उस पर अमल करना यह आवश्यक होता है, नहीं तो दुनिया जम जाती है बढ़ती नहीं। दुनिया हर वक़्त बदलती रहती है, इस बात को हम नहीं समझे तो हम नहीं दुनिया के साथ चल सकते, पिछड़ जाते हैं, यह हमारे यहाँ बार-बार हो चुका है।

इसलिए इस बात को समझना है कि धर्म के दो हिस्से होते हैं, एक समझा जाये कहिए आप उसे अटल हिस्सा उससे मिला है, जो बदलते हुए युग से बदलता है और आपका कर्तव्य बदलता है, मोटी बातें हैं, कोई धर्म, युग की बातें नहीं हैं। लेकिन आपके जीवन में कितनी बातें बदल गई हैं, आप यहाँ से दिल्ली जाइये तो आप बैलगाड़ी से नहीं जायेंगे, आप रेल, हवाई जहाज़ या मोटर पे जायेंगे, इसको तो आप करते हैं बगैर सोचे, सारा जीवन आपका बदलता जाता है। अगर उसी के साथ इस नये युग को आप समझे नहीं पूरीतौर से और आपका मन पुराने युग को नये युग समझने की कोशिश करे तो न आप पुराने युग में रहते हैं न नये युग में। इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि इस बुनियाद को हम समझें। अब जो आपकी मैं अक्सर कह चुका हूँ, मैं धर्म पर मैं कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि मैंने अध्ययन काफ़ी नहीं किया, कुछ तो किया है, और मैं उसका बड़ा पंडित नहीं हूँ, लेकिन मुझे हिन्दू धर्म में बाज़ बातें बहुत खींचती हैं और वो बातें ऐसी हैं जो कि दिखाती हैं कि हिन्दू धर्म में कम से कम उसके सिद्धांत रूप से तंग-ख़्याली बिल्कुल नहीं है।

एक भगवद्गीता के आपको बताता हूँ, ताली न बजाइए क्योंकि अक्सर जो लोग बजाते हैं उनको मैं तंग-ख़्याल समझता हूँ। एक सोचने की बात हुई न, क्योंकि आप देखिए कृष्ण जी कहते हैं, उनके शब्द भूल गया लेकिन उसके माने यही हैं कि जो जिस रास्ते से मेरे पास आते हैं उनका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ, वे मेरे यहाँ किसी रास्ते से भी आयें। देखिए वह तंग-ख़्याली नहीं कि यह रास्ता है उनके यहाँ आने का, उन्होंने सारी दुनिया को अपने में ले लिया है और जिस हर रास्ते से लोग जाते हैं चाहें न चाहें मेरे पास आते हैं। यह ख़्याल आमतौर से मज़हब वालों का नहीं है कि हमारे मज़हब हैं, और सब ग़लत हैं, हमारे में आयें, कोई आयेगा स्वर्ग जायेगा, जाके मोक्ष मिलेगा, और कहीं जाने से नरक में जायेगा, दोज़ख़ में जायेगा या और कहीं जाये। यह आमतौर से विचार है जो कि कम से कम मुझे बिल्कुल भाता नहीं, क्योंकि कहना कि आधी दुनिया, तीन चौथाई दुनिया सब नरक में जायेंगे, बाक़ी चुने हुए लोगों को लाभ होगा। यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है कि कोई भी दुनिया में परमेश्वर ऐसा प्रबंध कर सकता है। तो ये विचार, असल में बुनियादी विचार बहुत अच्छे हैं और बिल्कुल उसमें तंग-ख़्याली की गुंजाइश नहीं। मेरा कुछ ख़्याल हुआ वो ये कि आर्यसमाज में ध्येय और धर्मों का चर्चा करने का एक हमलावर है, अपनाने का नहीं है बल्कि उन पर हमला करने का है। मुझे यह उचित नहीं मालूम हुआ और मुझे यह भारतीय संस्कृति के विरुद्ध मालूम हुआ और जिसको मैं उचित समझता हूँ वो भारत की संस्कृति अपनाने की है और बहुत कुछ अपनाया उसने। एक तो यह बात है और दूसरे उसी से कुछ मिली-जुली बात है जिससे कुछ मेरा विचार मेरे तजुर्बे में, अभ्यास में कुछ आर्यसमाजी तंग-ख़्याली दिखते हैं।

खैर, मैं इशारा किया चाहता था आपके सामने, क्योंकि आर्यसमाज स्वामी दयानन्द जी ने उते बड़े रास्ते खोले, इतनी बड़ी बातें निकाली कि जिससे भारत को बेहद फ़ायदा पहुँचा और एक बड़ी लहर उन्नीसवीं सदी में भारत में आ रही थी कई तरफ़ से, उस लहर को बहुत आगे किया। अब एक और बात स्वामी जी की वह यह कि हिन्दू धर्म में कुछ यह हवा हो गयी थी कि हरेक आदमी अपने मोक्ष की कोशिश करे। मैं इसके निस्वत क्या

कहूँ, मैं तो इस लायक नहीं हूँ कि कुछ कहूँ लेकिन मुझे यह बात बिल्कुल पसंद नहीं है कि हरेक आदमी अपने मोक्ष की कोशिश करे। कोशिश करनी चाहिए लोगों को समाज के मोक्ष की, समाज के साथ अपना भी मोक्ष हो जाये हो जाये, लेकिन अपना करना यह मुझे ठीक नहीं मालूम होता। और स्वामी जी ने समाज की तरफ़ ज़्यादा ध्यान दिलाया, यह बात मुझे उनकी तरफ़ खींचती है और जो-जो बातें उन्होंने कहीं वे समाज के लिए थीं चाहे उसे आप शिक्षा कहिए, समाज सुधार कहिए, जो कुछ है यह समाज की थी और यह बात तो फिर और तरफ़ से भी बढ़ती गयी है और गांधी जी ने इस पर बहुत ज़ोर दिया। और आजकल की दुनिया में तो यह एक मामूली बात हो गई है, सभी मानते हैं कि समाज की, सुधार की तरफ़ कार्य करना, समाज की सेवा करना ये अपना भी उसी से सुधार है, मोक्ष है, जो कुछ कहिए, हर सूरत असली चीज़ समाज का सुधार करना है।

तो आजकल हम, एक धार्मिक रीति से या सामाजिक रीति से हमारा देश कुछ हल्के-हल्के बदल रहा है। बदल रहा शायद सही नहीं शब्द है कि बल्कि अपने को आजकल की दुनिया से मिला रहा है और आजकल की दुनिया से मिलाये बग़ैर वह चल नहीं सकता है, क्योंकि दो बातें हमें समझनी हैं—हमें जो हमारी जड़ है भारत की उस जड़ को रखना है, हम जड़ से उखड़ गये तो हम न इधर के रहे न उधर के रहे। तो मूल सिद्धांतों की जड़ है, उसको रखना है और उसी के साथ आजकल की दुनिया के, विज्ञान की दुनिया को समझना है और उसको अपनाना है, समन्वय करना है इन दोनों बातों में। समन्वय नहीं करते, एक बात भी छूट जाती है तो हम रह जाते हैं और इस वक़्त कोशिश भारत की यह है कि समन्वय करने की। आपने शायद सुना हो आचार्य विनोबा भावे ने कहा कि आजकल की इस समय, उन्होंने, ये उनके शब्द हैं, उन्होंने कहा कि मज़हब और सियासत ठीक नहीं है, उनका समय ख़त्म हो गया। याद रखिए वह बहुत धार्मिक आदमी हैं, आचार्य जी, फिर भी उन्होंने कहा कि मज़हब और सियासत, राजनीति का समय ख़त्म हो गया। अब इन चीज़ों का समय है, विज्ञान का और और रुहानियत, आत्मविद्या या स्परिचूएलिटी का, अब इस पे ज़रा विचार कीजिए, वो ज़रा उन्होंने उर्दू शब्दों का प्रयोग किया क्योंकि वह व्याख्यान दे रहे थे, मुझे याद नहीं कहीं उर्दू बोलने वाली जगह में या तो शायद कश्मीर था या पाकिस्तान था, मुझे याद नहीं कहाँ। तो उसपे विचार करने की बात उन्होंने, तो उन्होंने कहा धर्म, धर्म नहीं कहा, उन्होंने मज़हब कहा, यानी इसके माने ये थे कि वह हिस्सा जो धर्म का, वो मज़हब कहलाता है वो कुछ दिखावे का है। क्योंकि उन्होंने रुहानियत, आत्मविद्या, स्परिचूएलिटी को अलग कर दिया उससे जिसको वो आवश्यक समझते हैं और वह कोई एक धर्म की नहीं रही वह सब धर्मों की हो गयी। वह और साइंस यह दोनों चीज़ें आजकल की हैं और इन दोनों को मिलाना है और चलाना है, एक-दूसरे के बग़ैर नहीं चलती हैं। साइंस बग़ैर स्परिचूएलिटी के जाने कहाँ हमें पहुँचा दे ग़लत तरफ़ और स्परिचूएलिटी बग़ैर साइंस के अच्छी चीज़ है लेकिन इस दुनिया में बग़ैर दुनिया को समझे वो एक बेकस सी हो जाती है।

तो यह प्रश्न है और इस प्रश्न को हमें हल करना है, समन्वय करना है दोनों बातों को और पुराने भारतीय संस्कृति को याद रखना है जो कि दुनिया को अपनाती थी। हालांकि मैं मानता हूँ कि बीच में एक ज़माना हुआ, बड़ा ज़माना, जबकि भारत के लोग बिल्कुल

सिकुड़ गये और दुनिया से कट गये और दुनिया बदलती गयी, बढ़ती गयी और हम वहीं के वहीं रह गये। तो इससे हम दुर्बल हो गये, हमपे औरों ने कब्ज़ा कर लिया, कब्ज़ा खाली, खाली हथियारों का, फ़ौज का नहीं लेकिन विचारों का कब्ज़ा किया। तो अब यह फिर नहीं हमें होने देना है, हमें इस दुनिया को समझना है, हमें विज्ञान को समझना है जो कि इस दुनिया को चला रही, बना रही है और उसको प्राचीन विद्या वगैरा जो कुछ हमारी है, जिसको हम समझते हैं कि बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे की चीज़ है उससे मिलाना है। इस तरह से हमें करना है, समन्वय करके हम बढ़ सकते हैं और यह विचार नहीं करना है कि सभी धर्म वाले आमतौर से करते हैं कि हमारा धर्म एक है, धर्म, और सब अधर्म हैं। यह एक तंग-ख़्याली का विचार है, हमें सभों को अपनाना है, कम से कम एक विचारधारा ऐसी रखनी है जिसको अपना सकें, हम खींच सकें सभों को और आजकल की दुनिया में धर्म के अलावा यही एक विचारधारा चलनी चाहिए। हमने राजनीति में कहा कि हम स्वराज्य आने के बाद हम सब देशों से प्रेम करेंगे, सब देशों से सहयोग करेंगे, उनकी मित्रता चाहते हैं, हम कोई किसी फ़ौजी समझौते में किसी देश से नहीं आयेंगे, अंग्रेज़ी में नॉन-एलाइनमेंट कहता हूँ। क्या चीज़ है यह? एक तो यह कि एक आज़ादी की निशानी है कि हम खुद फ़ैसला करें हमारा देश का, दूसरे हमारे लिए न करें। दूसरे यह कि हमारे जो कुछ इसके पहले हुआ, यहाँ तक कि हमारे जो धार्मिक रूप से भी या फ़लसफ़े के रूप से जो हमारे विचार थे उसका भी नतीजा यही होता है कि हम यह विदेश नीति नॉन-एलाइनमेंट की रखें। मेरा मतलब नहीं कि उसके माने नॉन-एलाइनमेंट के हैं डरें, मतलब यह है कि हमारा मन जो तैयार हुआ है आज सैकड़ों-हज़ारों बरस में यह ख़ामख़्वाह के लिए अगर झुके उस तरफ़ और इसलिए वह हमारे लिए ख़ास विशेषकर मौज़ू औरों के लिए भी हो।

तो अब आजकल हमारे सामने संकट का समय है। पहली बार, हमारे सामने स्वराज्य आने के बाद पहली बार संकट आया है, चीनी हमला और वह हमला बहुत ज़बरदस्त है। इस वक़्त लड़ाई नहीं हो रही है, हम लोग, कुछ लोग अपनी शेखी में आके लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें कहें कि यह करो वह करो तो सिर्फ़ कुछ काम नहीं चलता, वह तो कोई निशानी नहीं है शक्ति की, वह तो बचपन की निशानी है। बात यह है कि बहुत एक ज़बरदस्त संकट है हमारे सामने, उससे हमें कोई घबराने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, हमारी शक्ति काफ़ी है, और बढ़े, लेकिन उसको कम करना भी है तो हम धोखे में पड़ जायेंगे और इसलिए हमें अपनी ताक़त असल में बढ़ानी है। असली ताक़त आजकल क्या है? दिल की ताक़त, हृदय की, वो बात होनी चाहिए और फिर आप विज्ञान पर आते हैं, विज्ञान ताक़त है, विज्ञान से सामान बनेगा, हथियार बनते हैं, सब कुछ है। चीन की जो ताक़त है आजकल वह सारी विज्ञान की है, उसने पिछले बरस में और काम को छोड़ के अपनी शक्ति विज्ञान की अपनी फ़ौज बढ़ाने में, हथियार बढ़ाने में लगायी है। इसलिए वह कुछ आदमी भी काफ़ी हैं, उनके यहाँ परिश्रम करने वाले मेहनती हैं, फिर उसके पीछे विज्ञान है और उसका सामना विज्ञान से ही हो सकता है, विज्ञान के तरीक़े से हो सकता है, विज्ञान का जो बच्चा है, औलाद है, जो नये-नये यंत्र बने हैं, टेक्नोलोजी है उनसे फ़ायदा उठायें, सीखें हमारे लोग और फ़ौजें भी सीखें। और ये, ये एक चुनौती जो है मिली है चीन की तरफ़ से, उससे

हानि हमें हो सकती है और लाभ भी हो सकता है और हम उसको ठीकतौर से, समझ से, हिम्मत से उसका सामना करें तो लाभ हो सकता है क्योंकि आप जानते हैं देश बनते हैं संकट जब उनके सामने आता है, उसका सामना करते हैं और सफल होते हैं या तो दब जाते हैं संकट में। दब गये तो दब गये, नहीं तो अच्छी तरह से जैसे कोई व्यक्ति, कोई पुरुष मज़बूत होता है कुश्ती लड़के, देश भी ऐसे, देश की कुश्ती होती है, संकट में कुश्ती लड़ना किसी विरोधी से।

तो यह हमारे सामने आया है इस समय और इसमें हमें काफ़ी पूरी ताक़त लगानी है और अक़ल से, समझ से काम करना है, ख़ाली हुल्लड़बाज़ी से काम नहीं चलता है। समय आने पर, समय ठीक समझा जाये तो हमें क़दम उठाना है, सोच के क़दम उठाना है, कैसे उठाना है, किस ढंग से यह सब बातें हमें सोचनी हैं। मुझे कोई नहीं शक है कि जो हमारी बुनियादी नीति रही है वो सही है, छोटी-मोटी ग़लतियाँ हुई हैं और उसको हमें उसपे चलना है और देश को मज़बूत करना है, तगड़ा करना है। उसके तगड़ा करने के लिए आवश्यक हो जाता है कि जो हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना इत्यादि की नीति रही उसको चलाते जायें क्योंकि वह उसी नीति से देश की आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी होती है, मज़बूत होती है और देश तगड़ा होता है। इसके माने ये हैं कि बोझे बहुत हमें उठाने हैं, एक तो पंचवर्षीय योजना का था ही और दूसरे ये रक्षा का, भारत की रक्षा करना है हमलों से, दो मिलके बहुत काफ़ी हो जाते हैं। बाज़ लोगों ने कहा कि इस समय पंचवर्षीय योजना को छोड़ दो, मुलतवी कर दो, सारी ताक़त रक्षा पे करें। यह बात ठीक थी और ग़लत थी क्योंकि सारी ताक़त पे करें, रक्षा के माने यह नहीं हैं कि हम एक सिपाही बनाते जायें, सारे देश को सिपाही बना दें। सिपाही के पास सामान होना चाहिए, सामान हमें पैदा करना चाहिए, पैदा करने के लिए कारख़ाने बनाने चाहियें, पैदा करने के लिए हमें किसान से अधिक काम करवाना है, कारख़ानों में अधिक, नये कारख़ाने बनाने हैं, सारा देश इस तरह से सिपाही होता है। तो ख़ाली एक तलवार-बन्दूक लेकर मैदान में खड़े होने से कुछ फ़ायदा नहीं, बेकार हो उसके पास सामान न हो। चुनांचे, कोई चारा नहीं रहा हमारे लिए कि हम दोनों बातें करें, फ़ौजें वग़ैरा इत्यादि तैयार करें और पंचवर्षीय योजना को ज़ोरों से चलायें ताकि हमारी शक्ति, हमारी आर्थिक शक्ति बढ़े और लड़ाई लड़ने की भी शक्ति बढ़े, दोनों मिली हुई हैं।

यह हमारे सामने सवाल है और इसके करने में हम बहक न जायें। बहक हम बहुत तरह से सकते हैं, उस तरह तो एक तरह तो यही है कि हम घबरा जायें, परेशान हो जायें, घबराने से कुछ नहीं होता, ठंडे दिल से इन बातों का सामना करना है, मज़बूती से। दूसरी यह बात कि हम एक अपने जोश में आके एक हुल्लड़ करें और जो असली प्रश्न है उसको समझने की हम कोशिश न करें और असली बात करने [की]। असल में परिश्रम से काम होता है, जो कुछ करें हम, एक देश का जो पैदा करना है, अधिक खेतों से पैदा करना है, कारख़ानों से, परिश्रम से होता है, और किसी से नहीं, एक प्रस्ताव कर देने से नहीं होता है। इस तरह से हम करें तो मुझे तो पूरा विश्वास है कि इस संकट से हमारा लाभ होगा, हमारी शक्ति बढ़ेगी और हमारी आर्थिक हालत भी अच्छी हो जायेगी, यानी भारत की।

आपसे कहा है कि आजकल की सारी दुनिया ऐसे संकट से भरी है और बड़ी क्रांतिकारी दुनिया है, पता नहीं कहाँ जाये, क्या हो, कब बड़ी लड़ाई हो जाये, एटम बम चलें। ऐसे मौके पर और भी ज़रूरी है कि हम सोच समझ के काम करें, अपने को तैयार करें और इधर-उधर बह न जायें एक जोश में आके, बगैर समझे-बूझे, मुश्किल काम है यह सब, लेकिन मुश्किलों का सामना करके ही आदमी और देश बढ़ता है।

मैंने आपसे कुछ इधर-उधर की बातें कर दीं लेकिन मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे इस हीरक जयन्ती पर बुलाया और मुझे मौका दिया कि मैं आपसे कुछ कहूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि स्वामी दयानन्द जी एक बहुत बड़े महापुरुष थे जिन्होंने इस देश को एक गढ़े से निकाला, गढ़े में पड़ा हुआ, और लोगों ने भी निकाला, इन्होंने विशेषकर और एक नयी जान दी बेजान जो थे हम पहले, हमारे सब गुण थे हम में, लेकिन फिर भी हम बेजान थे। तो इन महापुरुषों में कुछ लोगों ने हमें जान दी और फिर से खड़ा किया हमें और चलना सिखाया, इससे बड़ी बात क्या हो सकती है। तो मैं अपनी श्रद्धांजलि पेश करता हूँ उनके लिए और आशा करता हूँ कि इस नये ज़माने में आर्यसमाज एक बड़ा हिस्सा लेगी आजकल के बड़े महान कार्यों में जो देश के सामने हैं।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Respected Shastriji, ¹²⁴ Sisters and Brothers,

A few days ago, when Prakash Vir Shastriji invited me to come here for the Hirak Jayanti, I was in a bit of a dilemma. On the one hand, I wanted very much to come. On the other hand, I hesitated because normally I do not go to such meetings. I have always had great respect for the work done by the Arya Samaj right from the times of its founder, Swami Dayanandji. He started a very powerful movement which is still going strong and has benefitted the country greatly. On the other hand, I am not fully in agreement with some of the things that the Samaj does, its manner of them or ways of thinking. So I was in a bit of a dilemma as to what would be proper for me to do.

Well, it is obvious that I decided to come here and you see me before you. There is no doubt about the great achievements that the Arya Samaj has to its credit. Swami Dayanandji shook up a large number of people with the fury of a storm. He opposed many of the existing traditions and gave a new sense of direction to innumerable people. Particularly in the field of education hardly any other institution has done as much in India as the Arya Samaj. It was responsible for most of the social reforms which have taken place in the country and laid

124. See fn 123 in this section.

the foundation for what came later. All this is true and therefore I feel everyone respects and praises the Arya Samaj which is proper.

Look at the condition of India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The British had got a firm foothold and though they had not got political control, they were spreading tentacles all over India. People in India conceded their superiority in every way. There is no doubt about it that in certain fields they were superior. Unfortunately under the influence of western culture, we had begun to look upon our own with disdain. I do not mean to say that westernization was bad. But it was an alien culture and made a great impact upon a large number of people in India particularly those who had learnt English and had direct contact with the British Government. It was at that time that there was a reversal of trends. Some people disapproved of the suppression of our culture and tradition under the influence of western culture. Not that it was all bad. There were many good things that we could learn from the British. But it was not proper that we should allow ourselves to be completely suppressed by it. Great leaders emerged in that period who voiced their dissatisfaction and tried to counteract the western influx. As you probably know, right at the beginning of the nineteenth century Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a great scholar, stood for the intellectual argument for a revival of Indian culture. Then there were others. Swami Dayanandji staunchly opposed the trend towards giving up our culture and gave a new direction to people's thought, particularly in religious matters. In those days, there was some confusion among the educated intelligentsia about what Hinduism stood for. Then came Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda and other great men who gave—I cannot call it a meaning—direction to people's thinking about religion. For the masses, religion consisted mostly of rituals and the essence of Hinduism had been more or less forgotten.

These great leaders' in the nineteenth century drew the people's attention towards the fundamental culture of India and what Hinduism stood for, with the result that instead of losing its grip, religion in India whether you call it Hinduism or Arya Dharma took a powerful hold upon the people once again. A succession of great leaders, among whom was Mahatma Gandhi, also gave a great fillip to the revival of Indian culture and religion. As you know, though Gandhiji did not talk much about religion, he was in fact a very religious man. All these great waves of revival and renaissance had a great impact upon the Indian mind. Swami Dayanandji, in particular, exercised a great influence. He criticised in no uncertain terms the evils which were being perpetrated in the name of religion and which had been responsible for the downfall of Indian society.

As Prakash Virji mentioned just now, at the time that the Arya Samaj raised its voice against these evils, they were not generally regarded as bad.

Now of course everyone condemns them. Many of them have been banned by law and the thinking of society has also changed. Now I find that in spite of westernisation and other factors, the educated Indians have begun to understand somewhat more about the essence of our religion and culture and have gone beyond superficial things. The Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita, in particular, are held in great respect, you will find that the Upanishads and Bhagavad Gita tell us in great detail about what dharma stands for.

Now I am not a religious man and you will forgive me if I say something wrong. But I would like to tell you in broad, general terms what I have understood about Dharma. For one thing, religion is not the proper translation of the word “dharma”. Religion is no doubt a part of it. But dharma is something more than religion. It encompasses the duty of an individual, a caste or community and of a nation. So in this sense, dharma has a broader meaning. Duty is of two kinds. The first is the one that is based on a principle and the second is something which can be changed according to the times. Duty based on fundamental principles must remain more or less unchanged over time. The other kind of duty, I would say, depends largely on the age we live in. In a changing world, while the fundamental principles must remain unchanged, circumstances change and the duty of human beings has to change with them. Those who fail to understand this become backward and lag behind. This has happened again and again in our history because we failed to understand the demands of the age. It is extremely important for us to understand the times we live in and fit into them. We cannot succeed if we keep repeating something which may be absolutely correct in principle because practicing it depends on the nature of the times we live in.

You will find that Krishna has stressed this again and again in the Bhagavad Gita. He has said, “Dharma samsthapanarthaya sambhavami yuge yuge.” Scholars and pundits may have endless debates over this. But broadly speaking, it means that there will be incarnations again and again. I do not know about that. But I do know that every age produces new thoughts and ideas. Whether you wish to call it an incarnation or something else, every age throws up ideas relevant to it and it is extremely important to understand and implement them. Otherwise we will stagnate. The world is in a constant state of flux and unless we understand this, we will lag behind as we have done again and again in the past.

Therefore we must understand that dharma has two aspects. One is the unchanging, constant aspect, and the second which springs from the first, is the reflection of the changing times. There is nothing mysterious about this. Within our living memory, many things have changed. We no longer travel by bullock-cart if we want to go to Delhi. We go by train aero-plane or motorcar. We do this automatically now. If we fail to understand the times we live in or

try to cling to the past, we will be neither here nor there. Therefore it is essential that we should understand this basic fact. As I have often said I do not wish to say very much about religion because I have not studied it deeply. I am no pundit. But there are certain things about Hindu dharma which attract me greatly. They are the aspects which demonstrate that at least in its principles, there is absolutely no narrow-mindedness in Hindu dharma.

Let me tell you something about the Bhagavad Gita. Please do not cheer because I think that people who cheer about such matters are often narrow-minded. You will find that Krishna says words to the effect that he will welcome everyone who comes to him no matter by which path they like to do so. Now there is no narrow-mindedness about this. Krishna embraces the whole world in this. People of other religions generally believe that only by following their own religion human beings can attain salvation and that other paths will lead to hell or purgatory and what not. This is the kind of thinking which I simply do not like. I cannot understand how any religion can exclude three-fourths of the world and talk of salvation of the select few. I cannot believe any God would arrange things like this. So the Bhagvad Gita preaches something in which fundamentally there is no scope for narrow-mindedness. Somehow I have gathered the impression that the Arya Samaj assumes a posture of attacking and not embracing other ways of thinking on religion and goals. This does not seem proper to me. It seems opposed to Indian culture which has always shown tolerance. This is one thing and the second is something akin to the first, where from my experience, I have found the Arya Samajis to show narrow-mindedness.

I want to give you a hint. Swami Dayanandji showed an entirely new path which has benefited India greatly. He gave greater momentum to the renaissance which took place in India in the nineteenth century. Hinduism used to lay great emphasis on personal salvation of the individuals. I am not competent to comment on this. But I do not like the idea of individuals being concerned only with their own personal salvation. Human beings should strive for the salvation of the entire society and community and attain personal salvation through that. Swami Dayanand drew the people's attention to the latter which draws one to him. His views on education and social reform were attained at the society at large, His way of thinking caught on and began to spread and Gandhiji too laid great emphasis on social reform. Today everyone accepts that social service is the best way for personal salvation or whatever you may like to call it. In any event, society must be changed and reformed.

India is changing socially and in religious matters by slow degrees. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to say India is striving to fit herself into the modern age for we cannot progress otherwise. We must be clear in our minds about two things. We must retain our roots for if we fail to do so we will

lose our moorings and be cut adrift. So we must hold on to our fundamental principles and at the same time understand and adopt ways of modern science and bring about a synthesis of the two. If we fail to do one or the other, we will lag behind. At the moment, India is engaged in the task of synthesis. You may have heard what Vinoba Bhave has said about the days of religion and politics being over. You must remember that he is an intensely religious man. Yet he has said that the days of religion and politics are over and that this is the age of science and spirituality. He had used Urdu words for he was speaking at that time in Kashmir or some area which is now in Pakistan. But what he has said is worth thinking about. When he said religion, he was referring to its superficial aspects of rituals which is quite apart from spirituality. He considered the latter to be essential for it is common to all religions. Science and spirituality are the requirements of the modern age and a synthesis between the two is essential. Neither can do without other. Science without spirituality will lead us astray and though spirituality in itself is good, it is somewhat ineffective without an understanding of the age we live in.

So this problem has to be solved by making a synthesis between the two. Ancient Indian culture was a synthesis of different strands of ideas and thoughts. Then I agree came a long period of time when the people of India cut themselves off from the world and became backward while the world changed and progressed. We became weak and vulnerable to external aggression. We were conquered not by military might but by the superiority of ideas. We must not let this happen again. We must understand the modern world and science on which it moves and link it to our ancient culture and thought which are unquestionably superior. We can progress only through a process of synthesis. We must not think as people of other religions generally do that our religion is the only one that counts and the others are inferior. Our attitude must be to draw all strands to thoughts and ideas to us. This is the only thing that can work in the modern age. Politically, after independence, we have followed a foreign policy based on non-alignment. What does non-alignment mean? One, the sign of true independence is a nation's right to self-determination of policy without interference from other countries. Secondly, all our religious and philosophical thinking lead to the conclusion and philosophical thinking lead to the conclusion that non-alignment is the only course open to us. I do not mean that we should be afraid to take sides. What I mean is that our thinking has been moulded for thousands of years in that way and therefore the policy of non-alignment is particularly appropriate to us. Perhaps it may be so for others too.

Now for the first time since independence we are facing a crisis. The Chinese launched a massive attack upon our borders. At the moment there is no fighting. Some people make impossible demands about how India should

retaliate. But that is not a sign of strength. It is a sign of childishness. The fact is that we are facing a grave danger. But there is no need to panic. We have the military strength to repel the aggression. But our real strength lies in other things like morale of the people and determination. We need modern scientific know-how to achieve military superiority. In the last few years, the Chinese have pitted their entire strength to the exclusion of everything else, to building up their military superiority. They have enormous manpower resources, backed by modern science and technology. We can face them successfully only through modern scientific methods. We must take advantage of the new scientific inventions and techniques. The challenge from China can do us harm as well as good. It can help us if you try to understand it properly and face it with courage. As you know, it is only through crises that nations are moulded. Either they face the challenge successfully and come out on top or get crushed in the process. Nations like individuals become strong by wrestling with problems and difficulties.

We are facing a crisis today and must pit all our strength into the task of dealing with it. It requires intelligence and understanding. Making a noise will not help. We must take the right step at the proper time. I have no doubt about it that our basic policy is the right one. We may make small mistakes. But we must stick to our policy and strengthen the country in the process. It is essential to continue our policy of planning because a country's strength lies in improving the economy. That means carrying a great burden, for in addition to the Five Year Plans, we have the task of defending the country. Both these things together impose a terrible burden. Some people feel that we must postpone the plans and concentrate on defence. That is not entirely right. Defence does not mean turning the whole country into soldiers. It means keeping the armed forces well supplied with weapons and ammunition, food supplies and uniforms. So it is essential to increase production in every field, agricultural production, industrial production, etc. This is how the people can contribute to the war effort. A soldier cannot wait without proper backing from behind the lines. Therefore we have no alternative but to carry on doing both the things. We must build up our military strength and at the same time, continue our Five Year Plans and development projects in order to improve our economic condition which will contribute to our military strength too. The two things are linked together.

These are the various problems that we are facing today. We must not allow ourselves to be led astray in any way, give in to panic or get cold feet. We must face the situation calmly and with quiet strength. Secondly, if we make a noise in our enthusiasm, we will lose sight of the real task before us. What is required is hard work to increase production in every possible way. It cannot be done

by passing resolutions. I am convinced that if we go about it the right way, this crisis will help us greatly in strengthening us militarily and economically.

As I have already mentioned, the world is a revolutionary one, full of all kinds of crises. Nobody knows when a nuclear war may break out. At a time like this, it is more than ever necessary to make every move after careful consideration and not allow ourselves to be carried away foolishly. We are facing a difficult task. But individuals and nations grow in stature by facing crises and difficulties successfully.

I have been rambling. But I want to thank you for inviting me on this occasion and giving me an opportunity of saying a few words to you. I think Swami Dayanandji was a very great man who pulled the country out of the rut in which it had been for a very long time. Others helped but Dayanandji in particular infused a new life into the people who in spite of all their good qualities had lost their vitality. We owe a great deal to these great men for pulling us out of the rut and teaching us to hold our heads high once more. What can be a greater service to the nation than this? I pay my homage to him and hope that the Arya Samaj will play an important role in the new age, in the great tasks that are waiting to be done.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

37. In Lucknow: At the Lucknow Museum¹²⁵

मुख्यमंत्री जी,¹²⁶ बहनो और भाइयो,
इत्तिफ़ाक़ हुआ कि कल और परसों दोनों दिन मैंने एक न एक संग्रहालय का कुछ खोला है, जो कुछ कहिए, अहमदाबाद में। कल तो एक, एक माने में पुरानी पुस्तकों का भंडार था, हस्तलिखित, मैन्यूस्क्रिप्ट्स और और भी पुरानी किताबें, करीब तीस हजार, पुरानी उन्होंने जमा की थीं, बहुत अच्छी थीं और खास बात यह थी अलावा उनके जो इमारत बनायी थी उनके लिए वह बहुत ही मौजू थी, नए ढंग की थी, जिसमें बग़ैर इस बात के खर्च किये कि एयर कंडीशनर वगैरा हो, वो बहुत ज़रूरी है पुरानी किताबों के लिए, उसके ठंडे करने का इंतज़ाम किया था।¹²⁷

125. Speech, 12 May 1963, inaugurating the State Museum in its four-storeyed new building in the Zoological Gardens. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 9781, NM No. 1800. See report in the *National Herald*, 13 May 1963, p. 3. See also *The Hindu*, 14 May 1963, p. 5.

126. C.B. Gupta.

127. This refers to his speech at the Vidya Mandir, see item 33.

परसों एक संग्रहालय साबरमती में गांधी संग्रहालय को मैंने खोला, वह भी खास बना था और बहुत अच्छा बना था।¹²⁸ आजकल अहमदाबाद में खासतौर से बड़े ऊँचे दर्जे के आर्किटेक्ट्स हैं, आर्किटेक्ट आमतौर से समझा जाता है कि इंजीनियर अपने फुरसत के वक़्त आर्किटेक्ट हो जाते हैं। यह बिल्कुल ग़लत बात है, मामूली इंजीनियर्स आर्किटेक्ट नहीं होते हैं, अगर आर्किटेक्ट होते तो इंजीनियरी उनकी छोड़कर पेशा आर्किटेक्टी करनी चाहिए, दोनों पेशे नहीं चलते हैं। हमारे यहाँ अभी थोड़े दिनों से आर्किटेक्ट का सवाल तक उठा है, नहीं तो पहले समझा जाता था कि इंजीनियर मकान बना देंगे जैसा मुनासिब समझें। इंजीनियर टाऊन प्लान करें, प्लैनर बनें, अब ज़रा कुछ बढ़ रहा है, आर्किटेक्ट्स बढ़ रहे हैं और टाऊन प्लैनर्स बढ़ रहे हैं, ये तो मुनासिब बात है।

तो मैंने देखा वहाँ अहमदाबाद में, मैं अक्सर वहाँ पहले आया करता था और मुझे बहुत नापसंद था वह शहर, कोई बात उसमें पसंद नहीं आती थी, एक बहुत गड़ढा हुआ शहर, बहुत सारी चिमनियाँ धुआँ निकालती थीं। अब गया हूँ दो-तीन बरस में, बिल्कुल शक्ल बदल गयी शहर की, एक खूबसूरत शहर हो गया है, चौड़ी सड़कें, बाग़, बहुत अच्छी जगह, अच्छी इमारतें, बाज़ इमारतें तो उन्होंने बनायी हैं, कोरब्यूज़ियर [Corbusier] ने, जिसने चंडीगढ़ बनाया है और वहाँ के जो आर्किटेक्ट्स हैं उनको खास उन्होंने सीखने का मौक़ा दिया है बाहर भेजकर भी और यहाँ भी। चुनांचे, चन्द बरसों में अहमदाबाद एक हिन्दुस्तान के खास खूबसूरत शहर, अलावा इसके बहुत बड़ा है, हो गया है।

ख़ैर, मैंने आपके इस संग्रहालय को अन्दर जाके तो अभी देखा नहीं, चुनांचे मैं कुछ खास राय नहीं दे सकता, बाहर से अच्छी इमारत मालूम होती है, पुराने वज़नों की है लेकिन अच्छी है, कोई नयी बात इसमें नहीं है, ज़ाहिरा देखने में। लेकिन ख़ैर, लखनऊ में पुरानी बातें ज़्यादा होती हैं, नयी बातों की तरफ़ ध्यान नहीं होता है लेकिन संग्रहालय, म्यूज़ियम्स एक महज़ एक नुमाइशी चीज़ नहीं समझी जाती आजकल, कि एक चीज़ है, हमारे शहर में भी है, एक है लोगों से कहने को। संग्रहालय बहुत ज़रूरी चीज़ समझी जाती है हर शहर के लिए, यहाँ तक कि अब यह राय होती है कि छोटा-मोटा संग्रहालय हर गाँव में होना चाहिए, ज़ाहिर है हर गाँव में होगा तो बहुत छोटा होगा और बहुत छोटे पैमाने के सामान वहाँ पर रखा जायेगा। बच्चों के लिए खासतौर से होना चाहिए और शहरों में तो होना ही चाहिए और बड़े शहरों में खास होना चाहिए, क्योंकि संग्रहालय, हम उसको अजाइब-घर कहते हैं, महज़ अजीब चीज़ों का जमा नहीं करना है लेकिन तस्वीर खींचनी है एक अपने देश की और कुछ थोड़ी बहुत दुनिया के इतिहास की। बड़े-बड़े, अगर आपमें से किसी को मौक़ा मिला हो देखने का, मौक़ा मिला हो देखने का बड़े संग्रहालय हैं लंदन में, म्यूनिख में, सभी बड़े शहरों में हैं, पेरिस में, न्यूयॉर्क में।

और, यह आपका इरादा ठीक है कि यहाँ हर चीज़ जमा करें एक मकान में, लेकिन चीज़ें इत्ती हो जाती हैं कि ना-मुमकिन है बड़ी से बड़ी इमारत में रखना। तो ख़ामख़्वाह के लिए कई करनी पड़ती हैं, अलग करना पड़ता है। अब आप म्यूनिख में जाइए डवायसेस

128. See item 29.

[Deutsches] म्यूज़ियम हैं, जहाँ आप चाहे दस-पन्द्रह मील चलिए तब भी उसको ख़तम न कीजिए, चल के उसके अलग-अलग कमरों में। वह दिखाता है कि एक-एक चीज़ को, वह एक विज्ञान का म्यूज़ियम है, साइंस का, विज्ञान का और कैसे हर चीज़ में तरक्की हुई, मसलन आप लीजिए ट्रांसपोर्ट कैसे शुरु से दिखाया है उन्होंने, शुरु में कैसे इंसान सफ़र करता था, कैसी गाड़ियाँ होती थीं, जो कुछ उस ज़माने में होती थीं बैलगाड़ी की क्रिस्म की, वह यहाँ अब भी जारी है। लेकिन वहाँ शुरु में दिखाया है, उन्होंने [कि] पहिए कैसे बने शुरु में, और हल्के-हल्के दिखाया है गाड़ियाँ कैसे, गाड़ियों ने तरक्की की और फिर बहुत बीच में बातें दिखा के रेल पर आये, रेल दिखायी और रेल के नमूने, उनके पुराने रेल के इंजनों के, गाड़ियों के और फिर हवाई जहाज़ का ज़माना आया, उसको दिखाया, पुराने हवाई जहाज़, नये। इस तरह से पूरा आप देख सकते हैं और सीख सकते हैं कि हज़ारों बरस में कैसे इंसान ने तरक्की की है इस बारे में। इसी तरह से और एक-एक चीज़ को लेके उन्होंने शुरु से आखिर तक दिखाने की कोशिश की है। तो अजीब दिलचस्प कहानी है और उससे लड़के या बड़े बहुत कुछ सीख सकते हैं जो कुछ कि कभी वह कित्ती किताबें पढ़े नहीं, सीख सकते और फिर वैसे करीब कई ढंग-ढंग के हैं, पेरिस में, लंदन में, कहीं एक बात पर ज़ोर है [तो] कहीं और [बात पर]। पेरिस में एक म्यूज़ियम है इंसान के ऊपर “दि म्यूज़ियम ऑफ़ मैन” एक ढंग का है, दिखाया है इंसान कैसे बदला है, तरक्की की है। शिकागो में एक म्यूज़ियम है, उसमें एक, उसके हिस्से में, म्यूज़ियम के छोटे हिस्से में कोयले की खान दिखायी है कैसी होती है। वह असल में खान बनायी है और उसमें आप लिफ़्ट से एक बेहद नीचे जाइए और कोयला वहाँ देखिए कैसे निकलता है, हर चीज़ की नक़ल, नक़ल की है और असल में दिखाते हैं। और इस तरह से जित्ते विज्ञान की चीज़ें हैं, फ़िज़िक्स, केमेस्ट्री वगैरा में, उसके छोटे-छोटे मॉडल्स होते हैं कि आप बटन दबाइए तो चल के दिखाए कैसा वो विज्ञान का जो कुछ सिद्धांत है कैसे उसको साबित करते हैं।

तो ग़रज़ कि संग्रहालय एक जगह, महज़ एक जमा करना अजीब चीज़ों में, अजीब चीज़ों का नहीं है बल्कि एक चीज़ है जो आपके सामने तस्वीर खींचे बदलती हुई दुनिया की, शुरु से अब तक ज़माने में और शिक्षा में, तालीम में बहुत बड़ा काम करता है। ग़ालिबन आप लोग यहाँ सब ऊँचे दर्जे के पढ़े-लिखे बैठे हैं, लेकिन शायद आप भी बहुत बातें नहीं जानते हों जो एक अच्छा संग्रहालय आपको बता सकता है। ज़ाहिर है मौक़ा ही नहीं मिला जानने का, जानें कैसे, स्कूल-कॉलेज में तो बातें पढ़ाई नहीं जातीं। तो यह तालीम का बहुत ही एक ज़रूरी जुज़ हो गया है। और हमारे मुल्क में जहाँ कि संग्रहालय के दो हिस्से होने चाहियें, ख़ासतौर से अपने मुल्क का हाल बताना और फिर दुनिया का, क्योंकि दोनों का मुक़ाबला हो सके, कुछ जानकारी हो [कि] क्या दुनिया में हुआ है।

और हमारे मुल्क में हमारा इतिहास बहुत पुराना है, हज़ारों बरस पुराना है, उसको लीजिए आप मोहनजोदड़ो, हड़प्पा के ज़माने को, तो उसको पाँच हज़ार बरस से ऊपर हो गये और उसको समझने की कोशिश करना, कुछ जानना एक बहुत ही ऐसी चीज़ है जो हरेक को दिलचस्पी पैदा करे और जानने की कोशिश करे। आमतौर से हमारे लोग तो हरेक कह देगा कि हम हज़ारों बरस से चलते आते हैं, हमारी संस्कृति पुरानी है, सब कुछ

है लेकिन उसके कहने के बाद कुछ जानते नहीं हैं, उसके निस्वत बोल देते हैं। लेकिन ज्यादा जानना उससे तस्वीर कुछ ज्यादा साफ़ आ जाती है और बहुत ज़रूरी है इसको जानना, क्योंकि अगर हम आजकल को समझें तो आजकल की जड़ पुराने ज़माने में है, जैसे आजकल जो हम कर रहे हैं वह आइन्दा, भविष्य की उससे निकलेगी। तो पुराना ज़माना और आजकल दोनों को समझने के लिए यह ज़रूरी चीज़ है। और एक बात कि हम कुछ निकलें अपने-अपने एक ख़ास अन्दर के दायरे से, बाहर निकलें, कुछ बाहर का भी मालूम हो, दुनिया का, यह बहुत ज़रूरी है क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान बहुत पुराने ज़माने में इसके बहुत ताल्लुक़ात थे और मुल्कों से। बहुत पुराने ज़माने से मेरा मतलब है दो हज़ार बरस हुए, उससे ज्यादा और उसके बाद भी करीब हज़ार-हज़ार बरस हुए तक, बहुत ताल्लुक़ात थे, कुछ यूरोप से, रोम, ग्रीस से, मिस्र से, इधर पश्चिमी एशिया से, पूर्वी एशिया से तो थे ही। और अब तक अगर आप जानना चाहते हैं हिन्दुस्तान की संस्कृति तो आप ख़ाली हिन्दुस्तान में उसको नहीं सीख सकते हैं, आपको हिन्दुस्तान से बाहर जाके देखना है उसका असर क्या हुआ, उसकी कलाओं का, उसकी और बातों का, चाहे इंडोनेशिया जाइए, चाहे गोबी डेज़र्ट [Gobi Desert] जाइए, तरह-तरह के। और बहुत हमारी किताबें पुरानी यहाँ खो गयी हैं, मिलती हैं और मुल्कों में, और मुल्कों में असली नहीं मिलती हैं, तर्जुमा मिलते हैं यहाँ की किताबों के, संस्कृत के या पाली के जिनके, असली किताबें नहीं।

तो इस तरह के संबंध थे मुल्कों से उस ज़माने में काफ़ी। फिर एक ज़माना आया जब हल्के-हल्के हमारे ताल्लुक़ात और मुल्कों से कट गये, बहुत कम हो गये थे, अंग्रेज़ों के आने के पहले भी कम हो गये थे बहुत काफ़ी, कुछ थोड़े बहुत से, पश्चिमी एशिया के ईरान वगैरा से थे लेकिन कम हो गये थे। और एक अजीब यहाँ एक ख़्याल ये पैदा हुआ कि बाहर की दुनिया को बाहर ही रखना है, उससे कोई ताल्लुक़ात नहीं पैदा करना है, हमारे हिन्दुओं में ख़ासकर यह जात वगैरा का ज़ोर इत्ता पकड़ा उस वक़्त कि कहीं बाहर जाना धर्म के खिलाफ़ समझा जाने लगा, काले पानी जाना। और चुनांचे हम बिल्कुल एक कुएँ के मेंढक हो गये, जो बाहर नहीं देखते, कुआँ कित्ती बड़ा हो, हिन्दुस्तान भर हो लेकिन फिर भी कुआँ था वह, और बाहर ये दुनिया, इतना फ़र्क़ हो रहा था उस ज़माने में दुनिया के कि कोई इतिहास नहीं। और हम एक सभ्य मुल्क थे ज़रूर, और बहुत बातें माकूल थी यहाँ, लेकिन कुछ जम से गये थे, बढ़ना देश का रुक गया था दिमागी तौर से और बातों से, और ख़ासकर ऐसे मौक़े पर जब और दुनिया में, यूरोप की दुनिया में विज्ञान, साइंस का ज़ोर था और साइंस की वजह से नया युग पैदा हुआ, मशीन ऐज [machine age], इससे हम बिल्कुल अलग रहे। अब ख़्याल कीजिए कई सौ बरस तक यूरोप में किताबें छपती गईं, यहाँ कोई नहीं छपी किताब। हालांकि अकबर बादशाह के ज़माने में क्रिस्चन मिशनरीज़ ने कुछ किताबें उनको दिखायी भी थीं, जेशूइट्स [Jesuits] की, फिर भी यहाँ नहीं हुई। पहली किताब यहाँ छपी है अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में वहाँ श्रीरामपुर में, शायद बंगाल में, एक मिशनरी ने एक प्रेस बनाया और वहाँ किताब छपी है और ये एक इंकलाबी बात थी किताबों का छपना, दुनिया में जबसे छपना शुरू हुआ है।

इस तरह से और भी आपको कई मिसालें दे सकता हूँ, कुछ हमारा दिमाग उधर जाता नहीं था और जो कुछ और दुनिया में होता था उससे हम सीखने की कोशिश नहीं करते थे। इससे हम कमज़ोर हो गये और जब दूसरी दुनिया ने छापा मारा हमारे ऊपर तो हमारे पास कोई हथियार नहीं थे, असली हथियार, मेरा मतलब हथियार नहीं, दिमागी हथियार, यह कुछ नहीं थे मुक़ाबला करने के, आसानी से हम गिर गये। तो अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में हमारे ताल्लुक़ात थे एशियायी मुल्कों में, वो तो बिल्कुल बन्द हो गये, कुछ तो ताल्लुक़ात रहे, वो इंग्लैंड से रहे, कुछ थोड़े बहुत यूरोप से उन्हीं के ज़रिए से, इन ताल्लुक़ात ने हमें कुछ नुक़सान भी किया और कुछ फ़ायदा भी किया। बड़ा फ़ायदा तो यह किया कि हमें जगाया कि दूसरी दुनिया है कोई चीज़, जो हम भूल गये थे या वाकिफ़ नहीं थे उससे। शायद जगा के उसका नतीजा हुआ कि हम अंग्रेज़ी राज्य के खिलाफ़ हुए, और भी वह ठीक था लेकिन उसी का कुछ नतीजा हुआ।

तो ख़ैर मैं इधर-उधर की बातें आपसे करने लगा। मेरा मतलब यह है कि संग्रहालय में एक चीज़ बहुत ज़रूरी है, अगर ठीकतौर से महज़ अजाइब-घर न समझा जाये और समझा जाये कि वह एक तस्वीर पुराने इतिहास की देता है और दिखाता है कैसे दुनिया बदली है और बदल रही है, और उससे लाभ उठाये, समझें, और कि हम कैसे भविष्य को बनायें। तो संग्रहालय को जित्ता हम बढ़ा सकें बढ़ाना चाहिए, सब बहुत बड़े तो नहीं हो सकते लेकिन छोटे-मोटे हर जगह होने चाहियें, बच्चों के लिए होने चाहियें, बड़ों के लिए।

तो अब यह शानदार इमारत यहाँ बनी है, यक़ीनन अन्दर से भी शायद शानदार होगी मुझे उम्मीद है और जैसे कहा, अब यह बहुत ज़रूरी समझा जाता है कि कैसे चीज़ों को रखें। अक्सर हमारे कुछ रुपये वाले लोग होते हैं इस मुल्क में, जो कि अच्छी चीज़ें ख़रीदते हैं, रखते हैं, लेकिन घर में जाइए तो मालूम होता है कोई गोदाम में आ गये हैं, रखने की तमीज़ नहीं होती है। अव्वल तो चीज़ चुनने का ही तमीज़ नहीं होता है कि किसको लें किसको न लें, और दूसरे रखने का तो बिल्कुल होती ही नहीं है। तो एक ख़ास फ़न है आजकल संग्रहालय में चीज़ों को रखना, खुला-खुला रखना, जिसका असर हो, देखने वाले को फ़ायदा हो और मुझे इत्मीनान दिलाया गया, अभी आपने सुना होगा इसी ढंग से यहाँ रखी गयी हैं चीज़ें, आप इसको आजमा लेंगे अभी देखकर कहाँ तक कामयाब हुए हैं इसमें, लेकिन ज़रूरी बहुत हैं। क्योंकि अभी तो आप और जगह जाइए, पेरिस वग़ैरा, हर ज़माने के उन्होंने दिखाया है, हर सदी में कैसे लोग रहते थे, कमरे कैसे सजाते थे, कैसे रहन-सहन का दस्तूर था, उसके बाद कैसे बदला, कैसे कुर्सी-मेज़, कैसे तस्वीरें लगाते थे, कैसे खाते-पीते थे। तो बहुत, बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर हो सकता है, हर ज़माने का दिखायें आप, लेकिन अच्छा होता है रखना इसको जहाँ तक हो सके और उससे सीखना। ख़ैर, खुशी की बात है कि यहाँ का संग्रहालय बन गया है और बन गया है तो बढ़ता जायेगा यह ग़ालिबन और मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ आप लोग आया करेंगे यहाँ अक्सर कुछ न कुछ सीखने, महज़ तमाशा देखने नहीं, कुछ न कुछ सीखने। और ख़ासकर बच्चों को यहाँ लाने का, उनको आने का मौक़ा ख़ास देना चाहिए, स्कूल्स वग़ैरा का बच्चा आकर देखे और उससे कुछ ज़्यादा सीखे, बनिस्बत क्लास रूम में सीखने के।

अच्छा भाई, जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Chief Minister,¹²⁹ Sisters and Brothers,

By a strange coincidence, I inaugurated a museum yesterday as well as the day before yesterday. Yesterday I inaugurated a museum of ancient manuscripts in Ahmedabad.¹³⁰ The Manuscripts in that collection were nearly thirty thousand years old and were extremely valuable. The special feature about the museum was that the building that they have constructed is in an extremely modern design where arrangements have been made to keep the books at cool temperatures without spending a great deal on air-conditioning.

The day before yesterday, I inaugurated the Gandhi Museum at Sabarmati.¹³¹ That was also a very beautiful building, specially constructed. There are first class architects in Ahmedabad. The old idea that engineers can also do the work of architects is wrong. Ordinary engineers cannot be architects. If they were architects, they should be giving up engineering. The two professions do not go together. Recently the question of having separate architects has come up. Before that, engineers used to draw up the plans for buildings and do town planning, etc. Now the number of architects and town planners is increasing which is a good thing.

I have often visited Ahmedabad in the past but never liked it before. It was an ugly city with smoke billowing out of chimney stacks. Now I have seen the city completely transformed in the last two or three years. It has become a beautiful city with wide roads, beautiful buildings, some of them designed by Le Corbusier, the architect of Chandigarh. The architects of Ahmedabad have been trained both in India and abroad. In short, Ahmedabad has become one of the most beautiful cities of India.

Well, I have not been inside your museum yet. So I cannot say very much about it. The building looks nice from outside, a little old fashioned but good. There is obviously a new feature in it. In any case, Lucknow clings to old traditions and does not pay much attention to new developments. But a museum is no longer regarded as a show piece. It is considered essential for every city. In fact, the thinking now is that there must be a small museum in every village too. It is obvious that a village museum will be on a very small scale. There should be a special museum for children in every city. It should not be a collection of exhibits but must portray the history of our country and to some extent of the

129. See fn 126 in this section.

130. See fn 127 in this section.

131. See fn 128 in this section.

world. There are huge museums, if any of you have had the opportunity to see them, in London, Munich, Paris, New York and other big cities.

Well, your idea of having a museum is a good one. But the Collection is so large that it become impossible to house everything under one roof. So perforce the subjects have to be separated. Now the Deutsches Museum in Munich has an area of ten or fifteen miles. It is a science museum and shows that various steps of progress in every area. Take transport, for instance. The Museum traces the means of transport used by early Man and how, with the invention of wheel, carts and carriages came to build. Then after many stages in between come the railways. There are models of the railways in the early days, then is shown the age of aeroplanes with models of planes, old and new. So you can trace the entire history of transport and Man's progress in this area through the ages. They have tried to do this in various areas. It is like reading an interesting story. Boys and girls can learn more by a visit to the museums in Paris, London and other places, each with emphasis on different aspects than by reading a number of books. There is "The Museum of Man" in Paris which traces the progress of Man down the ages. In Chicago, there is a museum in which the entire process of coal mining is shown. There is a real mine and you can go down it by a lift and see coal being mined. Everything looks extremely real. Everywhere there are models of scientific inventions and discoveries and they can be activated by pushing a button.

So, as I was saying, a museum should not be a collection of exhibits but a living thing which can portray the changing world from prehistoric times to the present. A museum plays a great role in education. Most of you present here are scholars of merit. But even you may not know many of the things a good museum can teach. It is obvious that the opportunity to learn has not been there. These are not things which are taught in schools and colleges. I think museums should be an important part of education. The museums that we have should be divided into two parts, one devoted to India and the other to the world, so that comparisons can then be made.

Indian history dates back to thousands of years. Mohenjodaro and Harappa existed more than five thousand years ago. Exhibits from that period could kindle real interest in our history and civilisation among the people. Anyone can made a broad statement that Indian history dates back thousands of years and our culture is very ancient, etc. But they would not be able to elucidate further. If there were a little more knowledge about that period, the picture would become clearer. The roots of the present lie in the past just as what we do today will hold the seeds of tomorrow. So, in order to understand the past and the present, it is very essential that we should come out of our small circles and know a little about the world. India had frequent contacts with the outside

world in the olden days. I mean the period over two thousand years ago or more. It continued till a thousand years ago. We had contacts with Rome and Greece in Europe, Egypt in West Asia and of course with East Asia. Even today, your knowledge of Indian culture cannot be complete if you stay in India alone. You would have to go out of India to see the impact that our art and culture had on other countries, whether it was Indonesia or the Gobi desert or somewhere else. Innumerable manuscripts of ancient times which are lost have been found in other countries. Well, perhaps not the original but translations are to be found of works in Sanskrit and Pali.

So we had innumerable contacts with the other countries. Then came a time when our contacts began to diminish and gradually we were cut off. A few contacts with West Asia and Iran. But that was about all. This happened even before the British came. A strange thinking arose that the outside world should be shut off and there must be no contacts. Any attempt to do so was considered taboo by religion and caste dogmas. So we became like frogs in a well, even if the well was as large as India. The outside world, on the other hand, was changing rapidly. India was a highly civilised nation but had become somewhat stagnant. We had stopped growing intellectually and in other ways at a time when there was great emphasis on science in the West. The tremendous advance made in science and technology led to the machine age but we remained untouched by it. Just imagine printing had been known in Europe for hundreds of years but not a single book was published here though the Christian missionaries had brought some books to Emperor Akbar's court. The first book to be published in India was during British rule at a printing press set up by a missionary in Serampore in Bengal. Printing was a revolutionary invention but we did not bother to learn about it.

I can give you many such examples. Our thinking had become stagnant and we refused to make any effort to learn what was going on elsewhere in the world. So we became weak and vulnerable to foreign invasion. We were not intellectually equipped to deal with the threat and so we fell like nine pins. In the British period, we were completely cut off from the Asian countries and the few contacts we had with the outside world were with England and through them, with Europe to some extent. These contacts did us good as well as harm. The big advantage it gave us was that it made us realise that there was a different world outside. We had forgotten about it. This realisation led ultimately to our struggle against British rule.

I have been talking at random about various things. What I am trying to say is that a museum is very essential if it is regarded, not as a collection of exhibits, but as a portrait of the past and of the changes that have taken place in the world. It can lead to a better understanding of the future that we wish

to build. So we should enlarge our museums wherever possible. All museums cannot be big but we must have small ones everywhere.

Now this is a very beautiful building and undoubtedly it must be equally grand inside too. I hope that the exhibits have been displayed with taste. We often find that in rich men's houses there are large collections of valuable things which are kept as though in a godown. There is no taste in arranging them. First of all there is no discrimination in the selection of what should be bought. Secondly, the display shows a sad want of taste. Arranging the exhibits in a museum is a special art. They have to be spread out to make the greatest impact. I have been assured that this is how it has been done in this museum. We shall soon see how far you have succeeded in that. But it is very essential. If you go to Paris or somewhere else in Europe, each period in history is displayed in the museums showing how the people lived and their life-style, etc. It would become too large if we tried to portray every period of our history. But we must try to do it as far as it is possible. I am very happy that this museum has been built and I am sure it will continue to grow. I hope all of you will visit the museum often to learn something, not merely to see some spectacle. The children in particular must be brought here often from schools to give them an opportunity to learn a little more than what they do in class rooms. All right!

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

38. In Lucknow: Unveiling Gandhi Statue¹³²

मुख्यमंत्री जी,¹³³ बहनो और भाइयो,
यह भी हमारा फ़र्ज़ सा हो गया है कि हम महात्मा गांधी जी की मूर्तियाँ, स्टैचूज़ [statues] जा-ब-जा लगायें, कुछ ठीक-ठीक मेरे समझ में नहीं आता कि कहाँ तक मुनासिब है यह करना। ज़ाहिर है एक ढंग से सही है कि हम उनको देखें और देखकर कुछ याद करें उनको, उनकी बातें याद आयें, उन्होंने जो सिखाया है हमें, उसको याद करें। दूसरे तरफ़ से यह है कि हम समझते हैं कि एक मूर्ति खड़ा कर देने से हम अपना फ़र्ज़ पूरा कर देते हैं और कुछ और उनकी याद करने की ज़रूरत नहीं है। इसलिए पेच हर जगह आता है, मालूम नहीं कि इसका हल क्या है लेकिन फिर भी शायद मूर्ति बनाना अच्छा ही है कि जो लोग

132. Speech, 13 May 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10705, NM No. 1877.

Mahatma Gandhi's statue replaced George V's in the park near the GPO. See the *National Herald*, 14 May 1963, p. 1.

133. C.B. Gupta.

आयें, जिन्होंने न उनको देखा, न उनकी आवाज़ सुनी, कुछ न कुछ उनकी याद करें, कुछ न कुछ सीखें [कि] क्या इस महापुरुष ने किया हिन्दुस्तान को, दुनिया में, और इन बातों को सीख के कुछ अपना तर्ज भी वैसे ही चलायें, कोशिश करें।

क्योंकि गांधी जी को गुज़रे कोई एक चौदह वर्ष हो गये और अभी से बहुत सारे नौजवान हमारे यहाँ होंगे और बच्चे होंगे जिनके लिए वह एक ऐतिहासिक व्यक्ति हो गये हैं। उनका कोई संबंध, उनको देखा नहीं, सुना नहीं, कोई ज़ाति ताल्लुक नहीं था उनसे, रोज़-ब-रोज़ यह ज़्यादा होता जायेगा, हमारी पुस्तकों में, इतिहास में उनका चर्चा होगा और असल में जो वह चीज़ थे यह पूरी समझ में नहीं आयेगी लोगों को। ख़ैर, यह तो होता ही है और अब भी किसी क़दर वह नज़र आता है [कि] कित्ते हम दूर उनसे हो गये हैं। जो हमारे सवाल बहुत कुछ आते हैं हल करने को उनमें कहाँ तक हमारे ऊपर असर होता है उनके सिखाने का जो उन्होंने कहा था और कहाँ तक वह ख़ाली एक मौक़े पर उनका नाम लेना, नाम लेते हैं हम और बाक़ी भूल जाते हैं।

वाक़िया यह है कि इस वक़्त हिन्दुस्तान का नाम दुनिया में जो कुछ है, अगर जो कुछ उसकी क़दर है वह ज़्यादातर गांधी के नाम की वजह से है। हम लोग छोटे-मोटे हैं, हमारी कोई बहुत पूछ नहीं है यहाँ, आप धूमधाम कर लें, लेकिन एक बहुत बड़ा आदमी हमारे मुल्क में आया और उसने हमारे देश को उठाया, देश को आज़ाद किया और दुनिया में उसका नाम फ़ैलाया। वो अजीब बात यह हो कि और दुनिया तो उनकी क़दर करे और हम उनको हल्के-हल्के भूलें। हाँ, मूर्तियाँ खड़ी कर दें लेकिन मूर्ति खड़ा करना किसी को याद करना नहीं है, कुछ थोड़ा सा है, कभी-कभी देखके याद आ जायें, क्योंकि वह शख्स कोई एक महज़ मूर्ति के ज़रिए से नहीं याद आता, मूर्ति पूजा तो हमारी आदत है। मूर्ति पूजा करके, इसके माने यह नहीं कि हम कोई बड़े ऊँचे हो जाते हैं, हम वैसे ही नीचे के नीचे रहे, अगर ऊँचे हैं तो हैं, नीचे हैं तो नीचे हैं, उससे फ़र्क़ नहीं होता। तो अपने को, एक फ़र्ज़ अदा करने को मूर्ति खड़ा कर दें, तो उससे तो कभी-कभी मुझे ख़याल आता है कि न करें तो ज़्यादा अच्छा है। इस पेच में मैं पड़ जाता हूँ अक्सर ऐसी मूर्तियाँ खड़ी करने में, स्टेचूज़, मुझसे भी कहा जाता है उसमें शरीक होने के लिए और हो भी जाता हूँ लेकिन हमेशा कुछ परेशान होके शामिल होता हूँ, कहाँ तक असली मतलब उससे हल होता है, कहाँ तक एक नुमाइशी होती हैं ये बातें। और यहाँ शायद मुझे याद नहीं इसी जगह था, कहाँ, एक और मूर्ति थी किंग जॉर्ज की, [मंच पर बातचीत] बहुत जल्दी आदमी भूल जाता है इन बातों को, और किंग जॉर्ज की मूर्ति संग्रहालय में गई या जायेगी और गांधी जी की मूर्ति यहाँ रखी गयी, एक तरह से वह दिखाता है जो यहाँ उलट-पुलट हुआ भारत में और जहाँ तक दिखाता है ठीक है, लेकिन उलट-पुलट जो असली भारत में हुआ वह मूर्तियों का तो नहीं हुआ, वह तो दिलों का हुआ और उसको दिखाना एक मूर्ति में ज़रा आसान नहीं है।

ख़ैर, मूर्ति रखने से और देखने से कुछ न कुछ हमारी आइन्दा नस्लों की याद भी क़ायम रहेगी कि ऐसा आदमी आया और हिन्दुस्तान को आज़ाद तो किया ही, लेकिन जब उनके क्रिस्से-कहानियाँ लोग पढ़ेंगे और सुनेंगे तो आश्चर्य करेंगे कि ऐसा आदमी भी, एक

जमाना था कि ऐसा आदमी भी हिन्दुस्तान की ज़मीन पर फिरता था और लोगों को अपना संदेश देता था। क्योंकि अजीब आदमी थे वे और शायद अब जो हम उनके करीब हैं पूरीतर से उनको देख नहीं सकते, क्योंकि वह बहुत ही कम गिनती के लोगों में थे जो कि क्या कहूँ उनको, जो कि मामूली लोग नहीं थे, बहुत ही ग़ैर-मामूली थे और जिनका असर इस वक़्त तो रहा ही एक माने में, दुनिया के दिमाग़ पर असर उनका जम गया है और रहेगा एक ज़माने तक। सवाल तो यह है कि हम कहाँ तक उस असर को तस्लीम करेंगे, मानेंगे, और उनके दिखाये हुए रास्ते पर चलेंगे? अगर न चले, भूल गये तो उससे ज़ाहिर होगा हमारी ग़फ़लत और जहालत कि हम इत्ते बड़े आदमी की भी क़दर नहीं कर सके और उनको समझ नहीं सके। अगर चलेंगे उस रास्ते पर और कोशिश करेंगे चलने की तो यक़ीनन इससे मुल्क को बहुत फ़ायदा होगा और मुल्क एक महज़ खुद नहीं तरक्की करेगा लेकिन एक तरह से उस ढंग की मिसाल भी औरों के लिए हो जायेगा।

ख़ैर, मैंने आपके सामने कुछ अपने मन के विचार रखे, पेच रखे जो मन में थे और बावजूद उन सबके आपने देखा कि मैंने यहाँ आके इस मौक़े पर जो पर्दा था वह हटाया इस मूर्ति के। और मैं आशा करता हूँ लखनऊ के रहने वाले जब-जब इधर देखेंगे तो कुछ इसके पीछे क्या है, क्या इतिहास है, क्या शख्स है, क्या उसने कहा उसको याद करेंगे और याद करके कुछ बेहतर हो जायेंगे पहले से। यही एक माने हैं मूर्तियों के देखने का, और तो कोई माने हैं नहीं।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Chief Minister,¹³⁴ Sisters and Brothers,

It has become almost a duty these days to put up statues to Mahatma Gandhi. I am not quite sure how far it is proper for us to do so. It is obvious that in a way it is right that we should think of him and remember his teachings by looking at his statue. On the other hand, we feel that our duty is done once we put up the statue. This is the dilemma. I do not know what the solution is. But perhaps it is a good thing to put up statues so that the generation which has not seen or heard him can think of him and try to learn what this great man did for India and the world. Perhaps it may help them to mould their actions according to Gandhiji's maxims.

It is fourteen years since Mahatma Gandhi passed away and by now there must be a whole generation of youth and children to whom he has become a historic figure. They have had no contact with him personally. This gap will continue to increase. He will be mentioned in the history books. But it will be

134. See fn 133 in this section.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

more and more difficult for people to understand the kind of person he really was. It is evident to some extent even now how far apart we have grown. How far do we continue to be influenced by his teachings when we try to solve the problems that crop up? How often do we take his name in vain and forget about what he stood for?

The fact is that India is respected in the world today mostly because of Gandhiji's name. We are people of small stature whom nobody is bothered about, no matter how great we think we are. A great soul came in our midst and lifted us ordinary mortals to a higher plane. He led the country towards freedom and made India famous in the world. It will be strange if we should forget him when the world reveres him. Putting up statues is not enough though they may remind us occasionally of the man. Somehow idol worship is a habit with us. It did not make us superior in any way. What we are depends on what we do. We will not be doing our duty merely by putting up statues. Sometimes I feel it would be better if we do not put up statues. I find myself in a dilemma whenever I am asked to unveil these statues. I do agree to participate in these functions but it is with a great deal of perturbation as to how far it serves a real purpose or whether it is merely for show. I do not remember exactly but I think there was statue of King George here. I forget these things easily. That has been shifted to the museum and Gandhi's statue has been put in its place. It shows in a sense the kind of upheaval that has taken place in India. The real transformation of course is taking place in the hearts and minds of the people which is difficult to show in a statue.

Well, anyhow, statues will constitute a reminder to the generations to come that a great man walked amidst us and led India towards freedom. But when people read about him, they will be amazed that there was a time in India when a human being like Gandhiji existed in real flesh and blood and preached his message. He was strange personality and perhaps those of us who were close to him cannot be very objective about him. He was among the very few extraordinary human beings who have lived in this world. He made a great impact upon the people of his time but the world will continue to feel his influence for a long time to come. The question is how far we will be prepared to accept what he stood for and follow the path that he showed us. If we forget that it will demonstrate our stupidity to the world that we could not value and understand a great human being like him; If we follow that path or at least try to, India will undoubtedly benefit by it for not only will she progress as a nation but in a sense become an example unto others.

Well, I have put some of my thoughts and dilemmas before you. In spite of all that as you saw I have come here and unveiled the statue of Gandhiji. I hope that whenever the people of Lucknow look at it, they will think about

human being behind it and his teachings, and in doing so, become better human beings. That is the only meaning in having such statues.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

Goa Tour

39. In Panjim: Public Meeting¹³⁵

बहिनो और भाइयो और बच्चो,
पहले तो मैं इस पेच में पड़ा कि किस भाषा में आपसे बोलूँ कि जो अधिकतर समझी जाये। दो भाषाओं में मैं बोलूँ, मुझे खेद है कि मैं यहाँ की किसी भाषा में, कोंकणी शायद जो सबमें अधिक आप समझें, उसमें नहीं बोल सकता। तो मैं हिन्दी में या अंग्रेज़ी में बोल सकता हूँ। तो बहुत सोच-विचार के बाद मैंने सोचा कि इस गांठ को खोलना एक ही तरह से हो सकता है कि मैं आपसे कुछ हिन्दी में कहूँ, कुछ अंग्रेज़ी में। [तालियाँ] तो मैं शुरू में आपसे हिन्दी में कुछ कहूँगा और उसके बाद कुछ अंग्रेज़ी में कहूँगा। [तालियाँ]

अभी आपने सुना, याद आपको दिलाया डॉक्टर गायतोण्डे [Gaitonde]¹³⁶ ने कि छब्बीस वर्ष हुए, छब्बीस-सत्ताईस, मैं एक दफ़े गोआ की ज़मीन पर उतरा था, उतरा था हवाई जहाज़ से, मेरा इरादा यहाँ आने का उस समय नहीं था लेकिन मैं हवाई जहाज़ पे था और उसको तेल की ज़रूरत हुई, तो यहाँ उतरा। ख़ैर, तो थोड़ी देर के लिए मैं यहाँ रहा, मैं कहीं जा तो नहीं सकता था, थोड़ी देर हवाई जहाज़ ठहरा,¹³⁷ लेकिन उस समय की हुकूमत यहाँ कुछ घबरा गयी कि यह ख़तरनाक आदमी यहाँ उतरा है [तालियाँ] और उन्होंने बहुत प्रबंध किया, इंतज़ाम किया कि कहीं मैं निकल न जाऊँ वहाँ से।

तो उसके बाद आज छब्बीस-सत्ताईस बरस के बाद मैं यहाँ आया हूँ। इस ज़माने में गोआ बहुत मन में रहा, दिल में रहा। एक तो यों भी एक सुन्दर जगह हमारे देश की है, ऐतिहासिक जगह है, वो इतिहास अच्छा भी है, बुरा भी है, लेकिन ऐतिहासिक जगह है। तो यहाँ आने की इच्छा थी। दूसरे यह कि जबसे हमारे देश में, भारत में हमारी स्वतंत्रता, आज़ादी का आंदोलन शुरू हुआ उस समय से यह ज़ाहिर है कि हम कोई स्वतंत्रता को भारत के एक भाग के लिए नहीं चाहते थे, बल्कि सारे भारत के लिए। भारत में आप जानते हैं बहुत सारे देशी राज्य थे, बड़े-बड़े, छोटे, तरह-तरह के। यह तो असम्भव था कि

135. Speech, 22 May 1963, at the Kampala Cricket Ground. NMML, TS No. 10657. Nehru first spoke in Hindi and then English.

136. Dr P.D. Gaitonde, Nominated Member of Lok Sabha.

137. Perhaps on 9 or 10 February 1937 during election campaign.

भारत का वही हिस्सा जो अंग्रेज़ी हिस्सा गिना जाता था वो स्वतंत्र हो और और जो हिस्से हैं, देशी राज्य हैं या कुछ छोटे हिस्से फ्रांस के थे, कुछ पोर्चगल के आधीन थे वो न हों, यह तो हो नहीं सकता। और भारत उस समय तक स्वतंत्र नहीं था, आज़ाद नहीं था जब तक कि पूरा भारत न हो।

तो हमारे मन में तो शुरु से यह विचार था कि देशी राज्य तो थे ही, और जो फ्रांस के आधीन कुछ था, पांडिचेरी इत्यादि और गोआ वगैरा, यह भी आज़ाद हिन्द में शामिल हो और हम समझते थे कि जब यह सबमें बड़ा हमारे ऊपर जो साम्राज्य था, अंग्रेज़ों का, वो हट गया तो यह तो अपने आप ही हट जायेंगे। हमें यह विचार भी नहीं आया था, ख़्याल भी नहीं था कि पांडिचेरी या गोआ उसके बाद अटकेंगे और जो देश, जिन देशों के यह आधीन थे वो कुछ एतराज़ करेंगे या झगड़ा करेंगे इस बात पर। एक तो यह कि दुनिया में हवा थी इस बात की कि ऐसे साम्राज्यशाही हट जाये, दूसरे यह कि जब इत्ता बड़ा देश भारत आज़ाद हुआ तो इधर-उधर उसके कोने में छोटी-छोटी जगह उसमें मिलके आज़ाद न हों, यह असम्भव मालूम होता था। हमने इसीलिए कुछ अधिक अलग उस समय कोशिश नहीं की। उस समय का मैं कहता हूँ जब हम अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य से एक माने में लड़ रहे थे, हालांकि हमारी लड़ाई शान्ति की लड़ाई थी, हम लड़ रहे थे उनसे। तो जब हमारी सफलता हुई और अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत से हमारा समझौता हुआ, इसके माने थे कि भारत आज़ाद हो गया, तब हमने इधर ध्यान दिया, पांडिचेरी और गोआ इत्यादि की तरफ़। हम समझे यह प्रेम से, समझौते से तय हो जायेगा, कोई इसमें झगड़े की बात नहीं थी, होने ही थी। हमने बातचीत शुरु की, कोशिश की शुरु करने की फ्रेंच हुकूमत से, पोर्चगीज़ हुकूमत से, कुछ अटकाव पड़े, कुछ रुकावटें पड़ीं लेकिन फिर भी जो फ्रांस से बातचीत हुई वो बातचीत चलती गयी, उसमें कोई एकदम से दरवाज़ा बन्द नहीं हो गया। और आप जानते हैं कि, हालांकि वो चली कई बरस तक और अन्त में उनसे भी हमारा समझौता हुआ और मिलकर प्रेम से जो फ्रेंच हुकूमत यहाँ पांडिचेरी वगैरा में थी वो भी भारत में मिल गयी।

पोर्चगल के बारे में हमें बहुत ज़्यादा कठिनाई हुई क्योंकि उनसे बातचीत करना भी बड़ा कठिन हो गया, वो बातचीत न करें, कोई इंकार करें, वो कोई ऐसी बात कहें कि चार सौ बरस हुए उन्हें कोई अधिकार मिल गया था आने का और उसमें अब दख़ल कौन दे। अब जो, जिसका मन चार सौ बरस हुए अटक गया है, उससे बड़े ही नहीं, तो उससे बात करना बड़ा कठिन हो जाता है। अब मेरे सामने कोई मिसाल पेश की जाये कि चार सौ बरस हुए यह भारत में था, चार सौ बरस हुए भारत में मुग़ल साम्राज्य था, तो कोई मुग़ल साम्राज्य के कोई साहब आयें, कहें कि मेरा साम्राज्य होना चाहिए भारत में, वो तो स्वीकार हमें नहीं होगा। चार सौ बरस में बहुत बातें ऊँच-नीच की हो गई दुनिया में, भारत में, और उसकी मिसाल दें तो कोई बहुत समझ की बात नहीं थी लेकिन वो इस बात की मिसाल देते गये और हमसे बात नहीं करें, हम उनको पत्र लिखें तो पत्र स्वीकार न करें। हमने एक राजदूत भेजा लिस्बन उनसे बात करने को, वो बातें ही न कर सकें उससे, और आखिर में हमने उसको बुला दिया।

इस तरह से बरसों तक हमने कोशिश की, यत्न किया कि यह मसला तय हो जाये, बातचीत करके प्रेम से, क्योंकि हम किसी देश से लड़ाई तो नहीं लड़ना चाहते थे, लेकिन ना-मुमकिन हो गया। खैर, आखिर में कुछ ऐसे वाक्यात हुए, ऐसी बातें हुई कि आप जानते हैं करीब डेढ़ बरस हुआ जो यहाँ कार्यवाही हुई। हाँ, मैं आपको चाहता हूँ कि आप समझें कि एक तो यह था कि हमारे दिल में एक यह बात जैसे हम साम्राज्यशाही के खिलाफ़ थे, लेकिन हमारे देश में उसका एक छोटा सा हिस्सा रहे [तो] मुझे बहुत चोट लगती थी, कांटा था, और ख़ाली कांटा नहीं था, यह ऐसी बात थी कि जो समय आने पर बहुत हानिकारक होती, बहुत नुक़सान-देह होती। क्योंकि दुनिया का कुछ ठीक तो है नहीं, दुनिया में कभी लड़ाई का चर्चा होता है, बड़ी लड़ाई का, वर्ल्ड-वॉर का, और अगर कहीं इतिफ़ाक़ से ऐसा हो जाये तो हमारे देश में एक अड़्डा हो जो कि दूसरे देश के हाथ में है, तो फिर क्या, उसका क्या, क्या नतीजा हो, क्या असर हो, ख़तरे में हम पड़ सकते हैं बड़ी लड़ाई में, कई बातें थीं। असल बात तो यह थी कि हमारे मन में जो भारत की क्रांति हम चाहते थे, भारत की आज़ादी, पूरे भारत की, वो क्रांति पूरी नहीं हुई जब तक पांडिचेरी या गोआ अलग रहें। खैर, पांडिचेरी आ गया, फिर गोआ रह गया।

तो खैर, फिर ऐसी बातें हुई कि हम मजबूर हो गये कुछ करने के लिए और आप जानते हैं कि डेढ़ बरस हुए कुछ कार्यवाही की गई, जिसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि गोआ भी भारत में एक हिस्सा हो गया और एक कुछ भाई-बहिन हमारे जो बहुत रोज़ से अलग थे वो हमारे बड़े परिवार में मिल गये।¹³⁸ [तालियाँ] मैं चाहता हूँ आपसे कहना कि जो हमारा ढंग रहा हमारे स्वराज की लड़ाई में, वो शान्ति से लड़ाई हुई थी और उसके बाद भी जब हमें स्वराज मिला तो सारी दुनिया में हमने यह कहा कि हम तो शान्तिप्रिय हैं, हम चाहते हैं दुनिया में लड़ाई-झगड़ा न हो और हमारा नाम भी हो गया दुनिया में। और देशों ने इस बात को पसंद किया और हमारा आदर किया इस बात का कि हम शान्ति की कोशिश करते हैं। तो वो जो हमारी भावना थी शान्ति की, वो भावना अब भी है, हालांकि हम चारों तरफ़ फंसे हैं, यह आप जानते हैं।

एक अजीब बात है कि हम जो दुनिया में शान्ति का झण्डा उठाते हैं, एक तरफ़ से हमारे देश पर अभी छः-सात महीने हुए हमला हुआ, चीन ने किया, दूसरी तरफ़ से हमारी एक पुरानी बहस पाकिस्तान से, हमारा पड़ोसी देश है, उससे चलती जाती है। तो अजीब यह किस्मत ने हमें पेच में डाला है कि हम शान्ति चाहें और शान्ति से हम रहने न पायें। तो गोआ का मैंने आपसे कहा, वो कोई हमारे बिल्कुल यह नहीं था कि हम अपने शान्ति के रास्ते को छोड़कर यहाँ हमने कुछ थोड़ी अपनी फ़ौजें भेजी थीं लेकिन कुछ वाक्यात ऐसे हुए कि हम मजबूर हो गये और अगर हम न करते तो शायद नतीजे बुरे होते हमारे लिए और गोआ के लिए भी। इसलिए हमने सोचा कि इस बात को अब दस-बारह बरस ठहर कर—याद रखिए दस-बारह बरस हम ठहरे थे—ठहरकर हमें इसको कुछ न कुछ सुलझाना

138. See SWJN/SS/73/items 119-173.

है इस गांठ को। हमने यह किया, लेकिन हमारा जो बुनियादी ध्येय था, जो तरीका था शान्तिमय से काम करने का वो हमारे दिलों में रहा।

पाकिस्तान का मैंने आपसे कहा, पाकिस्तान तो हमारे देश का एक हिस्सा था, भाग था, फिर मजबूरी दर्जे हम राज़ी हुए उसका अलग देश बनना। हम फिर भी आशा करते थे कि पाकिस्तान से हम दोस्ती से रहें, मिलके रहें, हमारे ही भाई थे, कल के भाई, हमारे इतिहास में, हमारा एक देश का हिस्सा, जुग्राफ़िया में वो है ही एक हिस्सा, पड़ोसी देश के, सभ्यता में, हमारे देश की बातें वहाँ की संस्कृति में, बोली में, उनकी बोली हमारी बोली। किस बात में, क्या बात थी, क्यों न हम उनके साथ रहे? अलग हो गये माना, हम साथ रहना चाहते थे लेकिन हमारे दुर्भाग्य से उनमें इत्ता एक, कहूँ, नाराज़गी, भय, हसद, जो कुछ है, इत्ता हुआ कि वो बात बैठी नहीं। कित्ते दफ़े, हमारे उनके सामने बहुत सारे सवाल हैं उस समय से जबसे वो अलग देश हुआ, एक सवाल उसमें काश्मीर का भी है जिसको उन्होंने ही उठाया है, उन्होंने ही काश्मीर पर हमला किया था बारह-तेरह बरस हुए, ज्यादा, बल्कि चौदह बरस हुए, एकदम से हमला किया, हम मजबूर हो गये उसकी रक्षा करने के लिए और फिर भी हमने कोशिश की उनसे दोस्ती करने की। हमने उनसे बार-बार कहा कि हम और आप यह निश्चय कर लें कि हमारे सवाल तो बहुत हैं, प्रश्न बहुत हैं लेकिन हम उनको शान्ति से तय करेंगे, उसके लिए लड़ाई नहीं लड़ेंगे। हमने उनसे कहा कि आप दस्तख़त कर दीजिए, हम भी दस्तख़त करते हैं कि हम लड़ाई लड़ के कोई बात नहीं फ़ैसला करेंगे, प्रेम से करेंगे, उन्होंने इंकार किया, कहा, नहीं हम करेंगे, नहीं दस्तख़त करते। अभी कोई और बातचीत उनसे हुई थी, वो बातचीत का कुछ नतीजा नहीं निकला, उस बातचीत में भी हमने इस बात पर ज़ोर दिया कि आइये हम इस बात पर दस्तख़त कर दें जिसको हम कहते थे “नो-वॉर डिक्लेरेशन”, हमारी कर दें। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि हमारे प्रश्न हल हो गये, हम उसको करें, लेकिन दस्तख़त करने से, निश्चय कर लेने से कि हम लड़ाई नहीं लड़ेंगे, हवा साफ़ हो जाती है, मन भी साफ़ हो जाते हैं और फिर अधिक आसान हो जाता, सरल हो जाता है फ़ैसला करना, उन्होंने इंकार कर दिया। इसके क्या माने हैं? यानी इसके माने यही हैं कि वो हमसे लड़ के चाहते हैं कोई चीज़ लेना, चाहे काश्मीर हो, चाहे कुछ और हो, यह बात तो कोई देश स्वीकार नहीं कर सकता।

चीन ने हम पर हमला किया, हम चीन के भी, बहुत चीन की सहायता की। चीन की, हमने उसकी पैरवी की और देशों में, युनाइटेड नेशन्स इत्यादि में, लेकिन बावजूद इसके चीन ने हमपे हमला किया और बहुत हमें रंज पहुँचा, और हमला नहीं इत्ता हमें बदनाम करते हैं, झूठ लिखते हैं, कहते हैं रोज़ अपने अख़बारों में और हर समय एक हमारे लिए एक भयानक हालत पैदा की कि हमारे सरहद पर उनकी बड़ी फ़ौजें रहती हैं, बड़ा देश है, महान देश है, शक्तिशाली देश है और मालूम नहीं है कितने बरस तक हमें इसका सामना करना पड़े, क्या हो, तो यह अजीब बात है। मैंने आपसे कहा कि हम दुनिया में सब जगह शान्ति चाहते हैं, कहते हैं और अपने घर में यह हालत हो रही है, लेकिन फिर भी हमारा जो सिद्धांत है शान्ति का वो क़ायम है। और शान्ति के माने यह तो हो नहीं सकते कि

अपने देश पर कोई हमला करे [और] हम रक्षा न करें, यह शान्ति कैसी, यह तो दुर्बलता है, कमजोरी है, बुज़दिली है, लेकिन हम चाहते हैं हर मसला हल हो।

खैर, अब गोआ एक आया हमारे भारत में और ज़ाहिर है गोआ के आने से बहुत सारे नये सवाल गोआ में पैदा हुए, एक सिलसिला सैकड़ों बरस से चलता आता था यहाँ, वो बदला, उलट-पलट हुई। तो उससे कुछ न कुछ नयी-नयी बातें होती हैं, कुछ लोगों को हानि होती है, वो तो मुझे संदेह नहीं कि सभी लोगों को अन्त में लाभ होगा उससे, लेकिन बाज़ लोग बंधे हुए थे किसी न किसी वजह से पोर्चुगीज़ साम्राज्य से, उनको कुछ हानि भी हो सकती है। हम नहीं चाहते किसी को हानि हो और हम चाहते हैं, इसीलिए हम चाहते हैं कि हल्के-हल्के जो बात यहाँ हो, हल्के-हल्के आप ही लोगों की सलाह से, मश्वरे से और राय ये यहाँ बदली जाये। हम कोई बात ऊपर से नहीं किया चाहते जिसमें ज़रा भी दबाव का सवाल हो।

मैंने कहा है बार-बार कि गोआ को हम अलग रखना चाहते हैं क्योंकि गोआ का इतिहास ऐसा हुआ है बरसों से कि उसको एकदम से पलटना ठीक नहीं है, गोआ को अलग रखना चाहते हैं [तालियाँ] और एक जब कभी कुछ बात करनी हो तो यहाँ की जनता ही तय, निश्चय करेगी, हम ऊपर से नहीं कुछ करेंगे। मेरी आशा है कि अलग यह रहेगा और अपनी ज़िन्दगी को अपने मन के मुताबिक चलायेगा।

ज़ाहिर है कि आजकल कि दुनिया में हम सभी को बदलना है, भारत भर को बदलना है, भारत पिछड़ गया है और दुनिया बढ़ गयी, दुनिया रोज़ बदलती जाती है और रोज़ दुनिया बदलती जाती है तो भारत को बदलना आवश्यक है, आपको बदलना। वो तो सभी को करना है, वो तो और बात है, नहीं बदलें तो हम दुर्बल हो जाते हैं, ग़रीब हो जाते हैं, पिछड़ जाते हैं, वो तो बदलना ही है लेकिन बदलने के माने यह नहीं हैं, एक तो बदलना होता है अपनी राय से, सलाह-मश्वरा करके, जैसा हम उचित समझें, एक ज़बरदस्ती वो कराता है। तो हम तो बदलना चाहते हैं। हमारे देश का जो शासन का तरीका है वो आप जानते हैं प्रजातंत्र का है, जनता जो निश्चय करे, जनता जो निश्चय करे सारे देश के लिए, और जनता अलग जो निश्चय करे अपने-अपने प्रान्त, प्रदेश के लिए और जो जनता निश्चय करे अपने-अपने ग्राम के लिए। इस तरह से हम चाहते हैं, ग्रामीण प्रजातंत्र हो और देश भर के लिए हो। तो इस तरह का है। यहाँ भी आपके शायद पंचायती राज कुछ शुरू हुआ है, पंचायतें बनी हैं, उनको अधिकार है। इसी तरह से हम गोआ को एक छोटा सा प्रदेश मानकर अपना उसको थोड़े दिन में, इस साल के शायद अन्त के पहले क़ानून बन जायेगा कि यहाँ के अधिकार आपके चुने हुए लोगों को अधिकतर होंगे। उसका संबंध सीधे 11...दिल्ली की केन्द्रीय हुकूमत की यह कोशिश होगी कि आपकी सहायता करे बढ़ने में, वो तो होगी, की भी है और करेगी भी, और जो-जो कठिनाइयाँ हुई हैं वो हल्के-हल्के हटेंगी।

तो अब मैं कुछ अंग्रेज़ी में कह देता हूँ। [तालियाँ]

एक बात और कह दूँ हिन्दी में, और वो यह है कि आप भारत को देखें, भारत में तरह-तरह के प्रदेश हैं, बड़े-बड़े प्रदेश हैं, तरह-तरह की भाषाएँ हैं, वो सब हमारी, देश की भाषाएँ हैं, तरह-तरह के। ऊपर जाइये आप काश्मीर में बड़ी सर्दी होती है, लद्दाख़

में जाइये जहाँ लड़ाई हो रही है, वहाँ पर तो बहुत ही सदी होती है, ऊँचे पहाड़ हैं, नीचे जाइये दक्षिण में या गोआ में जाइये यहाँ गर्मी होती है और दक्षिण में जाइये काफ़ी गर्मी है, कभी सदी नहीं होती। तो बहुत अन्तर, बहुत फ़र्क़ है अलग-अलग भारत के हिस्सों में, लेकिन फिर भी यह फ़र्क़ होने पर भी आप जानते हैं भारत एक है, भारत की एकता की चीज़ बड़ी भारी चीज़ है [तालियाँ] और आज की बात नहीं है यह, प्राचीन समय से हमारे बहुत प्राचीन किताबों में यह लिखा है, भारत का लिखा है। क्या है भारत? एक देश है हिमालय से लेकर, हिमाचल से लेकर दक्खिन के समुद्र तक। [तालियाँ] तो ऐसा देश जिसमें इत्ती विविध बातें हों, तरह-तरह के लोग हों, तरह-तरह की भाषाएँ हों, तरह-तरह के धर्म हों, मज़हब हों, जैसे हैं हमारे देश में, यह आवश्यक होता है, हमेशा ही आवश्यक होना चाहिए लेकिन हमारे देश में विशेषकर आवश्यक है कि हम लोग एक-दूसरे, कि हम एकता पर अधिक ज़ोर दें और अनेकता है, उसकी फ़िक्र न करें, उसका भी आदर करें, अनेकता को ज़बरदस्ती बदलने की कोशिश नहीं करें, क्योंकि अनेकता है।

अब मैं बैठा हुआ दिल्ली में और दक्खिन में मद्रास में या केरल में उनकी कुछ बात को उनकी मर्ज़ी के खिलाफ़ बदलूँ यह तो ग़लत बात है, ठीक नहीं या गोआ में या कहीं, क्योंकि हमें एकता मज़बूत रखनी है भारत की, और उसी के साथ अनेकता जो है अलग-अलग उसका भी आदर करना है। भारत एक बड़ी सुन्दर चीज़ है जिसमें उसके सौन्दर्य, उसकी अनेकता उसको बनाती है और एकता उसको जोड़ के उसको मज़बूत करती है। तो हमें दोनों की आवश्यकता है, एकता की भी, अनेकता की भी और अनेकता के रहने पर एकता जो होती है वो ज़्यादा मज़बूत होती है क्योंकि लोगों की खुशी से। इसलिए हमने, हमारी पुरानी राय है, हम चले हैं, यहाँ जो अलग-अलग धर्म हैं उनका सभों का हम आदर करते हैं, यह नहीं कि एक धर्म अधिक है दूसरा कम है, आदर सभों का है। यह आज की बात नहीं है, आप पढ़ें—दो हज़ार से ऊपर बरस की बात है, कोई दो हज़ार तीन सौ बरस—एक बड़े सम्राट भारत में थे, अशोक सम्राट, उन्होंने उस समय पत्थर पर लिख दिया है, आजकल आप पढ़ सकते हैं, सारे भारत में, अफ़ग़ानिस्तान में उनका राज्य था, यह लिखा है। अपने लोगों को उन्होंने शिक्षा दी कि तुम लोग, तुम अपने धर्म का आदर करो लेकिन दूसरे के धर्मों का भी आदर करो [तालियाँ] क्योंकि जो दूसरे धर्म का आदर करता है उसके धर्म का दूसरा आदर करता है।

यानी यह हमारे देश की यह प्राचीन बात है कि हम मिलजुल के रहें, अलग-अलग धर्म हों, अलग-अलग जातियाँ हों, अपने-अपने रास्ते पर चलें और आदर करें। तो हमने कह दिया है कि भारत में जो-जो धर्म हैं, चाहे वो हिन्दू धर्म हो—हमारा प्राचीन धर्म है—मुसलमानों का धर्म हो जो कि हज़ार बरस से ऊपर से यहाँ है, ईसाई या क्रिस्चन धर्म हो जो कि भारत में करीब अठारह सौ, उन्नीस सौ बरस हुए आया था, हमारे देश का धर्म हो गया इत्ते बरस से। उन सभों का हम आदर पूरीतौर से करें और उनको पूरा मौक़ा दें। मैं जानता हूँ कभी-कभी नालायक लोग धर्म के नाम पर लड़ाई लड़ते हैं, धर्म को बदनाम करते हैं लेकिन यह भारत के इतिहास में धर्म की लड़ाइयाँ कभी पसंद नहीं की हैं। असल में आप इतिहास पढ़ें तो यूरोप में बहुत धर्म की लड़ाइयाँ हुई हैं, काफ़ी, और जगह भी

हुई हैं, भारत में नहीं हुई, क्योंकि भारत का तरीका प्राचीन समय से यह है कि एक-दूसरे के धर्म का आदर करना और मिलकर रहना। इसी तरह से चाहे भाषा की बात हो, चाहे कुछ हो, हम एक-दूसरे की बरदाश्त करें और मिलकर रहें, एक-दूसरे की भाषा को दबाने की कोशिश न करें और न कोई ज़बरदस्ती किसी भाषा को चलायें। इसी तरह से यह देश चल सकता है, इसी तरह से चला है और चल सकता है, एकता रहे खूब मज़बूती से और अनेकता का भी हम आदर करें। मैंने इसके लिए खास, विशेष कहा कि आपके गोआ में भी यह प्रश्न उठते हैं। तो यह बुनियादी बात आप याद रखें कि वो प्रश्न भी हल हो जायेंगे।
जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters, Brothrs and Children,

I have been in a dilemma as to which language I should address you in. I regret to say I cannot speak in any language including Konkani which is understood by the majority of you. I can only speak in Hindi or English. So after a great deal of thought I decided that the only way to solve this problem is to say something in Hindi and then in English. [Applause] I will speak first in Hindi and then in English. [Applause]

Just now, Dr Gaitonde¹³⁹ reminded you that I had landed on the soil of Goa twenty-six to twenty-seven years ago. It was not a scheduled visit but the plane needed refuelling. So I got off and spent a little, time here. I could not go anywhere I had to stay at the airport.¹⁴⁰ But the then government was in a panic that a dangerous man like me had landed here [cheers] and made elaborate arrangements to see that I should not bolt out of the airport.

I am coming here after twenty-seven years. Goa has been in my thoughts constantly. For one thing, it is an extremely picturesque province of India and a historic one too. That history has been good and bad in parts but there is no denying that it is a historic place. So I wanted to come here. Secondly, ever since the time of the independence struggle, it was obvious that we were fighting for the freedom of the whole country, not of any one part. As you know, there were many princely states in India, big and small. It was impossible that the territories under British rule alone should become independent while those under the French and the Portuguese and the princely states remained as before. This was not possible and India could not be truly free until the entire country was free.

So we had been concerned right from the beginning about the princely states and the other pockets which were under France and Portugal, etc. We had

139. See fn 136 in this section.

140. See fn 137 in this section.

been hoping that once the British left, the others would go automatically. We did not even dream that Pondicherry or Goa will continue to be under foreign domination even after India became independent or that those countries would raise any objections. For one thing, the milieu in the world was in favour of ending imperialism, secondly it seemed impossible that once such a vast country became independent, some small pockets of territory here and there should not become free too. So we did not make any special efforts at that time. I am referring to the time of our freedom struggle. Though it was non-violent we were engaged in a great struggle. Once the struggle ended and we had reached an agreement with Britain, we turned our attention to Pondicherry and Goa, etc. We hoped that the matter would be settled amicably, there was no room for dispute. We tried to start talks with the French and Portuguese Governments. There were some obstacles but the talks with the French Government proceeded. They did not shut any doors and though as you know, the talks went on for years, ultimately we came to an agreement, and the territory under the French like Pondicherry and others joined the Indian Union.

We had great difficulties with Portugal because it was difficult even to talk to the Portuguese. They seemed to feel that the right that they had acquired over Goa and other Indian territories from hundred years ago was inalienable. It is extremely difficult to talk to people whose thinking is frozen in the past. For example, we cannot accept if a descendant of the Moghuls, who ruled India four hundred years ago, comes to me today and says that he is the rightful ruler of India. There have been great ups and downs in the last four hundred years and it does not seem very intelligent to quote something from the past. But the Portuguese stuck to this tune. They would not accept our letters. We sent our ambassador to Lisbon but he was not granted an interview for years and ultimately we had to recall him.

So, in this way, we tried for years to settle the matter amicably because we did not want to go to war with any country. But it became rather difficult. Then as you know, a number of events took place in the last year and a half. I want you to understand that apart from the fact that we were against imperialism, it was like a thorn in my side to think of even a small pocket of Indian territory under foreign domination. It could even prove to be positively dangerous for us. There is constant threat of a world war and if by chance, war breaks out, nobody knows what the consequences to us may be, if a pocket of Indian territory is in the hands of a foreign power. The fact is that the revolution that we envisaged for India could not be complete so long as Goa or Pondicherry are not part of the union. Anyhow, Pondicherry is ours only Goa remained.

After that several events occurred which forced us to take steps. We marched into Goa and as a result, it became a part of India and our brethren in

Goa who had been separated from their kith and kin for so long were reunited.¹⁴¹ [Applause] What I want to tell you is that we have always been peace-loving. Our freedom struggle was a non-violent one and after independence, India has made a great name for herself as a messenger of peace. Other countries respect us for this. That is our policy even now though we are besieged on all sides.

It is strange that while we hold aloft the banner of peace in the world, China launched an attack on India seven months ago and on the other hand, we have had a long standing dispute with our neighbour, Pakistan. It is a strange quirk of fate that we want peace and are not allowed to live in peace. About Goa as I said, we in no way abandoned our policy of peaceful negotiations when we were forced to send in our troops. We were forced by circumstances and if we had failed to take prompt action perhaps, the consequences would have been disastrous both for us and Goa. So taking all this into account and having waited for ten to twelve years—you must remember that—we decided to unravel this knot but our fundamental goal and policy remained unaltered.

I referred to Pakistan which had been until a few years ago a part of India. Then very reluctantly we agreed to the creation of a new state. Even then we had hoped that we could live in peace and unity with Pakistan. After all, they have been our own brethren until recently and geographically and as a civilisation, we have a great deal in common. We have common links of language and culture. Therefore we wanted to have friendly ties after Partition. But unfortunately for us, Pakistan has been so full of fear, anger and bitterness against India that we could not make any headway. Problems have cropped up ever since Partition. Kashmir has been a thorn in their side—they suddenly launched an attack on Kashmir fourteen years ago and we were forced to defend Kashmir. But our efforts to befriend Pakistan continued. We have reiterated again and again that we should resolve to sort out the problems and disputes amicably, by peaceful methods, did not resort to violence. We even suggested that India and Pakistan should sign a no-war pact but they refused. We have had further talks but nothing has emerged. We had again laid stress on a mutual no-war declaration. It would not solve all our problems but at least it would clear the air and then it becomes easier to sort out the problems. But they refused. What does it mean? It means that they want to solve the disputes, whether it is Kashmir or something else by force, by military means, No country can accept this.

China attacked us though we have helped China a great deal in the past. We had advocated their case in the United Nations. But inspite of all this, to our great grief, they attacked and not only that, continue to malign us by spreading falsehoods. Their newspapers are full of false allegations. They have created

141. See fn 138 in this section.

a dangerous situation for us by stationing their troops on our borders. China is a big powerful country and we do not know how long the confrontation will continue. As I said, we talk about peace in the world and yet we are in this strange predicament in our own country. Yet we shall stand firmly by our principle of peaceful coexistence. However, we cannot sit back and not defend our country if another power commits aggression. That would be cowardice.

Now Goa has merged with India, new problems have arisen here. There has been a great upheaval here with the coming to an end of a old regime. It is bound to affect some elements adversely but there is no doubt about it that ultimately it will prove beneficial to everyone. It is only a few people who had a vested interest in the continuance of the Portuguese regime who would suffer. Not that we wish to cause harm to anyone. We want to bring about a change gradually with the advice and guidance of the people. We do not wish to impose anything from above or use coercion in any form.

I have said repeatedly that want to keep Goa as a distinct entity because it has had a separate historical past and it would not be right to overturn the existing pattern suddenly. It will be left to the people of Goa to decide what the set up should be. I hope that the people of Goa will chalk out a path of their own choosing.

It is obvious that all of us will have to change. India has remained backward while the world has gone ahead. The world is in a constant state of flux and it is imperative that India too should change. Otherwise we will remain weak and backward and poor. So we have to change. But there are two ways of going about it. One is to take the people into confidence and the other is through coercion. As you know, we believe in democracy and the people are free to decide what they want for their country, province and village. We want democracy to spread to the grassroots level. We have adopted the Panchayati Raj system and delegated powers to the panchayats. Similarly, we have decided to keep Goa as a union territory. The Bill will be passed before the end of the year. The Central Government will help directly to put Goa on the path of progress. We hope that gradually all these problems will get sorted out.

Now I shall say a few words in English. [Applause]

Before I speak in English, I would like to tell you that India is one, inspite of the number of provinces into which the country is divided and the number of different languages which are spoken here. The climate is different too, very cold in the north in Kashmir and Ladakh, and very hot in the South or Goa where there is no winter. So the climate differs considerably. And yet inspite of all these diversities, as you know, India is one, the essential unity of India is a remarkable thing. [Applause] This is not something new. Bharat is mentioned in our ancient texts, India is one country spread from the Himalayas to the ocean in

the south. [Applause] In a country which abounds in diversities, people speaking different languages and practising different religions, it becomes extremely important for us to lay special stress on unity while maintaining the diversity. There should be no forcible attempt to bring about uniformity.

It would be very wrong if I, sitting in Delhi, were to try to impose some changes on Madras or Kerala or Goa against the wishes of the people. We have to forge the unity of the country while maintaining the diversity. India is a beautiful country and it is its diversity which make it so while the bond of unity keeps it together as a nation. So we need both the unity and the diversity and the unity as stronger if it is forged by the people themselves of their own free will. That is why we want to build a secular society in which the people are free so practise their own religion. Religious tolerance has been part of our culture for more than two thousand three thousand years, from the time of Emperor Ashoka. He had had messages of tolerance, engraved on rock edicts which are to be found to this day all over India and even Afghanistan for his empire extended till there. He has preached the message of tolerance to his people and has said that those who respect other religions beget respect for their own.

So this has been our ancient tradition to respect and tolerate other religions and customs. We have declared that all the religions being practised in India, whether it is Hinduism or Islam which came to our shores thousand years ago, or Christianity which has existed in India for nearly two thousand years are religions of India. We shall accord respect to all of them and give them equal opportunities to flourish. I am aware that sometimes people fight in the name of religion bringing disrepute to their own religion. But religious wars have been unknown in the history of India. If you read history, you will find that though religious wars were quite common in Europe and elsewhere, it was unknown in India because it has been our ancient tradition to respect and tolerate one another's religion and live in amity with all religious communities. Similarly, we must learn to have respect for other languages, customs and traditions, instead of trying to suppress them or use coercion to impose our own language on others. This is the way that India has existed all these centuries and that is the only way in which we can maintain unity in the midst of our diversities. I am referring to this specially in the context of Goa where these problems are arising. If you bear the basic principles of unity in mind, the other problems will resolve themselves.

Translation ends]

[Nehru continues in English]

Friends,

I have come here after long wishing to do so. I could not come in the nature of circumstances when Goa was under Portuguese domination. But ever since Goa joined the rest of the family in India, I have wanted to come. Repeatedly, I have tried to come here, but something or other prevented me. Ultimately, I made up my mind to come here last year round about October or November. Just then a new situation faced us. That was the invasion and aggression of China on India. That was a very bad thing both for us and for Asia and naturally it became difficult for me to go about touring, coming to Goa and elsewhere when difficult decisions had to be taken from day to day and hour to hour. And so an emergency arose which is still with us, not in that acute, critical stage as it was six months ago. But nevertheless it is with us. It has been created by China and the menace of China hangs over us. You can appreciate, that it is not an easy thing to live with a great and mighty country, a great country becoming hostile to India and attacking India is no easy matter for us. I think that China has behaved very badly and very wrongly. But that does not help me to get out of this menace. We have to prepare ourselves, we have to strengthen ourselves.

We have stood for peace throughout our struggle for freedom under Gandhiji's leadership, we have stood for peace ever since we became free. And all over the world, we have gained a name for ourselves as followers of peaceful methods and standing for peace. It is a strange quirk of circumstances and of destiny that we who have shouted for peace for long should be suddenly confronted by the spectre of war on our frontiers. It was a difficult test for us and some people in our countries even said, you who stand for peace, why do you prepare for war, why do you prepare to increase your army, crafts and navies. I have no doubt about the answer to that question. We do stand for peace, we do believe in peace, we think that war is not a civilised way of settling questions. We think that war in the present age with atom bombs and hydrogen bombs is especially a thing to be avoided because if you use atom bombs—not that we have atom bombs—if war occurs, it tends to spread it, may spread into a tremendous nuclear war, and then the world would be practically destroyed.

There can be no victory or defeat in the nuclear war. It is a common destruction for all. So we stand by our peace, by our policy of peace. We do not want to become what might be called a nation thinking all the time of war, a military-minded nation. We are a peaceful people. We may fight, we may quarrel amongst ourselves, but we will fight if India is attacked and we will prepare for that, to defend ourselves. [Applause] But the fact remains that we are essentially a peace-loving country and I hope we shall continue to do that.

But loving peace does not mean, submitting to aggression and violence. If peace becomes a synonym for surrender to violence and aggression then peace is a disgrace. What is peace with surrender. Peace itself must have strength. There can be many kinds of strength, there was the strength of Gandhi, a frail, thin man with no physical strength but with a will and a mind and a heart which was amazingly strong. Gandhi was not a coward. It is absurd to think of that. Gandhi was the bravest man I have known, yet his strength lay in his mind and his will power. We would not submit to evil, so we cannot submit to evil, a country cannot submit to aggression. And we have to defend ourselves. In fact the whole concept of peace itself is that you must not submit to aggression. If in the name of peace you submit to aggression then peace has no meaning.

Therefore, we have been compelled by circumstances to prepare, to defend our frontiers from China or from any other nation which commits aggression on us. And the emergency that has come to us will continue because the menace of China is a long term one. It is an unfortunate. We tried our best to avoid it by our friendly approaches to China, we thought it is a dangerous thing, that two great countries—China and India—the two greatest countries in Asia, should be hostile to each other. We have this in mind, but doing so we shall always be prepared for a peaceful end to this conflict. You know we offered various things, we offered a reference of this conflict of the Hague Court of International Justice, we offered to refer it to eminent arbitrators, but China has not agreed. So while we shall always keep the door of a peaceful settlement open and we shall resist to our utmost armed aggression on our nation and we shall prepare to strengthen ourselves because mere expression of the will is not enough, we have to be a nation prepared to do that, prepared with armed forces, prepared with the morale of the nation, prepared with the economic strength of the nation. So we have got this great task before us.

Unhappily just as at this moment when China had invaded our country, Pakistan our neighbour began again to threaten us. In this conflict which is as dangerous for Pakistan as for us—Chinese aggression—Pakistan thought it profitable to use this conflict, to try to bring pressure upon us, in fact to blackmail us into agreeing to all kinds of demands in regard to Kashmir etc. We think Pakistan's demands in regard to Kashmir are completely without foundation. They are the aggressors in Kashmir but leave that out. We have treated them, we want to treat them, as friends and brothers, living in cooperation with them. We have gone all out to come to terms with them, but they have not agreed. Their appetite has grown so much because they think this is the moment to profit by them. India is troubled by Chinese aggression, let us profit by that moment and compel India to obey their dictates.

Now, whether India is militarily strong or not so strong, India is after all a great country, not great in size—big of course it is—but great in will. [Applause] And whether it is China or whether it is Pakistan or whether it is any other country, they can get a great deal out of us by friendship and by friendly approaches. But if it is a question of threats, we shall resist those threats to the end. Now, as I just said in Hindi, we have offered Pakistan repeatedly, let us sign a no-war pact. They say India is going to attack us. They object to our getting help from America and from England and other countries to strengthen our armed forces, our getting that, because of the menace of China. They object to it, they think it might be used against them, we have assured them and assured America and England that we will not use this against Pakistan. Further we repeated our own requests to Pakistan, let us sign a no-war pact, on no account whatever will India and Pakistan go to war with each other and if we have problems as we have many problems, not Kashmir only but many other problems between us, let us discuss them and solve them peacefully even though that might take some time. It may take a few years, it is better to do that than to go to war with each other. So we have offered them a no-war pact, they refused to sign a no-war pact. Now observe, on the one hand, they tell us, they tell the world, India is going to attack us. If India offers them a guarantee, an absolute guarantee that no such attack will take place, and can take place they refuse that guarantee, they refuse that no-war pact. What does it mean. It seems to be quite extraordinary certainly they should stop talking about India attacking them of course, India would never attack them pact or no pact. In fact we told them some years ago, that whether you sign a no-war pact with us or not we for our part say to you quite definitely that we will not go to war with you unless you attack us. So unilaterally, we have in a sense given our consent to that pact. That is so, it is an odd thing. So we have to face these dangers on our frontiers at just a time when all our minds are taken up and ought to be taken up by the big problem of the development of the Indian people, to raise their living standards to remove this curse of poverty from our people curse of unemployment and all that.

India is a big country as you know, four hundred and forty million people. It is a poor country in a sense; it is a rich country in a sense, a potentially rich country just like Goa, it is potentially a rich place. Here may be many poor people but potentially it is a rich place given the time and given the opportunity to develop it properly. India can become a country—I don't say we don't wish to compete with America and rich countries like that—but it can certainly become a country where poverty of the type you know will cease to be—where, employment will be for everybody, where health and education will be open to everybody, and work, and where we can get advantage of modern science to

develop our country because for the first time in the world's history, science and technology has given us the means to fight poverty and disease and ignorance and all that. There is no doubt about it.

All over the world, not in India only, we can abolish poverty, we can abolish disease, we can abolish ignorance. It will take a little time, but we can do so because science has given us the tools to do it, the methods to do it. It is only human nature that fails, and when we do so for national wars or international troubles. So we have been absorbed ever since we became free in this major war, not a war against anybody, a war against our own poverty, against our unemployment, against our ignorance, illiteracy and all that. And we started, you will remember, right from the beginning, planning, national planning, with Five Year Plans. What does it mean? Planning simply means, making a well thought out approach to solve our problems. First of all, when you have a problem, we must make it clear what you are aiming at. What kind of society you aim at. We said that we want to aim at a society where every person in India—man and woman and child—will have full opportunities.

At present that is not so, you must admit, although opportunities are widening out where there are plenty of people who have not got the opportunity; the few have great opportunities and many have not. They are spreading education and they are spreading it very fast. I think the wealthy are making good progress. That is good. But real opportunities come when economic conditions improve and these big differences between rich and poor gradually lessen. And I hope some time or other they will almost disappear. We cannot make all men equal because men are different, I mean some people are able, some are not able, some are strong, some are weak, some work hard, some are lazy. You cannot, but everybody should have equal opportunities of progress. That is what we aim at and we want to avoid large concentrations of wealth in individuals' hands. That is bad for society or even though that wealth may be used for a good purpose but it is a bad basis of society. Some people may have made by their efforts by their ability and earn more. That is alright. But large concentrations of wealth are not good, because wealth can be used, may be used, for wrong purposes and it is often. Broadly speaking, we laid down that that we want a socialist society. Not in a dogmatic sense, not in any doctrinaire sense, but broadly a socialistic society, where opportunity will be open to everybody, where the differences between individuals will not be great and thus the society will be largely based on cooperation, the cooperative commonwealth. That is what we have done. We stand by that. It is a difficult task to accomplish in such a big country because it means not merely laws passed by Parliament, it means changing gradually the nature of human beings. We who have been bred up for hundreds and thousands of years have gradually to change and develop this

cooperative method. The international projection of this is the policy of being friends with all countries. We may not agree with their policy. But we have tried to be friendly with the capitalist countries with the communist countries. That does not mean that we should change our policy to please them, if we disagree but we want to be friendly, it is good to be friendly and that is the basic background of India.

In spite of the great pressures on us, the great burdens caused by China's invasion and Pakistan's pressures we have decided to continue with our Third Five Year Plan because that is essential in the long run and in the short run, for our economic well being. Not I hope that plan, as Goa's amelioration and economic betterment will become a part of our Third Five Year Plan. And I hope that it will function to your advantage. I realise that is upsetting a kind of society that you have here for these long years of Portuguese domination, although it had to be upset. It was an out of date society apart from imperialism, and other things, which had made it incumbent on us. India's revolution, India's national revolution, was not complete if Pondicherry or Goa remained in foreign hands. Apart from that the Portuguese here and if I may say so to some extent in their own country have developed a society which is completely out of date in the modern world. I am prepared to admit that our society in India is also out of date in a different sense, and we have to change it; but this change in ending of the Portuguese domination here necessarily resulted in changing many things. The changes are going on. And when a change happens in the social fabric, it has an upsetting feature. It may ultimately be good; it may even immediately be good for many; but for some, it is upsetting. And I can well understand that. Now we do not want this change or any change to occur which causes harm or injury to the people, but sometimes it cannot be helped. Suppose, as in India, one of our major reforms has been putting an end to the big landlord system, the big zamindari system, because we thought it was bad for the peasantry and for the people generally to have this big landlord system. That is the common thinking all over the world today. But in removing the zamindari system, the poor zamindars suffered. We gave them compensation and they said it was not enough. They suffered. When there is social change, it has to be faced. One tries to minimise the inconvenience of the suffering but for the larger social good, it has to be faced. Anyhow, it was inevitable that some changes should take place here, should upset your normal way of living. We did not want it to happen, we try to avoid that. We have to minimise it, but the fact is there and we want to work well, we want rather to leave it to you to work and according to your wishes so as to proceed to have this change over quietly and as far as possible for the benefit of the larger number of this.

We feel and I have felt for long time that Goa has a certain distinctive personality. It would be a pity to do anything to take away that distinctive personality. It may be that gradually, by the flux of time and other factors at work, changes may come. That is for time to do and that is for you to do, but it is not for us to bring about any such change which would affect their personality. Therefore, we have decided, and we hold to that decision, Goa should remain a separate entity in the Union of India. [Applause] That should be completely understood because we hold to that firmly and there is no point in trying to agitate against that, it merely means trouble with no result. [Applause] And why not, why should there be this hankering for Goa to merge into this state or that state. I don't understand [Applause]. Goa can develop as it likes within the framework of India and add to the richness of India. India has been divided politically many times, but there has always been a concept of a unity of India throughout the ages from the two thousand or nearly three thousand years India has been described. That concept has been described—the land from the Himalayas to the southern seas; apart from that a cultural concept, which means unity with diversity. We have always laid stress on keeping this rich diversity of India and at the same time the unity of India. We have always laid stress on the acceptance of many religions and coexistence. And religion, as I said just now in Hindi, reminded you what the Emperor Ashoka said in the 3rd century BC addressing his people—you can read it on stones which he has had carved, and mind you his empire came right down to south except the little tip and Afghanistan and Central Asia was there too—he said, honour your religion, religion ennobles, which can make you behave better to your neighbour, not to break his head. But this, if I may say so, is much more a European concept and a West Asian concept of religious wars than an Indian concept. India has always tolerated religion, respected difference of religion, and so it was quite natural, when we became independent, for us to decide to be what is called a secular state. A secular state does not mean an irreligious state, it means respecting and honouring all religions giving them freedom to function and that has been the basic attitude of India throughout the ages. There may have been exceptions of individual misbehavior but the basic mind of India has been there and you must maintain that because it is right mind, a worthy mind, and a mind should prevail all over the world.

Now therefore, so far as Goa is concerned you have difference of religion, you have a large number of people who belong to the Christian religion, to the Catholic religion. They are welcome, there are large numbers of Hindus, there are some Muslims I suppose and others, I don't know if there are Buddhists, or Jews, or Jains, or Parsis and others. They have come to India and they have been welcomed. So you must develop this tolerance. It is a sign of a cultured

people, it is a sign with a people of a long past which has had many ups and downs of history and which has learnt the basic qualities of a great race. That is tolerance, goodwill and tolerance. And we must preserve that.

Now Goa is a particular place where these various elements are to be found and therefore, you have to maintain that especially in Goa apart from your Indian heritage. Your Goan heritage teaches you that. [Applause] Your energy should be directed to building up Goa, building up India, and thus to leave a heritage, raising standards, exploiting not individual human beings, but exploiting nature, and thus utilising it for your own betterment. You spend your energy on quarrels about language, about this and that; it is wrong. So far as language is concerned, every language in India has freedom to function. Now, I think that in Goa these languages function, whether it is Marathi or any other, they will function with freedom; but there is a certain speciality in Goa, for the people here in the common use of the Konkani language. [Applause] Now it is quite absurd to put them, say, Konkani against Marathi, or Marathi against Konkani. This kind of linguistic approach of suppressing a language is bad. Therefore, I think that while all the languages flourish here, particular attention should be paid to Konkani. It is a common people's language. [Applause]

Gradually, all these things settle themselves; as a nation advances gradually their adjustments takes place. That is a natural thing. But these agitations to have this by law, this by administrative pressure, they are all wrong. They show a certain limited outlook of life. We have to face not only in Goa but in India, not in India but in the world, mighty problems today, amazing problems; the whole world is changing, we live in a revolutionary situation. Revolution does not mean petty riots. And in India we are changing. We should engage with major causes, major things that have to be done to strengthen our country, to raise our living standards because that is the way to strengthen our country to meet any situation that may arise, instead of losing ourselves in a lot of petty trifles and petty struggles. You can distinguish an individual or a nation by what it is thinking of; if it is thinking about petty things and quarrelling about petty things then that nation is a petty nation. If it thinks about his things well, it is a big nation. Bigness does not come from extent of territory, bigness does not come from millions and millions of people. They may help if India had been big in the past even when she was under foreign domination, she was big because she thought in a big way, because her philosophy made her big although she did not act up to our philosophy often. A small country may be big if it acts in a big way. That is why I mentioned to you we will have the first stage, the lower stage of panchayats, which is very important. We want to build up every human being in our country capable to governing himself. We do not think in terms of big officers always governing and big people; every man should have

opportunity of governing to some extent himself. That is the roots of democracy we lay down. Then you have, you should have, your Assembly in Goa, an elected Assembly, which will be, shall carry on this work of your government of Goa directly and be responsible for it. And often your representatives will participate in the great Parliament in Delhi, participate in all India matters. So even we should participate in all these things and grow by participation and develop this intimate sense of an integrated India of which you are a solid part.

Now Goa, as every part of the country has some special problems, we will no doubt deal with them. But remember one or two things. One is as I mentioned a little while ago, India is a very varied country. From the high Himalayas on the north, snow-covered, terribly cold and terribly high, where we can hardly breathe, down to the south when it is always warm, there is all the difference of climate and climate bring out other difference. There are various religions in India. All the old established religions, of the Hindus of course, are thousands of years old, Christians came here nearly two thousand years ago. Remember Christianity came to India long before it went to Europe, long before it went to Portugal. Portugal is a new country to Christianity, it came here in the first century after Christ. It is an ancient religion here, it came especially to the South of India, Kerala and others, and was welcomed, it has been established there, as a religion of India. Islam came thirteen hundred years ago and was welcomed here. I remember the quarrels; the conflicts with Islam in North India especially were not religious conflicts, they were the conflicts of an emperor who wanted to conquer India. But there were hardly any religions conflicts, and it settled down and it became a religion of India. Then our own religion of course, apart from Hinduism, Buddhism is a mighty religion—it started in India—and the other, Parsis who came from outside; and the other sects and so on. So we are a country of many religions and the only way we can exist and that is the right way, is for each one of us to honour not only his own religion but other peoples' religions and live at peace with them, with cooperation. That is the lesson we have been taught by our ancient culture.

Yesterday, in Panjim I said and I should repeat it, the great emperor, Ashoka, who lived more than two thousand years ago in the 3rd century B.C. wrote then to his subjects that your dharma, your duty is not only to respect your own religion, but to respect other peoples' religions too.¹⁴² [Applause] Because if you respect other people's religion, they will respect your religion. That is quite obvious. Anyhow it is an odd thing, remember this that while rest of the world was carrying on great war of religion, massacres in the name of religion, intolerant religion, India has always the message of tolerance in religion or

142. Text as in the tape although there is some ambiguity.

one religion living side by side with another, respecting each other. And that is the right thing to do. Religion is meant to bring you peace and the spiritual advancement to fight others and to cut off their head in the name of religion is not religion. It is just uncivilised behavior. [Applause]

So you must remember that and the other differences in India, language this and that, we must learn to respect differences and not try to impose ourselves on others, our language, you must not impose language on anybody. It is not a question of imposition but of developing our languages, they are all national languages and thereby influencing each other's language. I am the President of the Sahitya Academi. That is the Society, the All India body, literary body. I have to deal with all the languages of India. It is our policy to encourage all of them, to have translations one into the other so that the association of one with others should increase and also their association with foreign languages. We don't want to live in a narrow groove, we want to encourage as we are encouraging English, to be more or less a compulsory second language to be taught, foreign language to be taught. English cannot become our language, national language, it is absurd. We cannot expect four million people of India to be proficient in English, but we do want English to flourish in order to keep in touch with the modern world. We want not only English, but French, and Russian and German and other modern languages, but especially English as we know it. But as I said, English, however much it spreads and I want it to spread, cannot be considered a national language. And if we want to progress, we must work in our own languages we must have our education in our own languages. Only that way you reach the people. And in a democratic state it is a people who count.

Now, here all these problems before you we have to decide. So far as we are concerned, we do not wish to impose any language on you, but so far as I know, some languages have wide prevalence here like Marathi, to some extent in some places Kannada, but the language that is generally known although it will not be very literary is Konkani. [Applause] And I think it should be given every opportunity to develop and to serve the cause of the people of Goa. [Applause] As for Goa itself, you know our firm decision that Goa should remain a separate entity in the Union of India [Applause] and so that it has certain individuality, it should retain it. Naturally that individuality will change from time to time. But it is good to have as most of our states have particular individualities. We do not wish to make them uniform in every part of India. We want unity, but we want unity maintaining the diversity that exists in India, which brings it richness. India is like a beautiful carpet the texture of which it out the differences, but it is one carpet and one thing of beauty. So we must continue to go on weaving this beautiful carpet of India, by our activities, by

our thoughts, by our actions, but always remembering that it is a unity of design and yet maintaining the beauty of the individual parts of it.

Well, friends, I have spoken to you in Hindi and English for about an hour now. And now I shall go, you will go back home too. I have got to go to some distance and I should like again to express my deep gratitude to you for your welcome and affection.

Thank you. [Applause]

40. In Madgaon: Public Meeting¹⁴³

भाइयो और बहिनो और बच्चो,
पहला प्रश्न यह है कि मैं आपसे, किस भाषा में आपसे बोलूँ। दो भाषाओं में मैं बोल सकता हूँ, एक हिन्दी और एक अंग्रेज़ी। मुझे खेद है कि मैं ऐसी भाषा नहीं बोल सकता जो आपको अधिक समझ में आये। तो या तो मैं थोड़ा-थोड़ा दोनों भाषाओं में बोलूँ या एक में, आप ज़रा मुझे बतायें। [शोर] नहीं! नहीं! यह बताने का तरीका नहीं है। जो लोग हिन्दी समझते हैं वो कृपा करके हाथ उठायेँ, जो हिन्दी समझते हैं अच्छा नीचे हाथ कीजिए। अब जो लोग अंग्रेज़ी समझते हैं “दोज़ हू अंडरस्टैंड इंगलिश मे काइन्डली रेज़ देयर हैंड्स” (Those who understand English may kindly raise their hands) कल पंजिम में यही प्रश्न मेरे सामने आया था, तो मैंने उसको इस तरह से हल किया था कि कुछ देर हिन्दी बोला, कुछ देर अंग्रेज़ी। तो यहाँ भी मैं कुछ ऐसे ही करूँगा। [तालियाँ]

अभी काकोडकर जी¹⁴⁴ ने बहुत कुछ मेरे निस्वत चर्चा किया, मेरी प्रशंसा की। मैं यहाँ आपके पास या गोआ में प्रशंसा सुनने नहीं आया हूँ, [तालियाँ] हाँ आपका प्रेम लेने आया हूँ और वो मुझे बहुत मिला है और उसके लिए मैं आपको बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूँ। जबसे मैं गोआ में पहुँचा, जहाँ-जहाँ गया हूँ कल और आज में, वहाँ बहुत लोगों ने, पुरुषों ने, स्त्रियों ने और विशेषकर बच्चों ने बहुत प्रेम और मोहब्बत से मेरा स्वागत किया और मेरे दिल पर उसका असर हुआ। तो उसके लिए बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद आपको। [तालियाँ] प्रेम तो अच्छी चीज़ होती है, कोई काम भी करना हो तो उससे वो काम सरल हो जाता है।

और हमारा ढंग काम करने का भारत में एक अजीब रहा है, विशेषकर वो महात्मा गांधी ने उसमें एक सिक्का जमाया और एक बड़ा क्रांतिकारी काम हमें सिखाया उन्होंने, क्योंकि याद रखिए महात्मा गांधी एक क्रांतिकारी पुरुष थे, महापुरुष थे, लेकिन क्रांतिकारी काम उन्होंने सिखाया शान्ति के ढंग से। लोग समझा करते क्रांति के माने हैं लाठी चलाना, बन्दूक चलाना, सिर फ़ोड़ना, गुल मचाना, यह सब करना है। उन्होंने एक महान क्रांति हमारे देश में की शान्ति से, बहुत कुछ प्रेम से, बहुत कुछ दूसरे को समझाकर और दूसरे को अपनाकर। अब हम लोग तो छोटे आदमी, बात पर पूरीतौर से हम चल नहीं सके,

143. Speech, 23 May 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10652, 10654, NM No. 1867, 1869. Nehru first spoke in Hindi and then in English.

144. Purushottam Kakodkar, President, Goa Pradesh Congress Committee.

कर नहीं सके, लेकिन जित्ता थोड़ा बहुत उनकी बातें हम समझे भी, सीखे भी, उससे भी बहुत कुछ देश में हुआ, यह आप जानते हैं। और दुनिया के इतिहास में यह पहली दफ़े था जब एक महान देश जैसे भारत है उसने स्वराज हासिल किया, एक बड़े साम्राज्यशाही से, शान्तिमय तरीकों से। और क्योंकि हमने इस तरह से किया कि स्वराज लेने के बाद हमारा और इंग्लैंड के, अंग्रेज़ों के देश का संबंध बुरा नहीं रहा, अच्छा ही रहा क्योंकि हमने उसको एक समझौते से किया। स्वराज हमें पूरा मिला, उसमें हम कम नहीं ज़रा भी, पल्ला भी कम नहीं करना चाहते, लेकिन जिस ढंग से महात्मा जी के कहने से हमने किया था उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि जिससे हम लड़ते थे उनसे भी हमारा प्रेम हो गया विशेषकर। यह विशेष बात है आपके समझने की। गांधी जी ने जो हमें तरीका समझाया था हम उसको पूरीतौर से समझे नहीं, हम दुर्बल लोग हैं, हम बड़े महात्मा लोग हैं नहीं, लेकिन जो कुछ उन्होंने सिखाया था उसने भी भारत का नाम सारी दुनिया में फैला दिया। आप बाहर कहीं जाइये किसी और देश में, यूरोप में, अमेरिका में, अफ्रीका में, अब तो भारत आज़ाद हो गया, पहले भी आप जाते थे तो आपका आदर होता था, क्यों? इसलिए कि वो पूछते आपसे कि तुम गांधी के देश से आते हो, गांधी के मुल्क से आते हो, और आप कहो हाँ, तो आपका आदर करेंगे, क्योंकि गांधी का आदर था। गांधी ने हमारे देश का नाम फैलाया था और जबसे हमें स्वराज मिला है तबसे और भी भारतीय लोगों का आदर होने लगा, परदेशों में, और वो भी आपसे पूछे हैं अब भी कि गांधी का देश है वो।

तो आप देखिए कैसे एक महान पुरुष ने अपना छापा भारत पर तो मारा ही, सारी दुनिया के मन पर और दिल पर। वो कैसा पुरुष? बड़ी फ़ौज से नहीं, तलवार से नहीं, ज़ोर से नहीं, और बातों से। तो यह बात हमें मिली है। अब जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, हम तो छोटे लोग हैं और महात्मा जी का नाम लेते हैं, उससे लाभ उठाते हैं लेकिन उनके रास्ते पर पूरीतौर से हम चलते नहीं हैं, क्योंकि हम दुर्बल हैं, हम नहीं उते बड़े लोग हैं, फिर भी जो कुछ हमने उनसे सीखा उसमें हमने शक्ति ली और उसमें एक भारत को नया रास्ता दिखाया।

अब डेढ़ बरस हुआ, गोआ भी भारत का एक हिस्सा हो गया, यों तो एक हिस्सा था ही नक्शे पे लेकिन हो गया। आप जानते हैं कि बरसों उसके पहले, बारह बरस पहले हमने बहुत कोशिश की थी कि पोर्चगल से समझौता करके हम इसका, इस बात को निश्चय करें, तय करें। जब भारत आज़ाद हुआ था अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य से, तो हम समझते थे कि अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य एक महान साम्राज्य था इत्ते बड़े देश पर, उसको हमने यहाँ से अलग कर दिया तो फिर यह पोर्चगल के और फ्रांस के छोट-मोटे हैं यह तो अपने आप हो जायेंगे, उनसे झगड़ा क्या करना। क्यों यहाँ थे पोर्चगीज़ इत्ते रोज़ से? क्यों फ्रांस वाले थे? वो यहाँ थे पिछले सौ-डेढ़ सो बरस से इसलिए कि अंग्रेज़, अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य उनकी बरदाश्त करता था, क्योंकि अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य के विरोध में यहाँ नहीं रह सकते थे वो, ठीक बात है, ज़ाहिर बात है, वो बरदाश्त करता था, तो एक माने में उसके साये में वे यहाँ रहते थे। अब अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य यहाँ से हट गया तो फिर वो साया भी हट गया और उनका रहना कठिन हो गया, जैसे एक माने में आप समझो हमारे देश में बहुत सारे देशी राज्य थे छोटे-बड़े, बड़े-बड़े भी

थे, जैसे हैदराबाद का था, बड़ा था, हैदराबाद, मैसूर, कित्ते और हैं, बड़ौदा, इन्दौर वगैरा, कई सौ थे। वो भी कैसे रहते थे हमारे देश में? इसलिए कि अंग्रेज़ी राज्य के साये में वो रहते थे, जहाँ अंग्रेज़ी राज्य यहाँ से हट गया तो उनकी जड़ नहीं मज़बूत रही और उनकी जनता चाहती थी एक स्वतंत्रता, आज़ादी, वो उसका विरोध नहीं कर सके और उनको राज़ी होना पड़ा अंग्रेज़ी राज्य के जाने पर, उन्होंने हमसे समझौता किया और उनके राज्य ख़तम हो गये, उनके राज्य मिल गये भारत में। हमने अच्छा बरताव उनसे किया, उनको बड़ी लम्बी-चौड़ी पेंशन दी बगैर उनके कुछ काम किए, उनको पेंशन मिली, लेकिन हमने सोचा कि उनको दे देना अच्छा है कि कोई झगड़ा न हो, प्रेम से बात निश्चय हो। तो एक महान क्रांति भारत में हुई कि सारे भारत में चार सौ, पाँच सौ देशी राज्य थे और एकदम से उनका अन्त हो गया और उस भारत के राज्य हो गये, हमारे बड़े-बड़े प्रान्त में, बड़े-बड़े प्रदेशों में उनके हिस्से हो गये शान्ति से। तो इसी तरह से हम समझते थे कि फ्रांस का और गोआ के जो छोटे-छोटे टुकड़े हैं वो भी देश में आ जायेंगे। यह बात तो हम नहीं सोच सकते थे, हो सकता है कि इत्ते महान साम्राज्य को जैसे अंग्रेज़ों का था, वो तो हट जाये यहाँ से और दूसरे साम्राज्य थोड़े बहुत रह जायें। और दूसरे साम्राज्य में भी कौन-कौन? जैसे पोर्चगल का, जो कि यूरोप में भी बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ देश है, यूरोप के देशों में सबमें पिछड़ा हुआ है, वो किसी और ज़माने में रहता है, दुनिया बदल गयी वो नहीं बदला। [तालियाँ]

तो हमने शुरु-शुरु में बातचीत शुरु की फ्रांस की गवर्नमेंट से और पोर्चगल से। फ्रांस की गवर्नमेंट ने शुरु-शुरु में कुछ स्वीकार नहीं किया, बहस की, लेकिन फिर भी उनसे बातें होती रहीं, बातें होती रहीं और कई बरस बाद फिर समझौता हमारा उनका हुआ और वो पांडिचेरी इत्यादि के प्रश्न हल हो गये। उन्होंने स्वीकार किया कि यह भारत में आ जाये अगर वहाँ की जनता चाहे तो, जनता तो चाहती थी, तो वो बात निश्चय हुई, फिर भी गोआ का रह गया प्रश्न। जैसे हमने फ्रांस वालों से बहुत बातचीत की थी, हमने पोर्चगल वालों से भी कोशिश की, लेकिन पोर्चगल वाले ऐसी दुनिया में रहते थे [कि] उनकी तो समझ में ही नहीं आये, दुनिया बदल गयी, भारत बदल गया, भारत से अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य निकल गया और बहुत और बातें हुई, लेकिन वो हमसे बात तक ठीक-ठीक न करें। हमने एक सफ़ीर, राजदूत भेजा लिस्बन, उससे बात तक न करें, हमने कुछ भेजे, बयान भेजे हर तरह से, उनको लें ही नहीं और जवाब दें कि चार-सौ बरस हुए या पाँच सौ बरस हुए उनको एक, क्या कहूँ, एक मिला, एक हुक्मनामा मिला था जिससे उनको गोआ मिल गया था। अब चार-सौ, पाँच सौ बरस हुए किसी ने उनको दिया, उसको कौन अधिकार था देने का वो दूसरी बात है। अब चार सौ, पाँच सौ बरस में दुनिया उनकी राय में जमी रही, दुनिया तो नहीं जमी रही, बहुत ऊँच-नीच हो गयी। जब यहाँ वो आये थे उस ज़माने में भारत में मुग़ल साम्राज्य था, मुग़ल साम्राज्य ख़तम हो गया, उसके बाद तरह-तरह के और हुए, उसके बाद अंग्रेज़ आये, अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य ख़तम हुआ, लेकिन पोर्चगल की गवर्नमेंट के मन में, दिमाग़ में दुनिया वैसी की वैसी रही जैसे चार सौ बरस में थी। इस बात को तो हम स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते थे, असम्भव था और हमारे लिए ख़तरा था, वहाँ ज़रा सी जगह में ख़तरा नहीं, लेकिन किसी भी विदेश का एक जगह रहना भारत में एक हमारे लिए भय

था, खतरा था कि अगर दुनिया में कोई लड़ाई हो, हम चाहे उसमें न भी हों, बड़ी लड़ाई हो तो विदेशी अड़्डा यहाँ होने से भारत खतरे में है, भारत फ़ंस जाये, और भी बहुत वजह थीं। और जो हमने काम शुरू किया था भारत को आज़ाद करने का वो काम पूरा नहीं हुआ जब तक भारत में ऐसे टुकड़े रहें पांडिचेरी और गोआ, जो आधीन थे दूसरे देश के, हमें उसकी बरदाश्त नहीं थी। इसलिए बारह बरस में पांडिचेरी का प्रश्न हल हो गया, फ़्रांस से हमारी मित्रता है, दोस्ती, अच्छी तरह से है जैसे अंग्रेज़ों से है। पोर्चगल ने नहीं माना और बारह बरस तक हम उनसे बात करते रहे, फिर ऐसी बातें हुई कि हम मजबूर हो गये कुछ और क़दम उठाने के लिए। वो भी जहाँ तक मुमकिन था हमने एक शान्ति से, पूरीतौर से तो नहीं, लेकिन फिर भी क़रीब-क़रीब शान्ति से उठा और क़रीब-क़रीब शान्ति से यह मसला हल हो गया। इसके माने नहीं थे और न हैं कि हमने जो हमारी महान नीति थी, शान्ति की, उसमें ज़रा भी फ़र्क़ हो। हम दुनिया भर में गये हैं, बताया है कि भारत, हिन्दुस्तान शान्तिमय देश है, हम दुनिया में शान्ति चाहते हैं, हम लड़ाई का विरोध करते हैं। अब हमारे ऊपर मजबूरी आये तो लाचारी है, जैसे अब मजबूरी आई है, चीन ने हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण किया, हमला किया, हमें बचाना है अपने देश को, यह तो नहीं है कि वो उससे फ़ायदा उठा लें कि हाँ भारत ने रोका नहीं, हम उसका गला काटें जाके, हम उसकी छाती पर बैठ जायें, यह तो और बात है। लेकिन हमारी नीति है शान्ति की, दुनिया में, वो क़ायम है, और गोआ को भी जो हमने किया बहुत सोच-समझ के, जब हम मजबूर हो गये तो हमें करना पड़ा और इस ढंग से किया जिसमें आप जानते हैं अशान्ति बहुत कम हुई। ख़ैर, तो हमारा काम, गोआ के भारत में आने से यह काम पूरा हो गया, पांडिचेरी पहले आ गया था। अब कोई हमारे मन में, हम कोई और देशों में तो जाना नहीं चाहते, किसी और देश में, किसी और देश की ज़मीन पर हम नहीं चाहते, हम तो अपने देश में हमारे लिए काफ़ी है और लेकिन अपने देश में कोई हमला करे, आक्रमण करे उसका हम सामना करेंगे ज़ाहिर है।

तो हमारा, राजनैतिक क्रांति हमारी पूरी हो गयी गोआ के यहाँ आने से, गोआ के भारत में आने से ख़तम हो गयी और एक मंज़िल हमारी हो चुकी। अब दूसरी मंज़िल जो हमारी है, जिस वक़्त स्वराज हमें मिला था भारत में उसी वक़्त से शुरू हुई, वो दूसरे ढंग की है, वो राजनैतिक नहीं है, एक माने में वो सामाजिक और आर्थिक, यानी देश की हालत को, देश की जनता की हालत को ऊँचा करें, उनकी उन्नति हो, हमारे देश से ग़रीबी निकले, हमारे देश में और जो ख़राबियाँ हैं वो निकलें और देश हमारा ख़ुशहाल हो जाये। देश हमारे के माने हैं सब लोग हमारे, आम जनता। इस सवाल को उठाया।

अब हमारा देश बड़ा देश है, दुनिया में बहुत बड़े देशों में दी-तीन में है और बड़ी आबादी है, चतुर आबादी है, काम करने वाली है, लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि ग़रीब देश है, यह अच्छा नहीं लगता। क्यों और देश यूरोप के, अमेरिका के, और जगहों के अमीर देश हों? हम क्यों ग़रीब हों? इसको हमें सम्भालना है, अब इत्ते बड़े देश को उठाना बड़ी कठिन बात है, चालीस-चवालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाना कठिन बात है क्योंकि, हमारी ग़रीबी कैसे दूर हो? कहीं बाहर से कोई रुपया-चाँदी-सोना तो आके पड़ेगा नहीं, वो बरसेगा

नहीं आसमान से, हम एक ही तरह से कर सकते हैं कि हमारे देश में हमारे परिश्रम से धन अधिक पैदा हो। धन के माने क्या हैं? धन के माने सोना-चाँदी नहीं है, धन के माने हैं जो कुछ आप पैदा करें अपने परिश्रम से, खेती से, कारखानों से, किया, और कीजिए, जैसे आपके यहाँ गोआ में लोहे का पत्थर निकलता है, उससे किस तरह से हम पैदा करते हैं। तो हमें हर तरह से अपनी पैदावार को बढ़ाना है, ज़मीन से किसानों को, कारखानों से, और कारखाने लगाने हैं। कैसे हो सकता है? कैसे अमेरिका और विलायत वाले अमीर हो गये? इस तरह से दुनिया में क्रांति हुई, बड़ी क्रांतियाँ हुई हैं पिछले सौ-दो सौ बरस में, वो क्रांतियाँ पोर्चगल में नहीं पहुँची हैं अब तक, लेकिन और दुनिया में हो चुकी हैं। वहाँ विज्ञान है, साइंस बहुत फैला है, बहुत फैला, साइंस के बच्चे हुए, बहुत तरह के औज़ार निकले, तरह-तरह के औज़ार और कारखाने बने औज़ारों से और कारखानों में और खेती में बहुत पैदा होने लगा, अधिक। इसलिए अमेरिका बहुत अमीर हो गया, क्योंकि पैदा बहुत करता है और विज्ञान से, साइंस से, टेक्नोलोजी से, मशीनों से, यंत्रों से। अगर हम उसी बात को समझ लें, विज्ञान को समझें और मशीन को समझें और उसको अपने यहाँ चलायें, अपने परिश्रम से करें तो हम भी बहुत तेज़ी से बढ़ सकते हैं।

अब यह हमें करना है, इसके माने हुए बहुत सारी बातें करनी हैं, हमें समझना है, हमें अपने लोगों की शिक्षा जिसको हम समझ सकें, नया ज़माने को, एक नया भारत हम पैदा करें, जो कि इस ज़माने को समझता है। तो भारत में हमने यह क़दम उठाया, योजना की, पंचवर्षीय योजना की और उसमें यही उपाय किया कि खेती हमारी बढ़े, कारखाने बढ़ें, शिक्षा बढ़े, शिक्षा हर तरह की, आम शिक्षा बढ़े सभी की और विशेषकर शिक्षा बढ़े जो आजकल के ज़माने को, विज्ञान को समझते हैं और यह मशीन युग को समझते हैं, कर रहे हैं, और बहुत बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हुई हैं देश में, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं। तो यह बड़ा रास्ता है हमारे चलने का, क्योंकि महज़ बैठे-बैठे तो हम अपने देश को नहीं बदल देंगे और क्रांति का नाम बहुत लेते हैं, यह महान क्रांति है कि जो कि यूरोप में हुई थी, सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए, जिसको इंडस्ट्रीयल रेवोल्यूशन कहते हैं यानी उद्योग की क्रांति, इसमें यंत्रों की क्रांति और विज्ञान की क्रांति, उसको हमें यहाँ लाना है ज़ोरों से और उसको हम ला रहे हैं, समय लगता है क्योंकि इसमें सारे देश की जनता को बदलना है, उनकी शिक्षा को बदलना, उनकी सब बातों को बदलना। यह हो रहा है और उसका फ़ल हमें हल्के-हल्के मिल रहा है, और अधिक फ़ल, और ज़्यादा मिलेगा आगे। यह एक मंज़िल हमारी, स्वराज की हमारी पूरी हुई, यह दूसरी बड़ी मंज़िल हमने उठायी है और इसमें समय लगेगा, लेकिन होगा। यह मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें, यह कोई जादू नहीं है या कोई माला पढ़ने से या आसमान के तारों की तरफ़ देखने से, ज्योतिष सीख लेने से देश नहीं बढ़ते हैं। देश बढ़ते हैं परिश्रम से और अक़ल से, आजकल की दुनिया को समझ के, जो-जो विद्या दुनिया में हो उसको लेकर और उसको अपनाकर, इस तरह से बढ़े हैं, यह बड़ा भारी काम है।

किसी एक बात को भी आप लीजिए, शिक्षा को लीजिए, अब शिक्षा को हमें, चालीस करोड़ आदमियों की शिक्षा बड़ी भारी बात है। अगर बच्चों को लीजिए ख़ाली, वो भी दस करोड़ हो जाते हैं देश में, उनकी शिक्षा और अच्छी शिक्षा नयी दुनिया को समझने के लिए।

और शिक्षा के माने पढ़ना, लिखना, सीखना नहीं है ख़ाली, शिक्षा के माने हैं काम सीखना, नये-नये काम सीखना, नये-नये काम करना सीखना, चाहे वो किसान का काम हो, किसान का काम भी अच्छी तरह से करें। यह क्या बात है कि हमारे किसान जो खेती करते हैं वो एक एकड़ ज़मीन में जित्ता पैदा करते हैं उसका तिगुना-चौगुना और देशों में पैदा होता है? हमारे किसान भी अच्छे हैं लेकिन उनका ढंग ग़लत है, उनके हल अच्छे नहीं, उनके पास यंत्र ठीक नहीं हैं। अगर वो अपनी ज़मीन से पैदा किया हुआ दुगुना कर दें, तो पैदा करें तो भारत की दौलत दुगुनी हो जाती है एकदम से। इस तरह से धन बढ़ता है और फिर हम कारख़ाने चलायें, चला रहे हैं इस तरह से। तो यह बात हमें देश में करनी है और सारे देश में, गोआ में भी यही बात करनी है, इसी तरह से बढ़ाना है, और बातें हैं, शिक्षा के अलावा स्वास्थ्य का है, स्वास्थ्य में बड़ी तरक्क़ी की है भारत ने, और बातें हैं बहुत सारी।

हमारी मुश्किल यह कि जब हम इस काम में पड़े हुए थे बड़े ज़ोरों से, चीन ने हमारे ऊपर हमला किया और बहुत ग़लत हमला किया। वे, हमें एकदम से हमें धोखा दे के हमला किया, बड़ी ग़लत बात है, हम चीन से मित्रता चाहते थे, दोस्ती, उसका जवाब उन्होंने यह दिया। ख़ैर, हम कित्ते ही शान्तिप्रिय हों, हमें इसका सामना करना है। तो कोई देश अपनी कमज़ोरी दिखाता है, दुर्बलता दिखाता है यह अच्छी बात तो नहीं, तो वो गिर जाता है, सिर नहीं उठाता। यह असम्भव है कि हम इस तरह से दूसरे देश को ज़बरदस्ती में आके सिर झुका दें और उनकी बात को स्वीकार कर लें, चाहे हम उसको ग़लत भी समझें। इसलिए हमारे सामने यह बड़ी मुसीबत की बात है, बड़ी बात आ गयी ऐसे महान देश चीन के हमले का सामना करना।

उधर, हमारा पुराना झगड़ा चला आता है पाकिस्तान से, हालांकि पाकिस्तान हमारे पुराने देश के रहने वाले हैं और उनसे हम प्रेम से रहना चाहते हैं फिर भी उसको इत्ता कुछ तो भय है भारत का और कुछ अदावत है और हम नहीं चाहते भारत बड़े झगड़ा करके आगे। हमने उनसे कहा कि आपके हमारे बीच में बहुत प्रश्न हैं, हम उसको हल करेंगे, करने की कोशिश करेंगे, लेकिन इस बात को तो हम निश्चय कर लें कि हम एक-दूसरे से हथियार-बंद लड़ाई नहीं लड़ेंगे। अगर हम यह निश्चय कर लें, इस पर हम दस्तख़त कर दें दोनों देश, तो दोनों को इत्मीनान हो जाये। फिर जो हमारे आपके बीच में सवाल हैं उसको बैठ के सोचें, हल करें, अगर एकदम से नहीं होते बाद में करें, साल लगे, दो बरस लगे, तीन बरस, चार बरस लगे, लेकिन लड़ाई करने से तो अच्छा है। इसलिए हमने उनसे कहा कि हम एक दस्तख़त करें “नो-वॉर डेक्लरेशन” “no-war declaration” पर, हम लड़ाई नहीं लड़ेंगे आपसे, उन्होंने इसको स्वीकार नहीं किया। आप देखें, एक तरफ़ तो वो कहते हैं कि भारत हम पर हमला करेगा, हालांकि हमने उनसे बहुत कहा, लेकिन जब कहते हैं कि हम और आप दस्तख़त कर लें “नो-वॉर डेक्लरेशन” पर तो हमला तो नहीं होगा भारत पर, भय तो नहीं है आपको कोई, फिर भी दस्तख़त नहीं करते। इसके क्या माने हैं?

यह सब बातें, बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हैं हमारे, एक तरफ़ से चीन, एक तरफ़ से पाकिस्तान और तीसरा सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न है हमारे देश का आर्थिक और सामाजिक, इसको उठाने का, अपने परिश्रम से, अपने पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं से और देश को बदलना है। आपको गोआ

को बदलना है बहुत, लेकिन याद रखिए गोआ को खाली नहीं बदलना है देश भर को बदलना है। गोआ को कुछ और भी बदलना है क्योंकि इत्ते रोज़ पोर्चगीज़ हुकूमत ने गोआ को जमा सा दिया और दुनिया तो बदलती गयी, भारत भी बदलता गया, गोआ बहुत कम बदला, बदलना है, सारे भारत को बदलना है और एक अगुवा देश होना है दुनिया में। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि हम नक़ल करें और देशों की, लेकिन और दुनिया में जो-जो बातें हुई हैं उसको हम सीखें, विज्ञान को सीखें, यंत्रों को सीखें नये-नये, मशीन ऐज में आयें। यह हमें करना है, आपको करना है, हम सभी को करना है।

तो हमारा देश जिसने एक बड़ी क्रांति की, शान्तिमय क्रांति, अंग्रेज़ों से मुक़ाबला करने के लिए और उसमें जीता, अब उसका काम एक क्रांतिमय तो अब भी है लेकिन वो क्रांतिमय दूसरे ढंग का है, राजनैतिक नहीं है, आर्थिक-सामाजिक है, उसको बदलना अपनी समाज को बदलना, झगड़ा करके नहीं लेकिन परिश्रम करके, सोच-समझ के, सहयोग से। यह बड़ा सवाल है हमारे सामने और सारी दुनिया हमारी तरफ़ देख रही है कि हम इसको कैसे करते हैं, किस ढंग से करते हैं, क्योंकि कहीं यह प्रश्न शान्तिमय तरीक़ों से नहीं लिया गया है। तो आपके पास, आपको और हमें जवाब देना है इस बड़े प्रश्न का, अपने काम से, अपने सहयोग से, अपने परिश्रम से।

दो-तीन बातें आप याद रखिए कि भारत एक महान देश है, इसमें बहुत अनेकता है, अलग-अलग प्रदेश हैं, अलग-अलग भाषाएँ हैं प्रदेशों में, अलग-अलग तौर-तरीक़े हैं, भारत का रूप भी अलग-अलग है। आप हिमालय पहाड़ पर जाइए, बहुत ऊँचे पहाड़ हैं, बर्फ़ से ढके हुए हैं। आप यहाँ आयें, दक्षिण में जायें यहाँ तो बड़े पहाड़ नहीं हैं, सर्दी नहीं है, वहाँ तो इत्ती सर्दी होती है कि कुछ पूछिए नहीं, सांस लेना भी कठिन होता है ऊँचे पहाड़ों पर, यहाँ जाइए, दक्खिन में जाइए कन्याकुमारी, वो दूसरा रूप अलग है भारत का। तो भारत के तो अनेक-अनेक रूप, अनेक-अनेक भाषाएँ हैं, भारत में अनेक धर्म हैं, अनेक मज़हब हैं लेकिन फिर भी भारत एक है। इस अनेकता में एकता है और वो उसको बांधती है और भारत में दोनों बातें हैं, एक तो बड़ी ज़बरदस्त एकता है और अनेकता है जो उसको सुन्दर बनाती है, सब लोग एक से हों तो कोई सुन्दर बात नहीं है, ज़रा कुछ फ़र्क़ होने से तो अच्छा लगता है। तो हमेशा भारत के इतिहास में अनेकता और एकता दोनों रही हैं। भारत के टुकड़े हो गये थे जब, राजनैतिक टुकड़े, तब भी भारत की एकता थी, सांस्कृतिक एकता और तरह-तरह की एकता। और एक बड़ी बात भारत ने इतिहास में दिखाई है कि भारत में कई धर्म तो भारत में ही पैदा हुए हैं, बड़े-बड़े धर्म, हिन्दुओं का धर्म है, बौद्ध धर्म, इत्ता महान धर्म भारत में पैदा हुआ, जैनियों का धर्म, सिक्खों का, यह सब भारतीय धर्म हैं, लेकिन भारत ने अपने दरवाज़े खोल दिये बाहर के धर्मों के आने के लिए, और बहुत ज़माने से। ईसाई धर्म, क्रिस्चन धर्म भारत में आया पहली बार अठारह सौ वर्ष हुए, उन्नीस सौ वर्ष हुए, यानी भारत में ईसाई धर्म आया था, पहले इसके कि वो यूरोप में गया था, तब यहाँ दरवाज़े खुले थे, उनका स्वागत किया गया, हम हरेक का करते हैं, कोई ज़बरदस्ती नहीं होती थी, वो जमा दक्खिन में और और जगह, विशेषकर केरल में, अठारह सौ बरस से है वहाँ, हमारा देश का धर्म हो गया। इस्लाम आया और हमारे देश

में, तेरह सौ बरस हुए, काफ़ी पुराना है, वो भी आया और वो भी धर्म की शक्ति में आया, कोई विरोध नहीं हुआ, वो भी फैला, फिर विरोध जो हुआ वो धर्म के नहीं थे, वो विरोध हुए राजनैतिक विरोध, जब कोई हमला करे तो देश लड़ता है, वो भी पुराना धर्म हमारे देश का हो गया। वो आये, पारसी लोग आये ईरान से निकाले हुए, वो भी यहाँ, उनका स्वागत हुआ, अपना लिया हमने, और हमारे देश के धर्म तो थे—बौद्ध धर्म, जैन धर्म, सिक्ख इत्यादि। हमारे देश का तरीका यह रहा है कि धर्म के बारे में एक-दूसरे को बरदाश्त करें, एक-दूसरे का आदर करें, एक-दूसरे से लड़ाई नहीं लड़ें। यह यूरोप के इतिहास हैं धार्मिक लड़ाई के। हमारे यहाँ कुछ लोग आजकल धोखे में आ के, भड़काये हुए आ के, धर्म का नाम ले के लड़ते थे, धर्म को बदनाम करते हैं और अपने देश को भी बदनाम करते हैं, यह हमारी पुरानी बात है, आज नहीं हज़ारों बरस से कि अपने धर्म पर रहें और दूसरे के धर्म का आदर करें, बरदाश्त करें और इस तरह से मिलजुल के चलें। यह बात आपको याद रखनी है क्योंकि गोआ भी एक ऐसी जगह है जहाँ कई धर्म हैं, हिन्दू धर्म है, ईसाई धर्म काफ़ी है और और धर्म भी हैं, इस्लाम है, और हैं, सभी का बरदाश्त करनी है, इज्जत करनी है, आदर करना है। इसी तरह से गोआ की तरक्की होगी और और जगह की भी।

तो यह आपने सुना होगा कि हमने गोआ को अलग ही रखना निश्चय किया है। [तालियाँ] अब मैं हमेशा के लिए वो कोई बात कह नहीं सकता, क्या हो हमेशा, क्योंकि उसमें, लेकिन जो भी कुछ हो वो गोआ के लोग निश्चय करेंगे, हम कोई ऊपर से नहीं करेंगे। बिलफ़ेल गोआ एक अलग रहेगा और आपने सुना होगा कि कोई तीन-चार महीने में जब कभी हो, यहाँ चुनाव होगा एक असेम्बली का, जो कि, जिसको अधिकार होगा यहाँ के शासन के बहुत कुछ। तो आप ही के हाथ में होगा। उधर तो आपके प्रतिनिधि चुने हुए लोकसभा में, पार्लियामेंट में जायेंगे, वहाँ सभी के साथ में काम करेंगे। दूसरे यहाँ असेम्बली होगी, वो अपना काम देखभाल करें और तीसरे आपके यहाँ और नीचे जाइए पंचायती राज है, पंचायत चुनी गयी है, सरपंच चुने गये हैं, उनको अधिकार होगा, सहायता होगी। इस तरह से हम जनता का राज कराया चाहते हैं नीचे से ऊपर तक, जैसे कि और भारत में है, क्योंकि इसी तरह से हमारी राय में देश आखिर में बढ़ता है कि जनता खुद अपने हाथों में इन कामों को ले, उसको अभ्यास हो, तजुर्बा हो, और इस तरह से बढ़े। अच्छे से अच्छा अफ़सर हो, अच्छे अफ़सर होने चाहियें, लेकिन अच्छा से अच्छा अफ़सर हमारी राय में जनता के राज की जगह नहीं हो सकता। अफ़सर का काम है जनता के चुने हुए प्रतिनिधियों की मदद करे, सहायता करे, इसकी हम कोशिश कर रहे हैं, हल्के-हल्के हो जायेगा और फिर आप पर है कि आप कैसा अपना काम करते हैं, वैसे ही गोआ उता ही आगे बढ़ेगा।

तो अब मैं आधा घंटे से ऊपर आपसे हिन्दी में बोला, अब मैं अंग्रेज़ी में बोलूँगा।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Brothers, Sisters and Children

The first problem is which language I should speak to you if. I can speak in English or Hindi. I regret to say that I cannot any language which you can understand better. So I could speak for a short while in both the languages. You must tell me. [Noise] No, no, this is not the way. Those who can understand Hindi please raise their hands. All right, now, those who understand English better may kindly raise their hands. I solved this problem in Panjim yesterday in the same way, by speaking for a while in Hindi and in English. I shall do the same here. [Applause]

Kakodkarji¹⁴⁵ has kindly said very nice things about me. But I have not come to Goa to hear my praises or that of Goa. [Applause] I have come here for your affection which you have given in great abundance and I thank you wholeheartedly for it. Wherever I have gone in Goa, in the last two days, people in large numbers specially children have greeted me with great love and affection which has made a deep impression on me. I thank you for that [applause] love is a very good thing for it makes my burden lighter.

Mahatma Gandhi has taught us a very special way of working. He made a tremendous impact upon the people of India and spurred them on to performing revolutionary tasks. Remember that Mahatma Gandhi was a revolutionary. But his method was to bring about revolution in a peaceful manner. People often think that revolution means violence and bloodshed, wrought a great revolution in India through peace, love and mutual understanding and cooperation. We are men of small stature and have not been able to follow the path shown by him fully. But to the extent that we understood and learnt the lessons that he taught us, we achieved a great deal. As you will all know, it was for the first time in the history of the world that a great country like India achieved independence from a great imperialism by peaceful methods. Since we followed a unique method, the relations between England and India have remained cordial even after we got freedom. That is because we achieved our goal by peaceful methods. Freedom we got in full measure—we could not allow any compromise over that. But by following the path shown by Gandhi ji, we could win even our enemies over. This is something that you must understand. We were weak, men of small stature, who could not understand fully, what Gandhi ji was trying to teach us. But to the extent that he succeeded, India won great fame in the world, Indians going abroad even before independence, were held in great respect because they came from the land of Gandhi ji. He made India famous

145. See fn 144 in this section.

and led us to freedom after which India's stature grew even more, even now, people in other countries think of India as the land of Gandhiji. So you think of India as the land of Gandhi.

So you can see what a profound impact this great man made upon India and the world. But he was no general and won hearts not by the sword but by love. This is the legacy that we have inherited. As I told you, we are men of small stature, take the Mahatma's name and benefit by it but fail to follow the path shown by him because we are weak, yet it is from the lessons that we learnt from him that we draw our strength and which put India on a new path.

A year and a half ago, Goa too became a part of India. Though it had always been a part of the map of India, now it is full-fledged Indian territory. As you are aware, we had been trying for twelve years before that to reach an amicable agreement with Portugal. We had just been freed from British colonialism and assured that when we could shake off the yoke of such a mighty imperial power, the small pockets held by the French and the Portuguese would automatically be freed, we saw no reason to enter into a dispute with them. The French and the Portuguese had managed to hold on to Indian territories for the last 150 years or so only because the British had tolerated them. They could not have existed in conflict with the British. So in a sense, they were protectorates of the British. Now that imperialist rule had come to an end their protectorate was over too. It was difficult to let the status quo continue. In a sense, the hundreds of small and big princely states had existed in India, including Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Indore etc. as protectorates of the British. Once the British left, their roots become shaky and the people in the princely states hankered for independence which their rulers could not oppose. So they had to come to an agreement with the Indian government and the princely stamps were merged with the Indian Union. We treated them very generously giving huge pensions to their rulers without their having earned them. Anyhow, we didn't want my upheavals and so the matter was settled amicably. This was a great revolution that four or five hundred princely states were merged with the Indian Union without any fuss or violence. We thought that we would be able to settle the matter with France and Portugal also in a similar fashion, We did not for a moment contemplate allowing any pockets of colonial rule to exist on Indian soil after such a powerful imperial power like British had been ousted. Portugal is one of the most backward countries of Europe and refused to change when the whole world was changing. [Applause]

So we started talks with the French and Portuguese Governments. Initially, there was some resistance from the French Government. But talks continued and years later, an agreement was reached and the problem of Pondicherry etc. was resolved. The French Government agreed that the people of those pockets

should be allowed to accede India if they so wished. The people chose to do so. Yet the problem of Goa remained. We tried to talk to the Portuguese as we had with the French. But the Portuguese live in a world of their own and refuse to accept that the world all around them is changing. India became free and many changes took place but the Portuguese refused to even talk. We sent an ambassador to Lisbon with some letters and documents. But they were not accepted. The only reply we got from the Portuguese was that Goa had been ceded to them four or five hundred years ago by the Mughal emperor. They refused to take cognizance of the changes that had taken place in the world in the last four or five hundred years. There have been great ups and downs in the world during that time. When the Portuguese came to India, the Mughal Empire was at its zenith. Then that came to an end and the British ruled India. Then even the British rule came to an end. But in the minds of the Portuguese, the world remained where it was four hundred years ago. Now we could not accept that. It was impossible and even dangerous. Not that a small principality like Goa posed any danger. But to allow a foreign power to continue in a corner of India was dangerous for us. If a war were to break out in any part of the world even if India was not involved, we would be drawn in wily-nily. There were other reasons too. We would not have completed the political revolution that we had started so long as pockets of colonial rule existed in Goa and Pondicherry etc. We could not tolerate that. After twelve years, we had settled the matter of Pondicherry amicably with the French and our relations with France are cordial. Portugal did not agree in spite of our repeated efforts to reach a settlement and so we were forced to take other steps. Even so, we tried as far as possible to go about the task peacefully. Though it was not entirely peaceful, we managed to solve the problem more or less without violence. That does not mean that we have deviated even an inch from our policy of peace. India has become famous in the world as a peace-loving country, we worked for world peace and tried to prevent the outbreak of war anywhere. We were helpless when the Chinese attacked and we were forced to defend ourselves. We could not sit back and allow China to capture our territories. But our policy is to maintain peace in the world. Even in Goa we took military action only as a last resort and after much careful thought. As you know, we managed to keep violence to the minimum. Well our work is now complete with the liberation of Goa. Now no vestige of colonial rule remains. We have no desire to establish control over the territory of other countries. But it is obvious that we shall fight to the last if any other country commits aggression upon India soil.

So our political revolution is complete with the merger of Goa in the Indian Union and we have reached yet another goal. Now our other goals of economic and social betterment remain. We have been working to eradicate

poverty from India and the many social ills which afflict us and the country I mean the masses of India.

India is a very large country. It is among the two or three of the largest countries of the world with a huge population. The people are intelligent and hard working. But as you know, we are a poor country. It is difficult to accept that should India not become affluent like the West. Why should we remain poor? We must change the situation. Now it is a difficult job to uplift a vast country like ours with a population of forty or forty-four crores of people. After all, wealth has to be produced in the country by the hard work of the people. It will not drop from heaven like manna. What is wealth? It does not consist of gold and silver. The real wealth of a country consists of whatever we produce from land, from our factories and from our mines like we mine iron ore in Goa. Therefore we must increase production by every possible means and set up more factories and plants. The West became affluent because of the Industrial Revolution. During the last couple of centuries of course that revolution has not touched Portugal but the rest of the world has felt its impact. There has been a great spread of science and new ancilliary industries have sprung up. The result was that production began to increase by leaps and bounds. The United States of America became extremely affluent because there is tremendous production though scientific and technological progress. If we can imbibe some of those lessons, we too could progress by leaps and bounds.

This means taking a number of steps. We have to educate the masses to understand how we are trying to build a new India. We have to change the mental outlook of the people to keep, pace with the modern times. Therefore we adopted planning, the Five Year Plans which sets out schemes for development in agriculture, industries, education, etc. We are trying to enter into the machine age. Great things have taken place in the country. There is no doubt about that. We have embarked on a great path because we cannot achieve anything by sitting idle or talking tall about revolutions. We have to usher in the industrial revolution which has transformed the West within a couple of centuries beyond recognition. We are taking steps but everything takes time because it means educating millions of human beings and changing their mental outlook, we are getting results and will continue to do so in future. We have achieved the goal of independence and must now work hard to achieve this new goal. It will take time but we will succeed. I want you to understand one thing quite dearly. We cannot reach our goal by some magic formula or by counting leads or gazing at the stars. A nation progresses through hard work and intelligences, a modern outlook and education. This is a great challenge.

Take education, for instance. It is an enormous task to educate forty crores of human beings. The children alone number ten crores. We have to provide

good education to them and train them for the challenges which a society throws up. They must be taught to adopt new methods and technology. Why is it that in other countries the output from an acre of land is four times as much as it is in our country? Our farmers are good and hard working too. But their methods and tools are outmoded. Even if production is doubled, India's wealth will grow enormously. We have to set up more factories. Goa must be in the forefront of all these efforts. Health care is equally important. India has made great progress in this field.

The problem is that at a time when we were engaged with all our might in these tasks of development, China launched a massive attack on us which was absolutely wrong. It was a great betrayal of our faith. We wanted friendship with them. Well, however peace-loving we are we have to face this challenge. No country can afford to be weak in such circumstances it is impossible that we should we how down our heads under duress before another power or accept what they claim when we feel it is wrong, so we are facing the additional burden of external aggression by China.

Then there is our old feud with Pakistan, Though they were part of India until recently and we wish to maintain friendly relations with them they are in so much fear of India and feel such bitterness that we cannot make any headway. We have always made it dear to them that we shall try to solve our mutual problems through friendly negotiations. But we said, let us make a pact not to go to war. Once we do that, both countries will be reassured. Even if it takes time to solve all our problems, it is better than to go to war. But Pakistan did not agree to a no-war declaration. On the one hand, they say that they are afraid of an attack by India and yet they are not prepared to sign a no war pact. What does it mean?

These are some of the challenges that we face, from Pakistan and China and above all the problem of economic and social uplift through proper planning. Goa must change along with the rest of the country. It has been stifled for too long under Portuguese rule while the world and the rest of India continued to change. We must strive to put India among the leading countries of the world. That does not mean that we should copy others. But we must try to imbibe the scientific and technological know-how which others have amassed. We must understand the machine age, these are the tasks before us.

We succeeded in a great peaceful revolution in challenging British empire and ending their rule in India. But the task before us is even more revolutionary, the task of changing our society and bringing about economic and social progress through hard work cooperation and intelligence. The eyes of the world are upon us to see whether we succeed. Unless we achieve our goals by peaceful means, we will be answerable to the world.

You must bear in mind a couple of things. India is a great country. There is great diversity here, with many provinces and languages and different life styles. India has myriad forms. You go to the Himalayas where you can see the huge snow-clad peaks. When you come South, it is hot and there are no tall mountains. It is so cold up in the mountains that it is difficult to breathe. You find an entirely different face of India when you go down to Kanyakumari in the South. Thus India is a land of myriad aspects, of different languages, religions and life styles. Yet there is basic unity in this diversity which bound us together in a very strong bond. The diversity lends beauty to our land. There is no charm in uniformity. India has always been known for its diversity and also unity. Even when India was fragmented politically, it was united by a strong bond of cultural unity. India's history shows that apart from the great religion like Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism which were products of this great land, India has always kept its doors open to other religions to come and make this their home. Christianity came to our shores 1900 years ago even before it had spread to Europe. We welcome them with open arms and allowed Christianity to flourish in our soil without any hindrance. It took roots in the South, specially in Kerala and has existed there for 1800 years. Christianity had become a part of our country. Then came Islam, 100 years ago and was not opposed in any way as a religion and so it spread in India. The turmoil whenever it took place was political in nature. When there is external aggression, a nation fights back. But Islam became part of our culture. Parsis were thrown out from Iran and were welcomed and absorbed here. In short, India has always been known for its tolerance, its respect for others and its love of peace. On the other hand, Europe has a history of religious wars. Some misguided people in India today fight in the name of religion. In the process, they malign both their own religion and their country. Religious tolerance had been a hallmark of Indian culture. We must remember this. There are people of many religious hues in Goa also with Christians in large numbers, Hindus and Muslims living in amity. We must be tolerant and accord due respect to all the religions. The progress of Goa and the rest of India depends on that.

You must have heard that we have decided to keep Goa as a separate entity – [applause] I cannot guarantee this forever. But in future whenever a decision has to be taken, it will be upto the people of Goa to decided what they want. We will not impose anything from above. [Applause] You must have heard that in a few months, elections to the Assembly will be held and you will elect your own government. Your elected representatives will take their seats in Parliament and work with us. You will have your own assembly here to look after the administration of Goa. Thirdly, you will have the Panchayti Raj at the grassroots level to look after the local administration. We want a democratic set

up in which the people are the real rulers of the country. In our view, this is the only way in which India can progress with the reins of government being firmly in the hands of the people. Even the best trained officer cannot take the place of people's rule. The job of the official is to help the people's representatives. We are trying to do all this and will get results by and by. Everything depends on how hard you work. Goa will progress quickly if you discharge your duties well.

I have spoken for half an hour in Hindi. I shall now speak in English.

Translation ends]

[Nehru continues in English]

Friends and Comrades,

First of all I want to express my deep gratitude to you and to the people of Goa generally for the warm welcome and the affection they have shown me since I have come here yesterday. Wherever I have gone, I have met this overwhelming welcome and affection and I have been deeply moved by it. I did not come here to hear my praises, but anybody would, not I only, be happy, as I am happy to receive this tribute of affection from you. I have become Prime Minister of India, for many years I have been Prime Minister, but no office that I hold or have held can be a greater tribute to me or more prized by me than the affection of the people of India. [Applause] That has given me strength to face difficult times and that is continuing to strengthen me. Therefore, I welcome with all my heart your affection and goodwill. And I hope that that will be a bond which will never break whatever happens. [Applause]

Now, I have wanted to come here soon after the Portuguese left this place after four hundred years or more, but something or the other prevented me from coming here sooner. First of all, I have wanted to come when things were more established here. Ultimately, I had decided to come here last October. Just then, you will remember, a grave crisis threatened us when China suddenly invaded India. It was impossible for me to leave Delhi then when daily new situations were arising. And so we have been faced by this crisis by China during all these months. It is a very difficult matter for us to face this great country China, great and powerful country, but however great and powerful China may be, we cannot submit or surrender to a country and agree to its aggression on us. So we are going to face this with all our strength, whatever happens and whatever burdens we may have to carry. We are a peace-loving people, and we want all problems solved by peaceful methods. We tried to solve this Chinese problem too. We have offered them even now after they have committed aggression, we have gone out of our way to offer them peaceful methods of arbitration or of taking

it to the Hague International Court, but they have not agreed thus far. There is no choice left to us but to strengthen ourselves, and if they attack, to defend ourselves. That is a heavy burden, but every independent country has to bear that burden if its independence is attacked. We have not achieved independence after a long, long struggle to lose it by Chinese or other people's aggression.

That is one major difficulty we have, and the other difficulty is the attitude of Pakistan towards India. It is very painful to us. Pakistan was a part of India, it became a separate country by agreement with us. But still they are full of bitterness against us, fear, bitterness and hatred. In spite of our all efforts they have not agreed to many problems that face us. They are difficult problems. But the main thing is that we have offered them a no-war declaration. Let us decide finally and firmly that we will not go to war with each other whatever happens and whatever problems we may have, let us consider them month by month, year by year, till we solve it. They have not agreed to this, and yet they say they are afraid of India attacking them. They are afraid of India getting help from America and England against China, because, they say, they might use them against Pakistan. Yet we have definitely offered them a declaration. Let that declaration be registered in the United Nations or be guaranteed by other countries. Surely that can assure them fully that we can never attack them, as a matter of fact, we will never attack them otherwise too. We want to give them that assurance, they don't accept it. And that simply means that they do think of war with India and war can only come from them, we don't start it. If it comes from them then what are we to do except defend ourselves. But whether it is China or Pakistan, if anybody attacks us our duty is inevitably to defend ourselves to the utmost whatever the cost. [Applause]

Now, but the real problem before India, as we thought after we attained independence, was social and economic problems, to get India out of its morass of poverty, to make India a welfare state; to make every person in India, man and woman and child, progress and take advantage of all that modern science, modern industry, and modern technology gives, so that India may ultimately get rid of poverty and unemployment and become as I said, a welfare state. I would like to add something more: that it should become a social state. I do not use the word socialism in any doctrinaire or rigid sense. I use it in its wide sense that the whole country, everybody in the country should be able to live a prosperous life and there should not be such big differences between the rich and the poor in India as they are even today, [Applause] and everyone should have the opportunity, the same opportunity to develop. Today we have not got it. The rich men's children have far greater opportunities than poor men's children. That is not fair. People are not all alike, because people differ; some people say be very intelligent, others may be very idiotic, foolish, they are not

like. Some people may be strong, others weak. To say that everybody is alike is wrong, but everybody must have the same opportunities of progress, and according to his ability, according to his hard work he can progress more or less.

So we want to create a society in India which gives opportunity to everyone and which lessens greatly the differences that exist between the people, rich and poor. That is a difficult job, but it is a possible job and we are going to achieve it. It was not possible perhaps in the old days, but science has made progress, and science and technology have made it possible for us by our own labour to produce enough for everybody. That will take some time. You know how rich America is, how rich England and Germany and Japan are, and Russia. What is there in common between a capitalist country like America and Communist country like Russia. A common factor is that both depend on science and technology and both have made progress. Their gods are science and technology. They may have different religions but the real gods they worship are science and technology. And there is no capitalism in science and no communism in physics and chemistry and other things. It is just knowledge as such. And it is by that knowledge that they have progressed and it is by that knowledge that we shall progress. Science and the children of science, technology etc., that will tell us how to increase the wealth that we produce from the land, from industry, and that is the only way. We cannot produce wealth except by hard work and by understanding modern methods of working on land and for industry. It is not a thing by going to an astrologer that you get rich, or by or other method like that, it is hard work.

So, we adopted, soon after freedom came to us we adopted this major method, this major approach, which we call the planning approach, thinking out what we should do. One of the first things we did was to put an end to the large landlords in India because they came in the way of the country's progress. A bad agrarian system prevents a country from progressing, and that is the first thing that has to be removed. In Europe it was removed by bloody wars. In Japan it was removed after the last great war. Everywhere this is the first thing. So we had decided, even before independence, to remove it and we removed it and we have very largely succeeded. We want peasant proprietors on the land and you will I remember that in our country 80 percent of the people live in the villages. And our country will really only progress when the 80 percent progress. It is not the cities, big cities like Bombay and Calcutta and Delhi or Madras, that make a difference, but the villages that must progress. And therefore, we have to think of this general progress of the country—villages and towns and the like. And so we have the Planning Commission, and the Planning Commission produced a Five Year Plan which covered everything from education, health, industry, agriculture and so on.

For instance, progress today depends so much on electric power. Electric power changes the face of a country. If a village gets electric power, that village automatically begins to change. You have got it in some of your villages, I hope you will get it everywhere. You begin to change. We want the electric power to go all over the country, in every village. It may take some time. It brings industry, it improves agriculture, it brings a new outlook to people. Then again it is necessary in order to progress to have enough steel. We have started three or four large new steel plants and yet they are not enough because we are progressing. We want to start another one or two during the next few years. And we will go on making a new steel plant every few years. Because we shall never have enough steel, we shall never have enough electric power, because there is no end to the progress and advancement of a nation.

Now in Goa you have got iron ore. That is a very useful commodity for you to have for wealth producing. At present, it is being sent to Japan and other places and you earn money for it. That is good. And it will continue to be sent, I suppose, but better still would be to use iron ore to produce steel in India, in Goa, if it is suitable. All these matters have to be considered from the point of view, larger point of view, of the nation, and from the point of view of that particular part of the nation where you are, like Goa. You see, planning is not merely a question of putting up hospitals, putting up schools, but an organised attempt at understanding what should be done first, what should be done second. Of course, education is basic, education must inevitably go ahead, because a prosperous community can only be built up on educated people. Therefore, I attach the greatest importance to children's education and good education, and also, later, to the production of enough engineers and scientists and doctors and those specialists who are necessary. All this has to be gone through.

Now, I want to turn your minds, your minds may have been a little, a little uprooted by the changes that have come to Goa. It is a big thing that after four hundred years the Portuguese should be made to go from here and other things should follow. It is a big thing and another big thing as I have just mentioned to you, is that your contact with the Portuguese, our contact with the British in the rest of India, did us a good deal of harm, but it did us good too. That is to say that the British became the vehicles by which we were introduced to the new world, to science, to other things, and the mere fact of British rule woke us up from slumber. It kicked us into wakefulness from slumber. Anyhow the British represented the modern age in Europe.

Now Portugal did not represent any modern age. It represents the distant past which has made even Portugal in rich Europe, a poor country. It does not wake up politically, it is a dictatorship; industrially, economically it is backward. The good you might have derived even from foreign rule you did not wholly

derive. You also became a sleeping part of India. Now you are suddenly thrown out into the wide world, into the world of India, to make, to advance and catch up others who have gone ahead of you. You can do that of course. Goa is a good place, you have material to do it. It is a lovely place, but it requires hard work and understanding and how to do it. You have to outgrow all the backwardness that has been imposed upon you by the Portuguese administration for so long. You have to develop a habit of mental change. That is a big thing but you have to face it and you have to look at these problems, think them out, just as we think them for the whole of the country in our Planning Commission. We want you to help us to think them out for Goa. All these things will come gradually. And you will have to develop a habit of self-government.

A big country, if it acts in small ways and quarrels in small ways it becomes small. Why did some of us of my generation achieve, if I may say so with all humility, some virtue in your eyes? Those gentlemen who spoke before me were good enough to say many kind things about me for which I am grateful. For what am I? I am the product of the Indian struggle for independence. [Applause] If that had not been there and I had not been intimately associated with it what would I have been, I don't know at all. I may have been a failure in life or may have been even perhaps a successful lawyer or something like that. I may have been. But I grew in stature because I was allied to a mighty cause that is the independence of India [Applause] and not I only, but all those who worked for that great cause became big. What became big was not they but the ground on which we stood. The rows became a mountain and we went up with it and we seemed tall, because the cause itself was big and was raising us. So we become big and you become big by allying yourself to big causes. That may not bring you very much money or anything, these things, but they are bigger things than money—that is, the devotion to a big cause and what bigger cause can there be than a cause which affects your nation and country and your people. Because you grow with them, they grow, you grow with them, the nation grows, you grow.

There was a time in my youth you went abroad from India, an Indian was not respected anywhere. We had a bad time on the whole. Then came a time, even before we became free. Wherever you went in Europe or Africa you began to be respected. Why? People say, oh, you come from Gandhi's country. It is Gandhi's name that was the magic name which conferred honour on us, it was Gandhi's struggle here, peaceful struggle. [Applause] So we shone in reflected glory. And then when we became independent, and wherever you go people look up to you, they respect to you, they honour you, because, well not only because you come from an independent country, but because that independent country has had some ideals, has struggled for those ideals, and has achieved

freedom by sticking to those ideals and still hopes to achieve many other things by sticking to those ideals. And so we are honoured. That difference has come. And so just as we went on a great march or a great pilgrimage to Swaraj and to independence, we completed that; but there is no full freedom for a nation so long as poverty endures, so long as unhappiness endures.

I cannot say, how can I say, that we can put an end to all the unhappiness of the world. That is a big thing. Mahatma Gandhi said that this, I forget his exact words, his job in life was to wipe every tear from every eye. A great man can do that, can say that, And on the other hand Buddha said, more tears have been shed in the world than the waters in the seven oceans. These are big things. I cannot say, but at any rate we can certainly put an end to a great deal of suffering and oppression in the world, in our own country, and make life easier and better and more worthwhile for all of us. I convey to you the greetings of other people in the rest of India and their affectionate greetings.

Jai Hind!

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

41. In Ponda: Shetkari Melava¹⁴⁶

शेतकरी भाइयो और बहिनो,
मुझे आपसे इस समय मिलने से खुशी होती है क्योंकि हमेशा मेरे मन में यह बात रहती है कि हमारे देश में, यानी सारे भारत में सौ आदमियों के पीछे अस्सी से ऊपर शेतकरी होते हैं, किसान होते हैं। तो अगर भारत की उन्नति हो, भारत बढ़े तो जभी बढ़ेगा जब ये सब गाँव के, ग्रामों के रहने वाले शेतकरी लोग बढ़ें। थोड़े से आदमी जो नगरों में रहते हैं उनके बढ़ने से तो सारी जनता नहीं बढ़ती, हम तो चाहते हैं सारे देश में सब लोग बढ़ें, आगे चलें, लेकिन, विशेषकर जो ग्रामों में रहते हैं, क्योंकि ग्रामों के लोग पिछले समय में पिछड़ गये थे, उनकी फ़िक्र नहीं की गई बहुत। इसलिए भारत के बढ़ाने के लिए यह आवश्यक बात है कि ग्रामों के रहने वाले और विशेषकर शेतकरी लोगों की तरक्की हो।

कैसे हो? यह बड़ा प्रश्न है और इस पर बहुत विचार किया गया है। मैं समझता हूँ सबमें पहली बात तो यह है कि सारे देश के लिए कि हमारे सब बाल-बच्चे, सब उनको पढ़ाई का अवसर मिले पूरीतर से स्कूलों में, क्योंकि आजकल जो देश में पढ़े-लिखे आदमी होते हैं वही देश बढ़ता है। पढ़े-लिखे के माने खाली किताब पढ़ना और लिख लेना नहीं, पढ़े-लिखे के माने कि आजकल जो काम करने का तरीका है उसको समझें। आप किसान हों, शेतकरी हों तो आजकल आपके काम में क्या-क्या बातें करनी चाहियें? और देशों में बहुत उन्नति हुई है शेतकारियों में और वो आगे बढ़े हैं, नये-नये हल चलाते हैं, नये-नये

146. Speech, 23 May 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10653, NM No. 1868.

और बातें करते हैं, फ़र्टिलाइज़र लगाते हैं जिससे वो एक एकड़ ज़मीन में वो दुगुना-चौगुना पैदा करते हैं, तो हम भी कर सकते हैं वो, हमें भी सीखना चाहिए, ख़ाली पुराने ढंग से तो काम करना ठीक नहीं है। तो सारे देश में इसकी तरफ़ ध्यान दिया जा रहा है कि हम अधिक पैदा करें ज़मीन से क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं हमारे देश से ग़रीबी, दरिद्रता हट जाये। तो कैसे हटे? कोई बाहर से कोई रुपया की वर्षा तो होगी नहीं, रुपये की, और देशों से, हमारे, जित्ता हम देश में पैदा करते हैं वही देश का धन होता है। पैदा कैसे करते हैं? कैसे उत्पादन हमारा होता है? ज़मीन से, कारख़ानों से, कारीगरी से, इसी तरह से, तो जितना अधिक हम पैदा करें उतना ही हमारा देश धनी होगा और जनता धनी होगी। अगर आप जो पैदा करते हैं अपनी भूमि से, दुगुना पैदा करें तो आपको भी बहुत बचा रहेगा और देश का भी भला होगा। यह बड़ा प्रश्न है हमारे देश के लिए कि हम अपना उत्पादन तो बहुत बढ़ा दें देश भर में, जैसे और देशों में होता है उतना ही कर दें, क्यों हम पिछड़े रहें और उसके करने से देश की हालत अच्छी होगी, किसान, शेतकारियों की तो होगी अच्छी, सारे देश की अच्छी होगी। और उसी के साथ कारख़ाने खुलेंगे, कारख़ाने हम खोलना चाहते हैं ग्रामों के पास-पास, छोटे-छोटे कारख़ाने, जिसमें लोग काम करें, कमायें और उससे भी उत्पादन बढ़े। यह बड़ा काम करना है हमें।

हमारे देश भर में, भारत में पहले बड़ी प्रथा थी, ज़मींदारी प्रथा, जागीरदारी, ताल्लुक़ेदारी। वो उस वक़्त प्रथायें थीं जिसमें एक आदमी चाहे राजा हो, चाहे कोई हो उसकी बड़ी ज़मीन थी और सब लोग उसका काम करते थे। यह बात उचित नहीं थी, तो उसका तो अन्त हो गया है। अब हम चाहते हैं कि जो काम करें अपनी ज़मीन पर, वही उसका मालिक हो, [तालियाँ] हल्के-हल्के वो बात होती जाती है, बहुत दर्जे हो गयी है लेकिन हमें ख़ाली इसके कर देने से काम नहीं चलता, हमें अधिक ज़मीन से पैदा करना है। यह कैसे हो? इस पर विचार करना है।

पहले तो मैंने आपसे कहा यह लम्बी बात है कि पढ़ाई अच्छी हो बच्चों की, एक-एक बच्चे की पढ़ाई हो, स्कूल हो, विद्यालय हो और विद्यालयों में ख़ाली पढ़ना-लिखना नहीं सिखाया जाये, लेकिन काम करना सिखाया जाये, किसान को, शेतकरी को सिखाया जाये कैसे नये-नये तरीक़े हैं खेत में काम करने के, इस ढंग से। यह नहीं कि थोड़ा पढ़-लिख के वो अपनी ज़मीन को, भूमि को छोड़ के वो बाबू बन के बैठ जायें जाके किसी दफ़्तर में, वो बात ठीक नहीं है। तो इस तरह से हम बढ़ाया चाहते हैं और इसीलिए हमने देश भर में, मालूम नहीं यहाँ कित्ता पहुँचा है, वो पंचायती राज का प्रबंध किया है। पहले दूसरा था जिसको ब्लॉक बने थे, कम्यूनिटी डेवलपमेंट, विकास योजनाएँ थीं, अब उसको बढ़ा के पंचायती राज किया जिससे अधिकार अपने-अपने ग्रामों में वहाँ की पंचायतों का हो गया, अधिकतर बहुत बातों का। शायद आपके [यहाँ] अभी पूरा नहीं हुआ है लेकिन हम चाहते हैं हो जाये सारे कामों में, वहाँ के स्कूल में भी और जित्ती विकास योजनाएँ होती हैं आपके इलाक़े में सब आपकी सलाह से हों, क्योंकि आपने सुना है कि हमारे यहाँ जनता का राज है। हमारे यहाँ कोई ऊपरी कोई राजा-महाराजा तो है नहीं, सम्राट कोई नहीं है और कोई-कोई तुम ऊँची जात के हो, वो तो बात रही नहीं, अब तो जनता का राज है,

जो हमारे यहाँ सबमें बड़े, हममें सबमें बड़े नेता हैं वो हमारे राष्ट्रपति हैं, राष्ट्रपति देश भर के, सबमें प्रथम नागरिक हैं। वो कौन हैं? आजकल के राष्ट्रपति हमारे डॉ. राधाकृष्णन हैं, [तालियाँ] वो कोई राजा-महाराजा तो नहीं हैं, वो तो एक कॉलेज में प्रोफ़ेसर रहे, बड़े अच्छे हैं, बड़े विद्वान हैं, लायक़ हैं और सौभाग्य से वो अपने ऊँचे पद पर हैं, वो ठीक है। उनके पहले हुए राष्ट्रपति डॉ. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद। वो कौन रहे? डॉ. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जो भी एक समझो, उनके पास थोड़ी सी भूमि थी, शेतकरी समझो उनको, थोड़ी सी भूमि थी, वो कोई बड़े कहीं के राजा-वाजा नहीं थे, लेकिन बड़े उच्च कोटि के आदमी थे, देश की बड़ी सेवा की उन्होंने, बड़े लायक़ थे, तो उनको देश ने चुना, जनता ने उसको अपना राष्ट्रपति, पहला, प्रथम राष्ट्रपति बनाया। तो आप देखेंगे अब हमारा देश कैसे चलता है। इसमें अब यह बात नहीं है कि कोई ऊँचे परिवार के हों, कोई ऊँच जाति के हैं इसलिए बढ़ें। हमारे लिए, राष्ट्र के लिए सब जातियाँ एक हैं, जो अच्छा आदमी हो वो अच्छा है, जो अच्छा काम करता है वो उसकी सेवा करता है, देश की, लायक़ है, उच्च पदवी पर होगा, लेकिन जाति की वजह से कोई नहीं बढ़ेगा, न इसलिए कि उसका बाप-दादा बड़ा आदमी हो, तो अच्छा है, लेकिन इसलिए नहीं। हम चाहते हैं हरेक पुरुष को, हरेक स्त्री को बराबर का अवसर मिले, बराबर का मौक़ा मिले तरक्की करने का और बहुत ऊँच-नीच देश में अन्त में न रहे [कि] कुछ बड़े धनी हों, कुछ बड़े ग़रीब हों, यह बात ठीक नहीं है। अब यों तो जो लोग परिश्रम अधिक करें, जो लोग ज़्यादा समझदार हों, अक्लमंद हों, लायक़ हों वो कुछ आगे बढ़ेंगे क्योंकि वो परिश्रम ज़्यादा करते हैं, वो तो ठीक है, लेकिन बहुत फ़र्क़ नहीं होना चाहिए बहुत धनी और बहुत ग़रीब में, ऊँच-नीच नहीं होनी चाहिए। जहाँ तक हो सके हम सभी को चाहते हैं बराबर का मौक़ा मिले तरक्की करने का, सब पुरुष-स्त्री-बच्चे। और इस बात को हमें सबसे प्रथम तो बच्चे को करनी है, उनका ठीक-ठीक प्रबंध हो पढ़ने का, रहने का, कपड़े का और घर का और उनके स्वास्थ्य का, शिक्षा का, फिर उसके बाद बढ़ना ठीक सब मिलके। उस काम का प्रबंध हो सबको, लड़के-लड़कियों को होना चाहिए।

अब हमारा देश बहुत बड़ा है, इसके सब प्रबंध करने में समय लगता है, कठिन है, क्योंकि ख़ाली क़ानून बना देना नहीं होता। अब गोआ में एक परिवर्तन हुआ है, पोर्चुगीज़ राज था, वो हट गया है, अब हमारा, भारत का, जनता का राज है लेकिन इसके बदल जाने से एकदम से कुछ हर बात में तो परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ, वो तो हल्के-हल्के होता है, जब लोग खुद उसकी कोशिश करें, इस बात को समझ जायें। कोई जादू नहीं है या कोई माला जपने से आप सब कुछ कर दें, परिश्रम से और अक्लमंदी से होता है। तो हम चाहते हैं गोआ में जैसे और देश में जनता के हाथ में अधिकार हो, जो हमारे बड़े अफ़सर हों वो समझाने के लिए हों, सहायता देने के लिए, कैसे काम करना है, कैसे नहीं, लेकिन अपने अधिकार जनता में हों। एक तो आपकी तरफ़ से प्रतिनिधि चुने जायेंगे जो देश की बड़ी सभा है, लोकसभा, दिल्ली में केन्द्रीय सभा है, वो वहाँ के देश के क़ानून बनाने में और बातें करने में भाग लेंगी। ख़ैर, यह तो बहुत दूर है। दूसरे, यहाँ यह निश्चय हुआ है कि गोआ में आप लोग चुनें, अपनी सभाएँ बनायें, अभी तो गोआ भर के लिए और विचार करें यहाँ क्या प्रश्न हैं, निश्चय करें, उसमें आपके प्रतिनिधि जायेंगे।

तीसरे, जो मैंने आपसे कहा पंचायती राज, जो गाँव-गाँव में पंचायतों की समीति बने उनको अधिकार होंगे। तो आप देखें इस तरह से आपका कार्य फैल जाता है, गाँव में पंचायती राज, गोआ भर में आपके प्रतिनिधि जायेंगे और कुछ प्रतिनिधि जायेंगे जो गोआ, दमन, दीव से दिल्ली की केन्द्रीय लोकसभा में। यह तो ठीक किया, लेकिन अब आप क्या करें? आपको क्या करना है? मैंने कहा कि आपका पहला काम यह है कि आप अपने उत्पादन को बढ़ायें, पैदावार को बढ़ायें और उसको बढ़ाने में आपको बहुत कुछ सलाह मिल सकती है और आप कुछ सीख सकते हैं और आपके जो पंचायती राज हों उसमें इसका चर्चा हो, अच्छे हल आपको चलाने चाहियें। यहाँ गोआ में मैंने सुना ज़मीन तो अच्छी है, वर्षा बहुत होती है लेकिन फिर भी उत्पादन ज़रा कम होता है, वो बहुत बढ़ सकता है अगर आप कोशिश करें और आपको चाहिए सहकारी तरीके से, कोऑपरेशन के तरीके से काम करें। यहाँ हरेक गाँव में सहकारी समिति होनी चाहिए, हर गाँव में या दो गाँव मिलके, जो कुछ हो, सहकारी समिति हो, उससे आपकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है और उससे जो बहुत धन बीच वाले ले जाते हैं वो आप ही के लिए बच जाता है। तो हम चाहते हैं देश भर में, ग्राम-ग्राम में सहकारी समिति या कोऑपरेटिव एसोसिएशन या सहकारी समितियाँ बन जायें।

और तीसरी बात यह है कि आजकल आप जानते हैं कि हमारे देश पर आक्रमण हुआ है, हमला हुआ है, चीनी लोगों ने किया है, गोआ से तो बहुत दूर है लेकिन देश पर कोई आक्रमण करे तो सारे देश को चोट लगती है, आपके शरीर में आपके हाथ की उंगली कट जाये या पैर की उंगली कट जाये तो आपके शरीर भर में ज्वर होता है। तो हमारे हिमालय पर उन लोगों ने, चीनी लोगों ने आक्रमण किया, तो उसका असर तो देश भर पर हुआ और देश भर को उसके लिए तैयार होना चाहिए, तगड़ा होना चाहिए क्योंकि आक्रमण को हम बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकते। इसलिए कुछ कार्य बताये गये हैं, सुझाये गये हैं, विकास योजना की तरफ़ से आपको भी शायद बताये गये हों कि क्या-क्या एक-एक ग्राम समिति को, पंचायती राज वालों को करना है। मैं उसमें तो नहीं जाता, लेकिन विशेषकर तो यही है उसमें भी कि पहले तो हमें अपना काम ठीक-ठीक करना है, ख़ूब बढ़ाना है अपनी पैदावार को और यह कोऑपरेटिव्स बनाने हैं और संगठन बनाना है गाँव-गाँव में। संगठन बनाने से मज़बूत हम हो जाते हैं, शक्ति होती है हमारी मिलकर काम करने की।

और यह याद रखिए गोआ और सारा भारत एक ऐसा देश है जहाँ पर बहुत सारे धर्म हैं, बहुत सारी भाषाएँ हैं तरह-तरह की, लेकिन सब मिलके भारत होता है। तो हमें इन सभों का आदर करना है, उनसे मिलके रहना है। धर्म के नाम पर लड़ाई-झगड़ा करना यह अच्छी बात नहीं होती, यह धार्मिक बात नहीं होती, यह तो बुरी बात है, असभ्य लोग करते हैं, सभ्य लोग नहीं करते हैं, अपने धर्म की हम सेवा करें और दूसरों के धर्म का हम आदर करें। [तालियाँ]

और गोआ में आप जानते हैं बहुत रोज़ पोर्चगीज़ रहे, तो उनके रहने के कारण बहुत यहाँ ईसाई धर्म के यहाँ लोग हो गये हैं, अच्छी बात है, हम उनका आदर करते हैं, उनसे कोई लड़ने की बात तो नहीं है क्योंकि देश की बातों में सभों का कर्तव्य एक होता है, धर्म अपना-अपना रखें, सब धर्म अपने धर्म की सेवा करें, पूजन करें, तो वो अपने कर्तव्य

का पालन करता है। हाँ, दूसरे पर आक्रमण करे तो वो बुरा है, चाहे धर्म के नाम से, चाहे किसी नाम से। इसीलिए यहाँ गोआ में हम सभी को मिलके रहना है और मिलने से सभी का लाभ होगा। अगर एक-दूसरे से खींचातानी करें और आंदोलन करें कभी धर्म के नाम से, कभी भाषा के नाम से, कभी कुछ, वो ठीक नहीं, अपना-अपना रास्ता खुला है, कोई रुकावट नहीं पड़ती। इस समय से, विशेषकर गोआ में आंदोलन चलाने से आपकी शक्ति नाश होगी और आप ग़लत रास्ते पर चले जायेंगे। आपको चाहिए मिलकर अपनी शक्ति बनायें, अपने ग्राम की, विकास योजनाओं में, पंचायत राज में और आप अपना काम करें। इस तरह से मैंने आपसे कहा, इससे शक्ति बढ़ेगी और आप आंदोलन के रास्ते पर पड़ जायेंगे, गुल-शोर मचाने के तो तो आपकी शक्ति नष्ट होगी और आप आगे नहीं बढ़ेंगे। इसलिए मेरी आपको सलाह यह है कि आप अपना संगठन मज़बूत बनाइये, ग्रामों का संगठन, विकास योजना का संगठन और कोऑपरेटिव्स बनाना आपस के, क्योंकि यह तो बहुत आवश्यक है हर बात में। हम तो चाहते हैं देश भर में सहकारी समितियाँ बनें, हम चाहते हैं सारा देश एक बड़ा सहकारी समिति हो जाये। तो यह सब करें।

और यह याद रखें कि हमारा लक्ष्य क्या है, ध्येय क्या है, हम किधर जा रहे हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि एक ऐसी समाज देश भर में बनायें कि जिसमें सब लोगों को, चाहे उनका कोई धर्म हो, कोई जाति हो, सभी को बराबर का मौक़ा मिलता है तो पढ़ाई-लिखाई का भी, क्योंकि पढ़ाई-लिखाई आदमी को आजकल बढ़ाती है। इसलिए हम सभी को पढ़ने का अवसर देना चाहते हैं, अच्छी पढ़ाई का, ख़ाली बच्चों को नहीं बल्कि औरों की भी, उसमें हर तरह की पढ़ाई हो, ख़ाली लिखाई-पढ़ाई नहीं, उसमें काम-काज करना सीखा जाये, खेती करना सीखा जाये, और काम करना, बहुत काम हैं दुनिया में, सीखें। यह होना चाहिए और प्रबंध हो, सब लोगों को काम मिले। इस तरह से हल्के-हल्के रहन-सहन का तरीक़ा बदलता जायेगा, आगे बढ़ता जायेगा। अगर सहकारी समिति है तो और परिश्रम से काम किया जाये, ख़ाली गुल-शोर मचाने की तरफ़ नहीं। आख़िर में देश बढ़ता है परिश्रम से, ख़ाली मेरे जैसे आदमियों के व्याख्यानों से तो नहीं बढ़ता, परिश्रम से बढ़ता है। हाँ, कुछ आपको बताने को, सिखाने को कुछ लोग कहें तो ठीक है लेकिन यह न समझें कि बग़ैर परिश्रम के महज़ एक गुल-शोर मचाने से, आंदोलन करने से बढ़ जाता है।

तो मैं कल पहली बार गोआ में आया और एक-दो रोज़ और रहूँगा, सुन्दर जगह है यह, मुझे अच्छी लगी और मेरा विचार है इसकी बहुत उन्नति हो सकती है अगर लोग मिलकर रहें और परिश्रम करें। और इसमें आपकी उन्नति भी आपके हाथ में है क्योंकि परिश्रम तो जनता के हाथ में बात होती है लेकिन इसके अलावा हमारी जो सरकार है दिल्ली में वो आपकी सहायता कर रही है और करेगी, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि गोआ की तरक्की हो अच्छी तरह से। तो इन सब बातों से गोआ हल्के-हल्के बढ़ता जायेगा, तरक्की होगी, आपके स्त्री और बच्चों की हालत अच्छी होगी और ख़ाली गोआ में आप तरक्की नहीं करेंगे, आपके लोग तो गोआ के बाहर भी जा-जा के भारत में बहुत जगह काम करते हैं और उनका स्वागत होता है।

तो मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे यहाँ बुलाया और मुझे कुछ अवसर दिया आपने कुछ कहने का, और आपको और विशेषकर बच्चों को आशीर्वाद और प्यार करता हूँ। जयहिन्द!

मेरे साथ आप लोग भी तीन बार जयहिन्द कहिए, जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Farmer Brothers and Sisters,

I am happy to be here with you today because I am always conscious of the fact that more than 80% of India's population consists of peasants. For every hundred Indians, there are eighty farmers. Therefore, India can progress only when the peasants living in the rural areas progress. The development in the urban areas will not take us very far. We want that the whole country should progress, particularly the people in the rural areas who have remained backward and been ignored for a long time. Therefore it is very essential that the village and in particular the peasants should progress

The question is how to go about it. A great deal of thought has been given to it. I feel that the most urgent priority is to provide full opportunities for education to all the children because today it is the educated human beings who contribute to a nation's advancement. I am not talking about mere book learning. You must learn to use improved techniques in your own profession. There has been great advance in other countries in the field of agriculture. They used improved techniques and new ploughs and seeds and fertilizers and are able to produce four times as much as we do. We can also do it if we learn new techniques. The outdated methods are no good. Attention is being paid all over the country to increasing agricultural production because our priority is to eradicate poverty. How is it to be done? We will not get money from somewhere else. Whatever we produce in the country constitutes our wealth, production from land, industries, through handicrafts and other skill. So the more we produce the wealthier India and her people will become. If you can double the production from land, you will be able to save more and the country will also benefit. So the most urgent priority before us is to increase production in the country to catch up with the rest of the world. Why should we remain backward? By increasing production, the standard of living of the peasants and the country as a whole will improve, and there will be a larger surplus to set up industries. We want to open small village industries so that people may have a means of earning a livelihood and production may increase as a consequence. This is a major task.

In the olden days, we had a feudal system in India and all the land was owned by zamindars, taluqedars, jagirdars and princes. The rest of the people

worked for them which was not right. That system has been abolished. Now we want that the tillers of the soil should own the land too. [Applause] It is gradually happening. It has already come to pass to a very large extent. But it is not enough to have abolished feudalism. We must increase production from land. We have to adopt the right methods.

First of all, as I said, education of children is extremely important. There should be schools for every child where they must be taught some skills too apart from book-learning. They should be taught the latest techniques of agriculture. Children who get some education must not run away from the land to take up some white-collar jobs in some office. That is not right. We have adopted the Panchayati Raj system to strengthen the development programme. Panchayati Raj is an extension of the community development schemes and it delegates powers to the village panchayats. It has not been adopted all over the country but we want that the people must have the powers to undertake any projects for the welfare of their own villages. As you must have heard, we have democracy in India. We have no princes or kings to rule over us. Now we have people's rule. Our President is the first citizen of the land. Dr Radhakrishnan [Applause] who is the President is not a king or an emperor but a college professor, a great scholar and able administrator. It is our good luck that he is occupying that great position. Before that, it was Dr Rajendra Prasad, who came from ordinary peasant family. He was no royalty but he was a man of great calibre, who served his country well and therefore the people elected him to be the first President of India. So now you will find that you do not have to belong to a wealthy family or a high caste to attain some position. Those who work hard and serve the country will be chosen for their ability. No one will occupy high positions because of his birth or connection. We want that every man and woman must get equal opportunities for progress and the disparity between the haves and the have-nots must be reduced. It is not right that some people should be very rich and others very poor. Those who have the capacity to work hard, are intelligent and capable will go ahead. But the gap between the rich and the poor must not be wide. We want to ensure equal opportunities for everyone, men, women, and children, as far as possible. We must start with the children and ensure that they have food to eat, clothes to wear, shelter, health care and good educational facilities and later have the means of earning a proper livelihood when they grow up.

India is a huge country. It takes time to make these arrangements because it is not enough merely to make laws. There has been a change in Goa. The Portuguese have gone. Now it is a part of the Indian republic. There is people's rule there. Not that that changes everything immediately. That will come about gradually when people make the effort and understand the change that has taken

place. There is no magic formula nor can we achieve anything by counting heads. What is required is hard work and intelligence. We want that the people of Goa should take the reins of government into their own hands as it is being done in the rest of the country. Our officials will guide and advice them but the actual power will rest with the people. You will elect representatives to the Lok Sabha in Delhi who will participate in the law-making processes for the entire country. Secondly, you will have your own legislature in Goa to which the people will elect their representatives.

Thirdly, there will be Panchayati Raj in the country with panchayat samitis in the villages. So you will find that the powers will be decentralised. Your representatives will be elected to the state legislature and the central parliament. Now where does your duty lie? As I said, your first and foremost duty is to increase production. We will give you all the help and guidance you need. The panchayats will help you to get good ploughs. I have heard that inspite of the fertile land and good rainfall, production is very low in Goa. It can be increased if you make an effort. You should adopt the cooperative method. There should be a cooperative society in every village. It will give you added strength and the middlemen's profit will be saved. We want cooperative societies to be formed all over India.

Thirdly, as you know, we are under attack from China. Goa is far from the battlefield of course but aggression in any part of the body brings on fever on the whole body. So the Chinese attack on the Himalayas has affected the whole of India and we should be prepared to face it with strength and determination. We cannot tolerate aggression on our soil. Therefore we have made some suggestions through the development agencies as to what the gram samitis should do. I will not go into all that but the most important thing is that each individual must work hard and increase production, and form cooperatives in every village. Organisation gives us strength.

Please remember that India is a country where different religions are practiced, different languages are spoken, and we must respect all the diversities and live together in amity. It is not right to fight in the name of religion. It is only uncivilised people who do such things. We must serve our own religion and accord equal respect to other religions too. [Applause]

The Portuguese ruled Goa for a very long time and therefore numerous people have been converted to Christianity. That is a good thing. We respect them and there is no reason to quarrel with them. As far as the nation is concerned, all the citizens have a common duty, religion is a personal matter. We are free to follow the religion that we like. It is our duty to serve our religion. But it is wrong to attack others on grounds of religion or something else. We must live together in amity and cooperation. We will benefit by that. Constant

tension and agitations in the name of religion or language or something else are not right. You have all the doors open to you. At this juncture specially, agitations in Goa will mean frittering away your energies in useless ways. You must strive to conserve your strength for the development of your villages. If you fritter away your energies in useless agitations, there can be no progress. Therefore my advice to you is to organise yourselves in village cooperatives and development bodies for that is the need of the hour. We want cooperative societies to be formed all over the country. We want India to be one large cooperative society.

We must keep in mind our goals and the direction in which we are moving. We want to build a society in which every individual, irrespective of religion, caste and language, gets equal opportunities for education and progress. It is through education that people grow and develop. We want to produce ample opportunities for education to everyone, children and adults, education of every kind, technical and scientific education, education in agricultural techniques, in new modes of production etc. Then we have to provide the means of livelihood for everyone. That would gradually bring about changes in the life-style of the people and there will be progress. In this hard work and a cooperative system alone will help. Ultimately, a nation progresses through hard work and not by people like me making speeches. We can certainly help in guiding you. But shouting slogans and launching agitations cannot be substitutes for hard work.

I came to Goa for the first time yesterday and will spend a couple of days here. It is a beautiful place and there is scope for great progress if the people learn to cooperate and work hard. Progress lies in your hands. The Central Government will help you because we want to progress. We want to ensure a better standard of living for the men, women and children of India. The whole world is open to you and I hope the people of Goa will go out and make a great name for themselves.

I thank you for inviting me here and giving me the opportunity to say a few words to you. My special love and blessings to the children!

Jai Hind! Please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Translation ends]

42. In Panjim: Public Meeting¹⁴⁷

PM—Goa Must Develop Habit of Self-Rule

Panjim,
May 23, 1963

Prime Minister Nehru this evening told a mass meeting that Goa must develop the habit of self-rule and catch up with the rest of India.

Goa, under the Portuguese rule, had been a “sleeping partner” of India, he added.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Salcete District Congress Committee. Pandit Nehru addressed the meeting in Hindi and English.

The Prime Minister said that Goans would be free to solve their own problems. The Government did not want to impose any decisions on the people.

Pandit Nehru said that in India all languages had been given the fullest opportunity to develop and Goans would be free to do so. People must learn to respect different languages in the country and must not try to impose their language on others, he added.

Religious Tradition

Pandit Nehru asked Goans to continue their tradition of respecting all religions. That was also the heritage of India.

He contrasted the British rule in India with the Portuguese in Goa and said that while in some respects the British rule had harmed India, it had also done some good. It had been a vehicle for the introduction of the new world to India. Portugal, on the contrary, did not represent the modern age. It was a poor country in a rich Europe.

Governed by such a power as Portugal, Goa shared that backwardness and became a sleeping partner of India, he added.

Earlier, addressing a meeting of kisans at Ponda, Pandit Nehru appealed to them to take to modern and scientific methods of agriculture and increase the yield from the land—PTI.

147. Report of speech, 23 May 1963, from the *National Herald*, 24 May 1963, P. 1.

43. In Mapusa: To the Bharat Sevak Samaj¹⁴⁸

बहिनो और भाइयो,

मुझे कहा गया था कि भारत सेवक समाज के एक अधिवेशन में मैं जाऊँ। मुझे मालूम नहीं था यहाँ एक बड़ी सभा होगी। सभा तो अच्छा है होना लेकिन इत्ती बड़ी सभा में भारत सेवक समाज अपना कार्य कैसे कर सकता है यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता, क्योंकि कार्य में सोच-विचार होता है, बहस होती है खर्क, क्या करें क्या न करें, बड़ी सभा में तो व्याख्यान होते हैं खाली। खैर, यह आप समझें।

भारत सेवक समाज कुछ वर्ष हुए इसका आरम्भ हुआ था इसलिए कि हमारी और सब सभायें सब राजनैतिक हैं, पोलिटिकल हैं। इसको हम पोलिटिक्स से अलग करके काम की तरफ़ ध्यान लोगों का दिलाया चाहते थे, काम की तरफ़, सेवा की तरफ़, और विशेषकर हाथ-पैर के काम का। और इसमें कोई लालच नहीं थी कि इसमें होकर कोई आपको पदवी मिलेगी, कोई ओहदा मिलेगा, कोई बड़े प्रेज़ीडेंट हो जायेंगे किसी सभा के, कुछ नहीं, इसमें खाली काम करने का मौक़ा आपको मिलता है। इसलिए हमने शुरू किया था यह, और यह काफ़ी भारत में फैल गयी है, अच्छा काम इसने किया है, कुछ जो हमारा शुरू में विचार था बिल्कुल इस ढंग से कभी-कभी नहीं भी चली, उसको संभालने की कोशिश की लेकिन फिर भी इसमें अच्छा काम किया है। इसलिए मुझे खुशी है कि यहाँ गोआ में भी उसकी एक शाखा बनी है।

क्योंकि हमारे देश में गोआ में भी शायद एक अजीब विचार फैल गया था बहुत दिनों से कि हाथ से काम करना कुछ नीच लोगों का काम होता है और जो ऊँचे लोग होते हैं वो हाथ-पैर से काम नहीं करते, वो या तो दिमाग़ से काम करते हैं या कुछ काम नहीं करते। तो अजीब बात है। हमारा संसार चलता है हाथ के काम से, हाँ दिमाग़ से भी, मन से भी, लेकिन हाथ के काम से। जिस देश में हाथ का काम करना नीच समझा जाये वो देश नीच हो जाता है, गिर जाता है [तालियाँ] क्योंकि सबमें आवश्यक काम हाथ का होता है, चाहे किसान करे काम, कारख़ाने में करे, कहीं भी करें। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि मन से, दिमाग़ से काम अच्छा नहीं होता, वो बहुत अच्छा है, बहुत आवश्यक है, मन से काम न करें तो सब मूर्ख हो जायें, वो तो ठीक नहीं है लेकिन इस विचार को हटाना कि हाथ से काम करना, मैन्यूअल लेबर [manual labour] कोई ऊँची बात नहीं है, यह बहुत आवश्यक है। यह भी एक वजह थी हमने भारत सेवक समाज को चलाया कि लोग, हमारे लोग हाथ से काम करना, मैन्यूअल लेबर करें थोड़ा, यह तो एक यों भी अच्छा है और एक स्वास्थ्य के लिए भी अच्छा है।

148. Speech, 24 May 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 1056-55, NM No. 1871 and 1870 (Cut I).

Nehru first spoke in Hindi and then in English.

आपको याद हो शायद कि महात्मा गांधी जी ने बहुत जोर दिया था उस समय सब लोग चर्खा चलाया करें और चर्खा चलाया करें और चर्खा हाथ से चलायें। बहुत लोगों को आश्चर्य होता था कि आजकल के समय पर जब बड़े-बड़े कारखाने होते हैं [तो] चर्खे की क्या जगह है। उन्होंने कोई कारखाने के मुक़ाबले के लिए नहीं चर्खा चलाया था लेकिन इसीलिए कि कुछ न कुछ हाथ से काम लोग किया करें, कुछ और करें चाहे, चर्खा सबमें सरल था, आसान था और थोड़ा सा भी काम करने में अगर एक घंटा रोज़ भी लोग करें, आध घंटा भी, लाखों आदमी काम करें, करोड़ों। तो कुछ पैदा होता है, देश का धन कुछ पैदा होता है। ख़ैर, उन्होंने चलाया था, उससे बहुत काम हुआ।

तो मैं पहली बात आपको जोर इस बात पर दे रहा हूँ कि आप लोग भी इस काम को समझें कि कुछ मैन्यूअल लेबर, हाथ से कुछ काम करना अच्छा है और जो लोग मैन्यूअल लेबर करते हैं उनका आदर कीजिए, नीच नहीं समझिए। अभी मेरे भाई ने कहा कि गोआ में समाज सेवा, सोशल सर्विस बहुत होती है। यह अच्छी बात है, सोशल सर्विस तो करनी चाहिए और अच्छी बात है, लेकिन मैं कहूँगा सोशल सर्विस के अलावा कुछ हाथ-पैर का काम भी सोशल सर्विस में करना चाहिए। तो इसके करते करते यह तो एक बात मैंने आपको बतायी जो भारत सेवक समाज की है, और बहुत बातें हैं समाज सेवक की और जो कि हम सब कर सकते हैं।

अभी एक हमारे यहाँ जो कम्प्यूनिटी डेवलपमेंट का काम होता है, विकास योजना का, उसने एक बात निकाली है कि सब लोगों को, सब हमारे ग्रामों में लोगों को एक सेवक कहो, वॉलियंटर कोर बनना चाहिए और उनको अपना काम, कुछ काम हर सप्ताह में देश का काम करना चाहिए बग़ैर किसी मजदूरी के। तो अगर वो चीज़ चलती है तो हमारे देश में मुझे याद नहीं क्या है, कितनी चीज़ें ग्रामों में बन जाती हैं और दस-बीस करोड़ रुपये का काम एक साल में हो जाये अगर आधा घंटा दे दें। तो इस तरह से, हम अपनी कुछ सेवा इस तरह से करके बहुत बड़ा काम कर सकते हैं। अगर हम काफ़ी काम करें और अपने ग्राम को बदल सकते हैं, उससे बहुत ख़राबियाँ निकाल दे सकते हैं, साफ़ कर देते हैं, सड़कें बना सकते हैं, कुछ छोटे-मोटे मकान बना सकते हैं, अपनी इस सेवा से कुछ कारख़ाने खोल सकते हैं, छोटे-मोटे बहुत काम हो सकते हैं। और भारत सेवक समाज ने एक और बात की है कि उसका एक विभाग बना है इंजीनियरिंग का, तो वो जैसे और लोग ठेके पर काम करते हैं वो भी काम करता है देश का, लेकिन उसने तो पैसा बनाने को नहीं किया, उसके करने से हुआ, यह कि जो ठेकेदार बड़े दाम लिया करते थे वो कम हो गये, क्योंकि भारत सेवक समाज ने उसी काम को कम दाम में करना शुरू किया, बहुत कम में अच्छा किया। तो उनको कम करने पड़े, यह अच्छी बात हुई। इस तरह से बहुत बातें हो सकती हैं, लोगों को उसमें मिला के बड़े-बड़े काम, हमारे यहाँ नदियों के बड़े-बड़े बांध बनाने में, बांध बनाने थे, डैम्स बनाने थे, लोगों ने बनाये भारत सेवक समाज की तरफ़ से, तो काम अच्छा हुआ और बहुत देश का पैसा बच गया। यह तो मैंने भारत सेवक समाज का कुछ कहा है।

आप सब लोग यहाँ बैठे हैं, मालूम नहीं कित्ते भारत सेवक समाज में हैं, कित्ते और लोग हैं, सभी लोग हैं। मैं यहाँ तीन दिन से गोआ में हूँ, आज तीसरा दिन है और कल सवेरे मैं यहाँ से जाऊँगा। तो दो-तीन दिन में मैं गोआ में बहुत फ़िरा हूँ, बहुत बड़ी-बड़ी सभाओं में बोला, बहुत लोगों से मिला, और क्योंकि एक चित्र मेरे मन में गोआ का आ गया है, अच्छा चित्र है, सुन्दर चित्र है और चित्र जो मेरे मन में आया वो यहाँ के समुन्दर और पहाड़ों का ख़ाली नहीं, वो तो एक है चीज़। बल्कि मुझे, जहाँ मैं जाता हूँ भारत में कहीं, मुझे दिलचस्पी होती है वहाँ की जनता में, कैसे लोग हैं, कैसे पुरुष हैं, कैसे स्त्रियाँ हैं, कैसे विशेषकर बच्चे हैं वहाँ, इसमें मुझे बहुत दिलचस्पी होती है क्योंकि, भारत क्या चीज़ है? भारत एक महान देश है, भारत का इतिहास हज़ारों बरस पुराना है, यह सब भारत है, भारत में बड़े-बड़े विचार हुए हैं, बड़े-बड़े महापुरुष हुए हैं, सब ठीक है, भारत में पहाड़ हैं, नदियाँ हैं, जंगल हैं, मैदान हैं, सुन्दर हैं, ये भी सब चीज़ सब भारत हैं, लेकिन विशेषकर भारत क्या है? विशेषकर भारत, भारत की जनता है। [तालियाँ]

आजकल मुझे याद है, मैं एक जगह पहुँचा पंजाब में तो बड़े ज़ोर से वहाँ के बैठे थे लोग, वहाँ के किसान लोग बैठे थे, जाट किसान, उन्होंने चिल्लाया भारत माता की जय। [तालियाँ] तो मैंने उनसे पूछा यह तो बड़ा अच्छा पुकारा तुमने, यह भारत माता कौन है? कहाँ रहती है? तो उनकी समझ में नहीं आया क्या जवाब दें, चिल्लाये तो बहुत रहे थे भारत माता की जय, लेकिन जब मैंने कहा भारत माता कहाँ रहती है, छिप के रहती है, उसके लम्बे बाल हैं, क्या है, कहाँ है वो, तो नहीं उनकी समझ में आया, उन्होंने कहा फिर यह भूमि है। मैंने कहा कहाँ की भूमि? तुम्हारे ग्राम की भूमि, तुम्हारे ज़िले की भूमि, कहाँ की भूमि? इस तरह से कुछ सवाल-जवाब हुआ, तो ठीक-ठीक वो बहुत परेशान हुए मेरे सवाल से। तो मैंने कहा भारत माता तो भारत के जो लोग रहते हैं वो हैं, सबमें अधिक, और भी हैं अधिकतर, और भारत माता यानी इसके माने हैं भारत माता तुम हो, तुम हो, तुम हो, तुम हो, सब तुम हो, उनको बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ कि वो भारत माता हैं। [तालियाँ] सच बात तो है भारत माता तो हम सब हैं, आप हैं, आप हैं, आप हैं, मैं हूँ, सब मिलके हैं, और भी बहुत बातें हैं भारत माता में, लेकिन हम तो हैं ही और हम लोग आते हैं, जाते हैं, और पैदा होते हैं, जवान होते हैं, बूढ़े होते हैं, मरते हैं, और लोग आते हैं। तो भारत माता का अन्त तो नहीं होता, हम लोग आते-जाते हैं, भारत का सिलसिला चलता जाता है। और हमारा देश तो बहुत प्राचीन देश है, बहुत ऊँच-नीच देखी है, अब फिर बहुत ज़माने बाद ज़रा फिर से जागा है, बीच में सो गया था, फिर आगे बढ़ रहा है। तो हमें उसको बढ़ाने में पूरा यत्न करना है, पूरी कोशिश करनी है। तो आजकल का ज़माना है भारत को आगे ले चलने का, बढ़ाने का, यानी भारत की जनता को, और यही हमारी कोशिश है।

हमने पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरा बनायी हैं, किसलिए? इसलिए कि हम अपने बड़े-बड़े जो प्रश्न हैं उनको, उनको उठाये, उसको पूरा करें। क्या प्रश्न हैं? हमें बड़ी क्रांति करनी थी देश में, अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य को निकालना था, हम समझते थे कि अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य निकला तो यह छोटे-मोटे पोर्चगीज़ हैं, फ्रांसीसी हैं, यह तो निकल ही जायेंगे। अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य बड़ी चीज़ थी, वो तो बड़ी क्रांति थी और एक राजनैतिक क्रांति थी, पोलिटिकल क्रांति थी। खैर,

वो हटा। फिर दूसरा काम क्या हमारे सामने आया? दूसरी क्रांति का, आर्थिक-सामाजिक क्रांति का, इकोनोमिक क्रांति का, इकोनोमिक क्रांति का, इकोनोमिक रेवोल्यूशन, सोशल रेवोल्यूशन, यह आया। तो पहला काम हमारा पूरा हो गया राजनैतिक क्रांति का, विशेषकर गोआ को सम्मिलित होने में भारत में, वो काम पूरा हो गया लेकिन दूसरा काम बाक़ी है, लम्बा काम है, आर्थिक और सामाजिक क्रांति का। उसके क्या माने हैं? उसके माने हैं हम जनता को उठाये, हम जनता की ग़रीबी दूर करें, सबको काम मिले, बेरोज़गारी न हो और सारी जनता खुशहाल हो जाये, सब लोग, हरेक को मौक़ा मिले आगे बढ़ने का। यह तो बहुत बड़ा काम है एक क्रांति, लेकिन हमें करना है, हम किसी और देश से पिछड़े क्यों रहें। क्या बात है कि अमेरिका में, यूरोप में लोगों ने ग़रीबी निकाल दी है और खुशहाल हो गये हैं सब? हम भी क्यों न हों? परिश्रम की बात है, कोई हमारे पास धन-रुपया और जगह से तो कहीं आयेगा नहीं। धन-रुपया क्या होता है? चाँदी-सोना धन नहीं होता, चाँदी-सोना तो व्यापार और साहूकारी की बातें हैं, धन होता है जो आप पैदा करते हैं अपने परिश्रम से, चाँदी-सोना खा-पी के आप नहीं रह सकते, धन है जो खेत से आप पैदा करें, धन है जो कारख़ाने से आप पैदा करें और कारीगरी से। जो चीज़, नयी चीज़ पैदा होती है परिश्रम से, वो धन है, हाँ उस धन में ऐसी चीज़ें भी हैं जो भूमि से मिल जायें। आपके यहाँ लोहे का पत्थर है? है, वो भी धन है, परिश्रम से निकले तब धन हो जाता है वो।

तो जो देश अधिक से अधिक पैदा करता है अपने परिश्रम से वो धनी होता है। अमेरिका धनी है इसलिए कि वहाँ ज़मीन से वो बहुत पैदा करते हैं और बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने हैं उससे बड़ा पैदा होता है, इसलिए धनी है, इसलिए धनी नहीं है कि सोना उसके पास बहुत जमा है, धनी है कि हर साल अधिक पैदा करता है। तो हम को अपनी खेती से अधिक पैदा करना है, बहुत अधिक, हमें अपने कारख़ाने बनाने हैं, कारख़ानों से पैदा करना है। और जो आजकल की दुनिया में नये ढंग हैं वो क्या हैं? विज्ञान के, साइंस के, उसको सीखना है, मशीन बनाना सीखना है, मशीनों से काम करना है, तो हमारे यहाँ भी बहुत धन पैदा होगा और लोगों के काम में आयेगा और लोग खुशहाल हो जायेंगे, बड़ा काम है, लेकिन उसके पीछे यह है कि हम यह बातें सीखें, नयी दुनिया की। तो हमारी शिक्षा ठीक होनी चाहिए, सब लोगों की शिक्षा अच्छी हो, लड़का-लड़की, औरत-मर्द की शिक्षा अच्छी हो, तब हम नयी दुनिया को देखें और फिर उसको करें। तो हमें यह सब करना है—शिक्षा है, स्वास्थ्य है और अपनी खेती को अच्छी करना है, नये-नये यंत्र चलाने हैं, कारख़ाने बनाने हैं, यह सब करना है, इसमें समय लगता है। बिजली की शक्ति पैदा करनी है, इलेक्ट्रिक पावर, क्योंकि उससे काम होता है आजकल, इसको बहुत पैदा करना है, लोहा पैदा करना है, लोहे के कारख़ाने बनते हैं, यह सब करना है। पिछले दस-बारह बरस में हमने बहुत कुछ किया है, बहुत कुछ लोहे के कारख़ाने नये बन गये हैं, बिजली बढ़ गयी है, बड़ी-बड़ी नहरें बनी हैं खेती के लिए, सब हुआ है, और होता जाता है। इत्ता बड़ा काम है कि जल्दी से वो काम ख़तम नहीं होता, उसका असर बाद में होगा, हल्के-हल्के निकल रहा है, और बाद में।

तो यह सब काम आपके गोआ में भी होने चाहियें। गोआ में भी आपके बहुत बातें हैं जिससे सहायता मिले, मैंने कहा आपके यहाँ लोहे का पत्थर है, [iron stone] है, जिससे हम लोहा बना सकते हैं, आजकल वो जापान जाता है, ठीक है जापान जाये, उसको हम बेचते हैं, उससे लाभ होता है। यह सब बातें हमें क्रायदे से सोच-समझ के करनी हैं और उससे लाभ होता है। यह और उसके पीछे यह होना है कि हम कहाँ जा रहे हैं, एक यात्रा पर आप चलें, एक पिलगिरीमेज [pilgrimage] पर, देखना होता है कहाँ जा रहे हैं, अपने आप थोड़े ही बहकते-बहकते फ़िरें। इसीलिए योजना बनानी होती है, प्लानिंग करना होता है, एक चित्र अपने सामने रखते हैं [कि] कहाँ जा रहे हैं। कहाँ जा रहे हैं हम? हम जा रहे हैं एक ऐसी समाज बनाने के लिए देश में, जिसमें देश के सब लोग खुशहाल हों, ग़रीबी नहीं रहे, सब लोगों को आवश्यक वस्तुएँ मिलें और मौक़ा सभी को मिले बराबर बढ़ने का, यानी एक तरह से हम समाजवाद की समाज बना रहे हैं, बनाना चाहते हैं, उसमें समय बहुत लगेगा, लेकिन उधर हल्के-हल्के हम चलेंगे।

इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि हमारे देश में एकता हो, अलग-अलग भाग हैं, अलग-अलग धर्म हैं, अलग-अलग भाषाएँ हैं, सब अच्छी हैं लेकिन इन सभी में प्रेम होना चाहिए, एकता होनी चाहिए। आपके यहाँ गोआ में हिन्दू धर्म है, क्रिस्चन धर्म है, कुछ थोड़े से मुसलमान भाई हैं, और लोग भी होंगे, ये सब प्राचीन धर्म हैं, भारत में हजारों बरस से हैं, इन सभी का हमें आदर करना है, अपने धर्म पर रहना है, दूसरे का आदर करना है। इस तरह से मिलजुल के चलना है, तो देश बढ़ेगा। क्योंकि एक कर्तव्य, एक धर्म सभी का है, वो देश का धर्म है, चाहे आप हिन्दू हों या मुसलमान या ईसाई, सभी का एक धर्म है देश का [तालियाँ] और देश के धर्म के माने हैं देश की जनता को उठाने के, वो मिलकर उठ सकते हैं, परिश्रम करके। यह काम हमारे सामने है और दिल लगाकर हमें करना है, सफ़ाई से, शुद्धता से, कोई शिकायत नहीं होनी चाहिए, बुरी शिकायतें, कि लोग देश के काम में या किसी काम में भी ग़लत लाभ उठाते हैं, घूस लेते हैं वगैरा, यह अच्छी बातें नहीं हैं। इसी तरह से हमें करना है चित्र रखके।

अब गोआ आज़ाद हुआ, तो गोआ को और दिल लगा के करना है। कौन करेगा? गोआ आज़ाद हुआ इसके माने क्या हैं? इसके माने यह नहीं हैं, आज़ादी के माने नहीं हैं कि आप पर दिल्ली से बड़े हुकुम चलाये जायें। हाँ, शुरु में अदल-बदल के वक़्त में कुछ सलाह आपको दी जाती है, सलाह बाद में भी दी जायेगी, लेकिन गोआ का शासन गोआ की जनता के हाथ में होगा। [तालियाँ] अगर गोआ की जनता उसे अक़ल से, समझ के चलायेगी तो अच्छा है, बुरी तरह चलायेगी तो बुरा है, आप ही लोगों पर है। इसी तरह पंचायतों के चुनाव हुए हैं, सरपंच चुने गये, पंच चुने गये, उनके अधिकार हैं अपने-अपने इलाक़े में, जो अच्छा काम करेंगे तो भला है, बुरा काम करेंगे तो बुरी बात है, क्या किया जाये, लेकिन आपके हाथ में है समझिए। अब वो बात ख़तम हो गयी [कि] राजा-महाराजा चलायें या कोई बैठ के पोर्चगल चलायें या अंग्रेज़ चलायें, वो बात नहीं रही, जित्ता ही हमारा लाभ है अगर एक-दूसरे का गला काटेंगे तो हमें हानि होगी। और क्या है? मूर्खता है, लोग समझ जायेंगे बड़े मूर्ख लोग रहते हैं यहाँ, बेवकूफ़ हैं। यह बड़ा काम आपके

सामने है, इस बड़े काम में पड़िए ज़ोरों से, और हम सब लड़ें तो बड़े से बड़ा काम जल्दी हम पूरा कर देंगे।

मैं आशा करता हूँ कि गोआ में खूब मिलजुल कर आप सब लोग इस काम को करेंगे और उससे गोआ को बढ़ायेंगे और भारत को बढ़ायेंगे। दो-चार शब्द मैं अंग्रेज़ी में कह देता हूँ, शायद आप अंग्रेज़ी समझते हों, हिन्दी न समझते हों।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters and Brothers,

I was told that I should come to a conference of the Bharat Sevak Samaj. I had no idea that it was going to be such a large gathering. It is a good thing to have large gathering. But I cannot understand how the Bharat Sevak Samaj can function in such a crowd. After all, a programme of work has to be debated and carefully considered. In such large gatherings, there can only be speeches, well, it is up to you.

The Bharat Sevak Samaj was started a few years ago because all our other organisations were political. We want this one to be away from politics, draw the people's attention towards constructive work and social service, particularly manual labour. There were no promises of high positions or honours. The Bharat Sevak Samaj was merely a platform to provide the people an opportunity to do some constructive work. It has branches all over India and has been doing good work though it has not always stuck to the idea that we had started it with. I am happy to see that there is a branch in Goa too.

For a long time, a strange idea has prevailed in India, and perhaps Goa is no exception, that it is beneath one's dignity to do manual work and that it is fit only for the lower classes and that the upper classes must only do mental work or better still, nothing at all. This is indeed strange for intellectual as well as manual labour is essential in life. A country, where manual labour is looked down upon, falls. [Applause] Manual labour is extremely important, whether it is farming or working in factories or something else. That does not mean that intellectual work is not good. It is essential too and without it, human beings will turn into idiots, which is not right. But we must get rid of the idea that manual labour is beneath our dignity. This was another reason we started the Bharat Sevak Samaj, to give people the opportunity to do some manual labour which is good for health too.

You may remember that Mahatmaji had laid great stress on spinning. People used to wonder what good a spinning wheel would do in these days of industrialisation. Gandhiji did not start spinning as a competition with big

industries but merely to ensure that people do some manual task. The charkha was the simplest and easiest thing and if millions of people spun for even half an hour a day, it produced new wealth in the country. Well, he started it and achieved great results.

So I want to lay stress on the fact that you should realise the importance of doing some manual labour every day. You must respect those who do manual labour, not look down upon them. Just now somebody said that a great deal of social service is done in Goa which is a good thing. But I would say that manual labour should be an essential part of it. Then there are other things which a member of the Sevak Samaj can do.

Our community development schemes have shown the need for a volunteer corps. Its members must do some volunteer work every week in the villages. If the idea catches on and even if every individual gives half an hour of his time, work worth crores of rupees will get done every year in the rural areas. If the people cooperate, we can transform the rural areas, make the villages, build roads and small houses, and set up small industries, etc. The Bharat Sevak Samaj has an engineering wing which does work on a contract basis but not for money. As a consequence, the rates offered by the other contractors have gone down because the Bharat Sevak Samaj was doing the same job at cheaper rates. This is a good thing. There are many such possibilities. People have built dams and canals through social service and saved the country a great deal of money.

I do not know how many among you present here today belong to the Bharat Sevak Samaj. I have been in Goa for three days and will be going back tomorrow. I have visited many parts of Goa and addressed large public meetings. So I have been able to form a mental picture of Goa, a beautiful picture not only of the sea and the hills but of something that interests me much more, of the people, the men, women and particularly the little children. What is India, after all? India is a great country with thousands of years of history behind her. India has produced great men and philosophy, etc. There are mountains, jungles, rivers, plains and oceans and all of them together form India. But above all, India is her people. [Applause]

I remember once, long ago, I was passing through Punjab and reached a village where I found a number of Jat farmers assembled in one place. They shouted "Bharat Mata ki Jai". [Applause] So I asked them who this Bharat Mata was and where she lived. They did not know what to reply. Earlier they had shouted loudly but when I asked what Bharat Mata looked like and whether she had long hair or what, they did not know what to say. So one of them said, Bharat Mata is the soil. I asked, is it the soil of your village or district or some other place? This went on for some time. Then they were somewhat upset by my questioning. So I told them that Bharat Mata is the people who live in India.

I told them that all of them sitting there were Bharat Mata which surprised them no end. [Applause] It is a fact that Bharat Mata is all of you and I together. People come and go, are born, grow up and grow old and finally die. But there is no end for Bharat Mata. The life of the country goes on. India has a very rich and ancient past with a great many ups and downs. Now after a very long interval, India has awakened to a new age once again and we must do all we can to help her progress.

We have taken up planning in order to be able to solve the problems which loom large in the country. To begin with, we had to bring about a great political revolution by throwing off the yoke of British imperialism. Our idea was that once the British went, we could easily get rid of the small pockets of French and Portuguese colonies. Anyhow, we succeeded in this goal. Then we were immediately faced with the task of bring about an economic and social revolution. By merging Goa into the Indian Union, our political revolution is complete at last but the task of bringing about social and economic revolutions are more arduous and takes time. It involves the uplift of millions of people in India, solving the problem of poverty and unemployment, and raising the standard of living of the masses. It means that everyone must get equal opportunity for progress. It is a difficult task but one that has to be done. Why should we lag behind any other country? How is it that the western countries have solved the problem of poverty and become affluent? Why should we not do the same? It is a question of working hard for we are not going to get wealth from somewhere else. The real wealth of a nation is not gold or silver which cannot be consumed, but the essential consumer goods which are produced from land and factories, craft and village industries, etc. Any new goods which are produced constitutes wealth. That includes natural resources like iron ore and coal, etc., for we have to work hard to win them.

So the nations which produce large amounts of goods by working hard become wealthy. The United States is extremely rich because the people there produce vast quantities of goods from agriculture and industries and in other ways, not because they have vast reserves of gold and silver. Their annual production in every sphere is extremely high. We must also try to do the same and step up production as much as we can. We must increase our agricultural production, set up industries, learn modern scientific and technological methods of production and work with machines. If we do all this, we can also produce a great deal of wealth and raise the standard of living of the masses. But it is essential to have the right kind of education and imbibe the knowledge that the modern world has to offer. Every single man and woman in the country must be well educated. We have to improve educational and health care facilities in the country, set up machine-making industries, etc. All this takes time. We must

produce electricity and steel which are crucial in today's world. We have set up a number of steel plants and are generating power through the river valley schemes and what not. But it is a gigantic task which cannot be completed quickly. The benefits will accrue gradually in the years to come.

Goa must take part in these tasks. There is iron ore in Goa which can be used to produce steel. At the moment it is being exported to Japan which is all right, for we are earning foreign exchange. Anyhow, all these things require careful planning and a clear sense of direction. We are embarked upon a pilgrimage. We have to be clear in our minds as to where we are going. We cannot allow individuals to pull in different directions. That is why planning is essential. We must have a picture in our minds of the kind of future that we wish to build. We want to build a society in which the entire population is well off, and gets the basic necessities of life and equal opportunity for progress. In a sense, we are trying to build a socialistic pattern of society. It will take a very long time but we are going in that direction.

However, if we are to achieve our goal, it is essential that there should be unity in the country among the various provinces and people speaking different languages. People follow different religions in India. In Goa too, there are Hindus, Christians and some Muslims. All these religions are very old and have existed in India for centuries. We must treat all of them with respect while abiding by our own faith. Only then can India progress. Duty to the nation comes above all other considerations, and people of all religions must give it first priority. Our first and foremost duty is to serve the nation and help to make the people better off. If everyone works hard with honesty and integrity, there must be no room for complaints or corruption and dishonesty. This is the picture that we must keep before us.

Now that Goa is independent, it must participate wholeheartedly in these tasks. Independence does not mean that you should wait for orders from Delhi. Initially, there will be occasions when you have to act upon the advice of the Central Government. But the administration of Goa will be in the hands of the people. [Applause] It is up to the people to do their job well. The panchayats will have complete autonomy in their own areas. Gone are the days when princes or the Portuguese or British ruled over us. We have to bear the consequences of all our actions now. If we cut each other's throats, it will demonstrate to the world that we are a foolish people. Anyhow, it is up to us to participate wholeheartedly in these tasks and reach our goals. I hope that the people of Goa will give their support and cooperation and help Goa and India to progress quickly. Now I shall say a few words in English for those who do not understand Hindi.

Translation ends]

[Nehru continues in English]

Friends and Comrades,

I am just speaking a few minutes in English for such of you as may not have understood my Hindi speech. Now Goa has undergone a great change. After four hundred years of more, colonial domination in Goa has been ended. That is a historic change. It had to be, it had to come and the date might have been uncertain, but it is impossible for colonial domination to subsist in any part of the world now. It was possible for India to get rid of a British Empire and for little Goa to remain still in the Portuguese empire is impossible. We stood it for many, many years, ten years, and we tried to solve it peacefully as we solved the problem of French colonies in India peacefully and in a friendly way, but Portugal would not allow us to do so.

However, that is over and Goa has come back to the family of India, and so far as India is concerned we have completed our political revolution. We do not want any more territory from any other country, we don't want, we are a peace-loving people, we do not covet anybody else's land, we don't want even a yard of it. But we want to protect our own country. That is why when China had attacked us we had to defend ourselves with all our strength. But I want to make it clear that our political revolution is over after Goa coming in, and Pondicherry coming in, and we are content with this and all our work now, apart from the defence of India when it is attacked. Our defence plan is to bring about an economic and a social revolution in India. We don't want war, we don't like war, but one war we shall have to carry on. That is, not a war against any person, any country, it is a war against poverty, that we must fight and thus bring about an economic revolution. That is why we have these Five Year Plans etc., to fight to carry on this fight against poverty, and we shall remove it from this country. But it is a big country and it is a big task. It will take us some little time, some years, many years to complete it.

What do we aim at? We aim at an India which might be called a welfare state, in which all the people are well off, comparatively well off, nobody suffers from poverty or unemployment. Everyone has an equal chance to go ahead. People are not all equal, people are different, but everyone should have equal chances of growth and whatever his religion, whatever his caste, whatever other things pertain to him. So we want what I call a socialist order of society, where there may not be very great differences between the rich and the poor. There may be some little differences because some may work harder than others, somebody may be abler than others, but otherwise the differences will be little and we shall cooperate to advance the cause of our country, the cause of each individual, and if you like sometimes the cause of the world. That is

what we are aiming at. In order to do that, many changes are necessary. We are gradually bringing them about. But the first change is to take advantage of science and technology, to bring the industrial revolution to India. What took place 150 years ago in Europe, we have to bring it here, we are bringing it. It is coming fast, and that will bring new methods of wealth, production, and people will get better off.

All this is based on education, because only through education can you do this. Therefore, education is very important—mass education as well as selected education of people, higher grades of technology and science and other things. So we have started in this new pilgrimage, a great pilgrimage of a great, large number of people, and I invite you to come and join this great pilgrimage. We have, we carried out one pilgrimage to Swaraj and we have succeeded in reaching our goal. Now we are taking up this new pilgrimage and I am sure we will reach our goal, though it may take a long time, but it will. [Applause] So I invite all of you, men and women and more especially the boys and girls and children, to devote themselves to this great task. That does not mean, a great task includes your little task, your task. Whatever you do, do well, do competently, efficiently and you will be helping the nation. Coming back to the Bharat Sevak Samaj, Bharat Sevak Samaj is one way of adding your little quota of work to the national, to the work the nation requires, and I hope as many of you as possible will do it.

Now, I am going to other places and tomorrow morning I shall go back to Bombay and then tomorrow evening to Delhi. But I am very happy that I came to Goa for these three days. And I am full of gratitude to the people of Goa for a friendly welcome and affection they have showered upon me.

Thank you. [Applause]

44. In Panjim: Children's Rally¹⁴⁹

सभापति जी, प्यारे बच्चो,
तुम सभों को यहां आज देखकर और तुम्हारा गान और नाच देखकर मुझे बहुत खुशी हुई। तुम जानते हो कि मुझे बच्चों से बहुत प्रेम हैं सभी बच्चों से, विशेषकर खासकर जो हमारे भारत के बच्चे हैं। क्योंकि मुझे भारत से बहुत प्रेम है। भारत क्या, बड़ा महान देश है और ऊपर जाओ तो जाते - जाते हजारों मील चलके फिर हिमालय पहाड़ पर पहुंचोगे, वहां बड़ी सर्दी होती है बहुत बर्फ होती है। बर्फ बड़ी अच्छी चीज है बच्चों के खेलने के लिए। नीचे

149. Speech, 24 May 1963 at Campal cricket ground. NMML, TS No. 10655, NM No. 1870. See *The Times of India*, 25 May 1963, p. 4 col. 5.

जाओ दक्षिण तक तो समुन्दर तक जाओ, यह सारा भारत है और इसमें लाखों, करोड़ों बच्चे हैं तरह तरह के हैं। सबसे मुझे प्रेम है। तो पहले तो तुम यह समझो यह जो बड़ा भारी भारत है यह सब तुम्हारा है तुम यहां गोवा के रहने वाले, गोवा तुम्हारा है लेकिन सारा भारत तुम्हारा है और हमें जो कुछ करना चाहिए वो ऐसे करना चाहिए कि जिससे सब भारत के बच्चों का सुधार हो, फायदा हो, हमारा भी हो उसमें।

मैं यहां बहुत दिन बाद गोवा आया हूं और इस सुन्दर जगह को देखा और मुझे बहुत प्रिय मालूम हुआ और यहां के बच्चों को देखा, वो भी मुझे बड़े सुन्दर लगे और बहुत प्यारे लगे। तो मैं आशा करता हूं कि तुम सब लोग, बच्चे यहां के खूब खेलोगे, कूदोगे, पढ़ोगे और बढ़कर अच्छे भारत के नागरिक होगे, भारत की सेवा करेंगे। [तालियाँ] क्योंकि भारत की सेवा करने से सबकी सेवा हो जाती है जो भारत में रहते हैं, सब बच्चे और बड़े। और भारत बड़ा होता है, हमारा भी लाभ होता है और भारत भर का और दुनिया का भी। हम तो किसी से लड़ाई नहीं लड़ा चाहते, हम सारी दुनिया के बच्चों से प्रेम किया चाहते हैं। तो यहां भी सब बच्चे प्रेम से रहें, यहां काम करें, बड़े लोग कभी कभी आपस में लड़ा करते हैं बच्चों को नहीं लड़ना चाहिए।

तो बस अब तुम लोग यहां तेज धूप में बैठे हो, बड़ी गर्मी में। तो मैं अधिक तो नहीं यहां बैठना चाहता। अब मैं जाऊंगा यहां से हेलीकोप्टर पर गोवा के ऊपर जरा उड़ने के लिए, देखने के लिए ऊपर से और फिर और भी इधर उधर फिरुंगा और फिर कल यहां से मैं चला जाऊंगा बम्बई और बम्बई से दिल्ली। लेकिन मेरे मन में यह तस्वीरें गोवा की रहेंगी और खासतौर से यह तस्वीर गोवा के बच्चों की।

तुम्हें मेरा बहुत - बहुत प्यार और आर्शिवाद !

जय हिन्द ।

[Translation begins:

Mr Chairman, dear Children,

I am very happy to see all of you here today. As you know, I am very fond of children, all children and specially the children of India, because I love India. What is India? It is a very large country stretching for thousands of miles from the Himalayas in the North to the ocean in the South. It is extremely cold in the Himalayas and there is snow which is very beautiful for the children to play with. There are millions of children all over the country and I am fond of all of them. I want you, first of all, to understand that this whole country belongs to all of you. You live in Goa but the whole of India is yours. Whatever we do, it must be aimed at the welfare of all the children in the country.

I have come to Goa after a very long interval and like what I have seen so far. I hope you children will learn to play and read and write, and grow up to be good citizens of India and serve her. [Applause] If you serve India, you

will be serving everyone, adults and children who live in this country. It will benefit India and all of us and the world too. We do not wish to go to war with anyone. We want to establish bonds of friendship and love with the children of the world. We want the children in India to live with one another, in mutual cooperation and love and do big things. Adults often fight with one another. The children must not do so.

All right, you are sitting here under the hot sun. I do not wish to keep you any longer. I shall go from here by helicopter to fly over Goa and the nearby areas. Then I shall go to Bombay and from there to Delhi tomorrow. But I shall carry with me the memory of Goa and particularly of the children of Goa.

All my love and blessings to you!

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

45. In Panjim: Press Conference¹⁵⁰

Prohibition Not Now
Nehru Assures Goans
Present Status to Continue

(From Our Special Correspondent)

Panjim, May 25.

Prime Minister Nehru assured the Goans today that Prohibition would not be enforced in Goa in the foreseeable future.

Speaking at a Press Conference shortly before his departure for Bombay on way to Delhi at the conclusion of a three-day visit, Mr Nehru said that the Government did not want to impose on the Goans anything they themselves did not desire.

Mr Nehru said that Goa would remain a separate entity and that it would not be merged in any neighbouring State.

“It is definite and positive”, Mr Nehru said, “I do not know what might happen in the distant future”, he added.

Mr Nehru said there was a considerable section in Goa, majority or minority was immaterial which was afraid of being submerged by another individuality.

150. Report of press conference, 25 May 1963, Panjim. Reproduced from *The Hindu*, 26 May 1963, p. 1.

Goa should be given a chance to preserve its individuality he said.

Mr Nehru said he personally believed that Goa, had a distinct personality of its own. It however, did not mean that it was different from the rest of India. It was very much a part of India, he said.

Mr Nehru said each part in the country had certain amount of distinctive features. Kashmir, or Bihar, for instance, had their own individuality.

Every part was different from the rest of India. That was right and proper. Even in England different parts had their own personalities.

“There are certain common features which are obvious and there are certain distinctive features, which are also obvious” he added.

Mr Nehru said he was very much interested in the distinct features of the people and study them wherever he went. One feature of Goa was that for a long time it remained under the Portuguese domination. Just like India was affected by 150 years of British rule, the Goans were also influenced by the Portuguese rule.

Replying to another question Mr Nehru said that there was no proposal at present for conducting the affairs of Goa, Daman and Diu by the Home Ministry. It might be considered at a later time.

Mr Nehru said it was better for Goa to remain a Union territory of a full-fledged State. It would have autonomy and at the same time it would be directly associated with the Central Government.

Konkani to be Encouraged

Asked about the future of the Konkani language in Goa, Mr Nehru said it was the Government’s desire that the language should be allowed full scope to develop.

Replying to the question whether Konkani would be included in the Constitution as an official language, Mr Nehru said that this was not necessary.

“While we encourage languages, we need not include all of them in the Constitution. If Konkani is included in the Constitution, there might be a dozen more languages which will have to be included.”

Mr Nehru said that in Goa, Konkani and Marathi were in use. Marathi had developed into a literary language but from the point of view of mass popular use, Konkani was there and it should be encouraged.

“I have never been able to understand the conflict between any two languages. If any one language progressed in India, it will mean the development of all other languages.

In Goa he felt the music very much westernised. He did not mind that. It was a good mixture.

Asked about impression of his tour, Mr Nehru said, “My impressions are very pleasant, extraordinarily warm welcome. It was moving to see people of all kinds giving me their affection.”

Mr Nehru, “I should imagine Goa had great possibilities of progressing in the modern sense, economically and otherwise. It has good resources, it has population which is industrious and capable.

Goa's Natural Resources Nehru's Advice to Councillors

Mr Nehru told the members of the Consultative Committee, Goa,¹⁵¹ yesterday that India and Goa had vast natural and human resources which should be harnessed for the improvement of the social and economic conditions of the people. He exhorted the members to remember the essential unity of the country.

The Prime Minister told three members of the Council who requested him to secure the release of Mr Mohan Ranade, an Indian national detained in Portugal, that the Government of India were pursuing the question. He however, added: “Dr Salazar being what he is, it is difficult to make him see reason.”

Vasco Da Gama, the town serving the port of Marmugao, gave a warm welcome to the Prime Minister when he visited the place to see the naval head-quarters and the local branch of the Mazagoan Dock, Bombay, where dry dock facilities were available for the construction and repair of barges and country craft.

Assam Tour

46. In Gauhati: Inauguration of the Saraighat Bridge¹⁵²

राज्यपाल जी,¹⁵³ मुख्यमंत्री जी,¹⁵⁴ सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह,¹⁵⁵ भाइयो और बहिनो और बच्चो, मेरे सामने एक समुन्दर है छातों का, आप लोग तो बहुत कम दीख पड़ते हैं, अधिकतर छाते दीखते हैं, ठीक है, मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि आप छाते बन्द कर लीजिए, आप खुले रखिए उन्हें अगर पानी बरस रहा है। और मैं आपसे कहूँगा कि आज वर्षा होने से कुछ आपको,

151. Twenty-nine member advisory body nominated by the Lieut-Governor, see the *National Herald*, 25 May 1963, p. 1.

152. Speech, 7 June 1963, at Saraighat on the Brahmaputra. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS. No. 10406, NM No. 1839.

153. Vishnu Sahay.

154. B.P. Chaliha.

155. Minister of Railways.

कुछ हमको थोड़ी तकलीफ़ हुई, कठिनाई हुई, लेकिन वर्षा होना आजकल के समय अच्छा है आसाम के लिए और आपके खेती वगैरा के लिए। इसलिए यह भी एक शुभ चिन्ह है वर्षा होना हमारे लिए और उससे हमें खुश होना चाहिए।

तीन बरस हुए, तीन बरस से कुछ अधिक, मैं यहाँ आया था जब इस ब्रह्मपुत्र के बड़े पुल की शिलान्यास की थी।¹⁵⁶ अब फिर से आज आया हूँ कि इस पुल को देखूँ कि जो सुन्दर पुल ब्रह्मपुत्र के ऊपर बना है उसको देखूँ और उसका, एक ज़ाब्तो से उसका खोलना वह करूँ, यों तो वह काम कई महीनों से कर रहा है। तो मुझे इसकी बड़ी खुशी है, एक तो आपने सब देखा होगा इस पुल को, बड़ा सुन्दर और मज़बूत पुल है और हमारी महान, एक बड़ी महान नदी ब्रह्मपुत्र, जो भारत की प्रसिद्ध नदी है उसके ऊपर पहली बार बना है। क्योंकि ब्रह्मपुत्र एक बड़ा दरिया है, बड़ी नदी है और उससे बहुत हमें लाभ होता है और बहुत उसने हमें सताया भी है और हर साल कुछ न कुछ खेल करता है, इधर से उधर जाता है, जिससे लोग परेशान होते हैं लेकिन फिर भी हमें बहुत प्रिय है, सारे भारत को प्रिय है और विशेषकर आसाम के रहने वालों को। हमारी पुरानी पुस्तकों में इसका हाल लिखा है, हमारी पुरानी कहानियाँ हैं इसके बारे में, यह तो हमारे साहित्य का एक अंग है, ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी, अब तक इस पर कोई पुल नहीं बना था क्योंकि कठिन बात थी। अब यह एक पुल बना है और यह खुशी की बात है कि हमारे भाई जो इंजीनियर हैं उन लोगों ने बनाया है पूरीतौर से और एक ऐसी चीज़ बनायी जो कि दुनिया में प्रसिद्ध हो गई इंजीनियरिंग के काम के लिए कि कितना अच्छा काम यहाँ हुआ है।

सबमें अच्छी बात तो यह है कि ऐसे समय जबकि हमारे देश के ऊपर आक्रमण हुआ—तो आप जानते हैं हमारे देश पर चीन की ओर से हमला हुआ, आक्रमण हुआ—ऐसे समय हमने उसका जवाब क्या दिया? हमने उसका जवाब दिया, घबराकर नहीं लेकिन ठंडे दिल से, अपने काम को जारी रखकर और बड़े-बड़े काम किये और करते जाते हैं, क्योंकि भारत की उन्नति इसी तरह से होगी कि हम इस तरह के बड़े काम करें, बड़ी-बड़ी सड़कें बनायें, बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बनायें, बड़े पुल बनायें, जिससे जनता को लाभ हो और जनता की हालत अच्छी हो। जो भारत में बड़े काम हुए हैं स्वराज आने के बाद उसमें यह पुल एक, उसमें एक बड़ा हिस्सा रखता है, यह भी एक बड़ा काम है।

तो हम और आप यहाँ आज जमा हुए हैं इसीलिए कि हम इस शुभ दिन को मनायें जबकि यह बड़ा काम पूरा हुआ और हम बधाई दें उन लोगों को, जिन्होंने इसको किया, विशेषकर जिनका नाम आपने सुना श्री गांगोली¹⁵⁷ को, जिनके ऊपर सबमें बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी थी, और लोग जो उनके इंजीनियर साथ थे और जो और कर्मचारी, हज़ारों आदमी थे, जिन्होंने इसको बनाया है, सभी को बधाई देना और उन सब लोगों को समझना चाहिए कि उन्होंने देश का एक बड़ा काम किया।

156. On 10 January 1960, see SWJN/SS/56/item 29.

157. B.C. Ganguly, General Manager of the North East Frontier Railway, was also the Chief Engineer of this project. *Indian Railway Gazette* 1963, Vol. 61 Issue 6 p. 225.

मैंने आपसे कहा कि आज, अभी थोड़े दिन हुए हमारे देश पर आक्रमण हुआ था। तो आक्रमण का सामना तो हमें करना ही है, कोई भी करे, हमारी फ़ौजों को करना है पूरीतर से, लेकिन आक्रमण का सामना एक तरह भी होता है कि हम अपने काम को और मज़बूती से करें, चाहे काम हमारा खेती का हो या कारख़ाने बनाने का या पुल बनाने का, जो भी कुछ काम हो उसको मज़बूती से करें, क्योंकि आक्रमण का जवाब होता है वीरता से, हिम्मत से अपना काम करते जाना और पहले से और भी अच्छा करना। और सबमें बुरी बात यह होती है कि हम घबरा जायें कोई बात हो, घबराना हमें नहीं चाहिए, हमारा देश महान देश है और बड़ी-बड़ी कठिनाइयाँ इसके सामने आयी हैं और बाद में भी आयेंगी, कोई भी कठिनाई हो हमें इस बात को निश्चय कर लेना है कि हम उसका सामना करेंगे, हिम्मत से, बग़ैर घबराये। आजकल सारे देश में ऐसी हवा फ़ैली हुई है, हम अपना काम भी करते हैं मज़बूती से और अपने दिल को मज़बूत रखते हैं और तैयार रखते हैं कि जो भी कुछ होगा उसका हम सामना करेंगे और उसके साथ सारे देश की एकता से सामना करेंगे।

यह आक्रमण हुआ था, आपके आसाम के क़रीब नेफ़ा में हुआ था, हिमालय के ऊपर से, तो आपके ऊपर तो विशेषकर हमला था, बहुत क़रीब का, आसाम पर ख़ास असर हुआ उसका, लेकिन उसका असर तो सारे देश पर हुआ क्योंकि आक्रमण ख़ाली आसाम पर नहीं था, नेफ़ा पर नहीं था, वह तो भारत पर हुआ और भारत एक शरीर है, अगर उसके शरीर में कहीं भी चोट लगे तो सारे शरीर को चोट लगती है और ज्वर आता है। इसलिए सारे देश ने उसको देखा और उसके लिए तैयार हुआ, और तैयार होता जाता है और आप याद रखें कि जो भी कुछ हो बाद में हम उसका बहुत ज़ोरों से सामना करेंगे। हम लोग इस देश में लड़ाई-झगड़े को पसंद नहीं करते हैं, हम शांति के रास्ते पर चलना चाहते हैं, यही हमारी पुरानी परम्परा है और यही हमें महात्मा जी, गांधी जी ने सिखाया। लेकिन शांति पर तो हम चलेंगे और जो भी झगड़ा हो हम उसको चाहेंगे, कोशिश करेंगे कि मिलकर समझौते से निश्चय हो जाये, लेकिन कोई हम पर आक्रमण करेगा, हमला करेगा तो उसका मुक़ाबला करना यह हमारा कर्तव्य है और धर्म है और करेंगे। तो दोनों बातें हमें करनी हैं। हमेशा शांति को याद रखना, लड़ाई अच्छी बात नहीं है और हमेशा कोई झगड़े की बात हो उसको निश्चय करें समझौते से, लेकिन उसी के साथ जो भी कोई हमला हम पर करे उसका मुक़ाबला ज़ोरों से करें, दोनों बातें याद रखनी हैं।

हमें पंद्रह-सोलह वर्ष हुए स्वराज मिले और इस पंद्रह-सोलह वर्ष में बहुत कठिनाई हुई, क्योंकि हमें एक पुराने देश को नया देश करना है, पुराने को पुराना भी रखना है, और भी करना है और चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को बदलना यह बड़ी कठिन बात है, लेकिन हल्के-हल्के इस पंद्रह बरस के अन्दर बहुत कुछ देश बदल गया है, इस नये यंत्र युग में, विज्ञान युग में हम अब क़दम रख रहे हैं और आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। और इसमें अब जो हमारे सामने समय आया है वह विशेषकर कठिनाई का है, एक तो यों भी कठिनाई होती है और चीनी आक्रमण ने और भी हमारे ऊपर बोझ बढ़ाये। मैं समझता हूँ यह जो हमारे सामने पाँच-सात-दस वर्ष हैं यह इस बात का निश्चय करेंगे कि हम कितनी तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ते हैं। तो इस समय विशेषकर हमें अपनी सिद्धांत की बातें याद रखनी हैं। क्या सिद्धांत की

बातें हैं? एक तो यह कि देश की एकता आपके यहाँ, आसाम प्रान्त में भी अलग-अलग लोग हैं, अलग-अलग धर्म के लोग हैं, अलग-अलग जाति के लोग हैं, कुछ लोग पहाड़ों पर रहते हैं, कुछ और जगह, लेकिन सब मिल के, सभी में एकता होनी चाहिए, सब भारत के रहने वाले हैं और भारतीय हैं और सभी की एकता से हमारी ताकत बढ़ेगी। आपके यहाँ आक्रमण हुआ, उसका असर दक्षिण में मद्रास तक पहुँचा क्योंकि देश एक है, देश में एकता है। तो सबमें पहले तो एकता हमें रखनी है।

दूसरी बात हमें आपस में मिलकर रहना है, चाहे अलग-अलग धर्म हों, अलग जाति हों, अलग-अलग प्रान्त के रहने वाले हों, अलग-अलग भाषा हो, बहुत जल्दी इन बातों पर हम अपनी मूर्खता में, अपनी बेवकूफी में लड़ाई लड़ते रहते हैं, लड़ाई इस तरह की एक देश में कभी नहीं होनी चाहिए, यह मूर्खता की निशानी है, जो लोग अनपढ़ हैं, अनजान हैं, अंजानेपन में ऐसी बातें करते हैं। लड़ाई हमें लड़नी है, एक लड़नी है वह देश की दरिद्रता से, देश की गरीबी से और हमें दूसरी लड़ाई लड़नी है अगर कोई हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण करे, हमला करे हमारे देश पर, उसका मुक़ाबला करना है। ये बातें ठीक हैं। आपस की लड़ाई लड़ना तो दुश्मन को सहायता देनी है, अपने देश के साथ, देश को धोखा देना है, देश के साथ गद्दारी करनी है। तो आपस में मेल रखना है, और कोई बात चाहे धर्म के नाम पर या किसी और बात पर आपस में हमें लड़ना नहीं है। हमारे देश में बहुत सारे धर्म हैं, सब हमारे देश के धर्म हैं, हिन्दू धर्म तो अधिकतर हैं, उसके अलावा इस्लाम है, बहुत करोड़ों मुसलमान रहते हैं इस देश में, ईसाई रहते हैं करोड़ों, वो भी हमारे देश के हैं और जैन हैं, बौद्ध हैं, पारसी हैं, सिख हैं, सब हमारे देश ही के धर्म हैं, सैकड़ों-हज़ारों बरसों से चले आते हैं। तो उनका आदर करना है, अपने धर्म का आदर करना है और दूसरों के धर्म का आदर करना है, यह भारत का चिन्ह है, भारत की सभ्यता की, संस्कृति की निशानी है और बरदाश्त औरों की करना। इस बात को हमें याद रखना है।

क्योंकि हमें स्वराज मिला तो हमारी यात्रा पूरी तो नहीं हुई, हमारी यात्रा का तो आरम्भ हुआ अब, क्योंकि उसके बाद यह स्वतंत्र देश आगे बढ़े और अपने देश की दरिद्रता और गरीबी का अंत करने। और हम सब लोगों के हाथ में, सब लोगों को मौक़ा मिले छोटे-बड़े कि वो एक अच्छी तरह से कुशल जीवन कर सकें, कोई बच्चा न हो यहाँ जिसकी पूरी देखभाल न हो, जिसकी पढ़ाई अच्छी न हो, जिसको खाना ठीक-ठीक न मिले, जिसको घर रहने को न मिले, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध न हो, हरेक का हो और काम ठीक बढ़ के न मिले, ऐसा हम चाहते हैं, ऐसा देश हो और ऐसा देश जिसमें ऊँच-नीच बहुत न हो। कुछ लोग बड़े अमीर हों, कुछ लोग बड़े गरीब हों, सब लोग बराबर तो नहीं होते, क्योंकि कुछ लोग चतुर होते हैं, कुछ लोग नहीं होते, कुछ लोग दुर्बल होते हैं, कुछ लोग ताक़तवर होते हैं, शक्ति होती है उनमें, यह तो बात ठीक है लेकिन सब लोगों को बराबर का मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए, फिर जितनी शक्ति जिसमें है आगे बढ़े। और सब लोगों का प्रबंध होना चाहिए ठीक-ठीक कि उनको यह जो आवश्यक वस्तुएँ हैं—खाना, घर रहने का, कपड़े-लत्ते मिलने का और पढ़ाई का, स्वास्थ्य का और काम यह सबके लिए हो, यह बड़ा काम है। इसके माने हैं समाज को बदल देना, सामाजिक संगठन को बिल्कुल नया कर देना और असल

में उसके माने हैं जिसको समाजवाद या सोशलिज्म कहते हैं उसके सिद्धांतों पर देश को चलना। यह कठिन बात है, क्योंकि याद रखिए यह ख़ाली क़ानून बनाने की बात नहीं है, यह बात है जनता का मन बदलना, करोड़ों लोग जो भारत में रहते हैं उनका मन, उनका काम का तरीक़ा, उनका रहन-सहन बदलना, यह बड़ी कठिन बात है, हो रहा है। और इसीलिए सबमें बड़ी बात हम समझते हैं इस वक़्त शिक्षा, शिक्षा फ़ैले, कोई पुरुष-बच्चा न रहे, बड़ा बच्चा न रहे जिसके पास शिक्षा नहीं है क्योंकि आखिर में शिक्षा से बढ़ते हैं। आजकल का संसार, आजकल की दुनिया आप जानते हैं यंत्रों की है, मशीनों की है, कलों की है, आजकल की दुनिया में बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हो रही हैं। तो अगर हम इस दुनिया में अगुवा रहेंगे तो हमें भी शिक्षा के ज़रिए से सब बातें सीखनी हैं और आपस में एकता रखकर, मिलकर, रहकर अपनी शक्ति बढ़ानी है और अपना धन-दौलत देश का बढ़ाना है। इससे सब लोगों का लाभ हो, कुशल हों, यह बड़ा काम है।

पंद्रह-सोलह बरस हुए हमें स्वराज मिले और हमने इस पंद्रह-सोलह बरस में बहुत कुछ बड़े काम किये हैं लेकिन अभी तक बहुत बाक़ी हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि अभी एक और दस-पंद्रह बरस में हम इस पड़ाव तक पहुँचेंगे। यों तो कोई देश कभी आखिरी पड़ाव पर पहुँचता नहीं है, उसकी यात्रा देश की हमेशा चलती जाती है, चलती जायेगी, हमारा देश हज़ारों बरस पुराना है और हज़ारों बरस और जाने कित्ता रहे, बढ़ता जायेगा, लेकिन एक-एक यात्रा को पूरा करेंगे, फिर दूसरी यात्रा शुरू करेंगे। एक यात्रा हमने पूरी की, स्वराज की, अब दूसरी यात्रा है जिस पर हम चल रहे हैं, जिसमें सारी जनता को आगे बढ़ाना है और दरिद्रता और ग़रीबी को निकाल देना है। यह ज़्यादा कठिन बात है लेकिन मैं आशा करता हूँ कुछ बरसों में, दस-बारह-पंद्रह बरस में इसमें भी हमारी जीत होगी, क्योंकि बड़ा काम है, सारे देश को बढ़ाना है, लेकिन यह जभी होगा जब हमारे परिश्रम से होगा, कहीं और लोगों के पैसा देने से हमारी कठिनाई दूर नहीं होगी, हमारी दरिद्रता नहीं जायेगी। हम और देशों से पैसा माँगते हैं और पैसा हमें मिलता भी है और उसका हम धन्यवाद देते हैं लेकिन याद रखिए कोई देश, और देशों के उसको ढकेलते नहीं बढ़ने के लिए, खुद अपने परिश्रम से, मेहनत से, अपनी अक़ल से बढ़ता है।

तो हम जो इस वक़्त हमारे सामने बड़े-बड़े काम हैं, चाहे वो काम हों चीनी आक्रमण का सामना करना या सारे देश को ऊँचा करना, आर्थिक तौर पर, सामाजिक तौर पर, वह हम खुद आप और हम सब मिलकर करेंगे, कोई दिल्ली में बैठे क़ानून बनाने वाली सभा वो नहीं करेगी या शिलांग में बैठे, यह तो देश भर की जनता खुद करेगी अपने काम से। हाँ, दिल्ली में या शिलांग में बैठे लोग हैं, वो कुछ रास्ता दिखायेंगे, वो सहायता करेंगे, वो क़ानून ऐसे बनायेंगे जिससे देश का लाभ हो, आपका लाभ हो, लेकिन काम तो आपको करना है, यात्रा तो आप सभी को, हम सभी को मिलकर करनी है और वो यात्रा जभी ठीक होगी जब हम सब मिलकर करेंगे, मिलके करें और एक-दूसरे का लिहाज़ करके, एक-दूसरे की सहायता करके, सहयोग से करें, यह बड़ा काम हमारे सामने है।

इसलिए ऐसे काम में बढ़ें, ऐसे समय पर जब कोई ऐसा बड़ा काम हम देखते हैं जो कि लोगों के सहयोग से, अक़ल से हुआ है, जैसे कि यह ब्रह्मपुत्र का पुल बना है। तो

खुशी होती है और हमारी ताक़त, शक्ति, हिम्मत बढ़ती है [कि] कितने बड़े काम हुए हैं, आपके यहाँ यह पुल बना है, यह आपके आसाम को मुबारिक हो, बधाई हो आपको, क्योंकि यह चीज़ आपके आसाम के लाभ की है, आसाम की जनता की और एक नमूना है आसाम के और सारे भारत के काम का जिसमें हम सभी को खुश होना चाहिए और जो लोग इसको बनाते हैं उनको बधाई देनी चाहिए। एक काम हुआ यह, लेकिन दूसरा काम शुरू करना है, तीसरा, क्योंकि यहाँ रेल का लीजिए—रेल वालों के नये काम सुपुर्द हुए हैं कि आसाम में रेलें और बढ़ायें, मज़बूत करें, ब्रॉड गेज [broad guage] की रेलें बनायें, बहुत जगह लगायें चौड़ी, यह सब काम होगा जिससे आपको फ़ायदा होगा, लाभ होगा। वो तो एक चीज़ है, काम हमें कितने करने हैं, याद रखिए आपका यह जो प्रदेश है भारत का, आसाम प्रदेश, एक सुन्दर प्रदेश है, तगड़े लोग रहते हैं, अच्छे लोग रहते हैं और हमारी सीमा पर है। यह तो बात आपके सामने आ गयी थी या देश के अभी जब चीनी आक्रमण हुआ, तो आप लोगों को विशेषकर ज़रा जागते रहना है, तगड़ा रहना है, मिल के रहना है, क्योंकि मिलने में ही शक्ति होती है, लड़ने में हम बिल्कुल दुर्बल हो जाते हैं।

भारत का इतिहास क्या है? भारत के इतिहास में बड़े महापुरुष हुए हैं, सब जगह भारत में, आसाम में, और जगह, सारे में बड़े-बड़े महापुरुष हुए हैं, बड़े विद्वान हुए हैं, बड़े फ़ौजी अच्छे जनरल हुए हैं, बड़े ऋषि मुनि हुए हैं, सब कुछ बड़े आदमी, लेकिन एक बड़ी बीमारी भी हमारे साथ रही है और वो यही कि हम, आपस में हममें फ़ूट बहुत हो जाती है, आसानी से। फ़ूट हो जाती है कभी धर्म के नाम से, कभी भाषा के नाम से, कभी किसी नाम से और हमारी सब और अच्छी-अच्छी बातों को ख़राब कर देते हैं, हमें दुर्बल कर देता है। हमारे देश में विदेश से लोग हमला करके आये या अंग्रेज़ जाये और और आये, कैसे आये? इसलिए कि हमारे देश में फ़ूट थी उस वक़्त और उन्होंने उससे लाभ उठा के अपना साम्राज्य यहाँ फ़ैला दिया। तो हमें यह बड़ा सबक सीखना है। पहला सबक एक देश को सीखना होता है कि आपस में फ़ूट नहीं होनी चाहिए और जो कुछ हममें अलग-अलग प्रश्न हों उनको मिलकर तय करना चाहिए और एकता पर हमेशा ज़ोर देना चाहिए और याद रखना चाहिए कि भारत में एकता भी है बहुत और एक तरह की अनेकता भी है। भारत के अलग-अलग हिस्से हैं जैसे आपका आसाम है, बंगाल है, मद्रास है, बम्बई है, पंजाब है, उत्तर प्रदेश है, राजस्थान है, अलग-अलग महान प्रदेश हैं हमारे, उनमें आपस में अन्तर भी है बहुत कुछ। कोई मद्रास के भाई हमारे हों तो उनमें और उत्तर प्रदेश के, पंजाब के और आसाम के भाइयों में अन्तर है, ठीक है, क्योंकि अलग-अलग बातें हैं, अलग-अलग वहाँ की आबो-हवा है, सब बातों में फ़र्क़ है, भाषा अलग, लेकिन इसके पीछे एकता सबमें बड़ी है और वो एकता आवश्यक चीज़, ज़रूरी चीज़ है, चाहे उनका धर्म कुछ हो, चाहे उनकी भाषा कुछ और हो, भारतीय एकता एक चीज़ है जो हमें बांधती है। हम सभी को याद रखना है कि अगर हमें अपने देश को बढ़ाना है और बचाना है तो देश की एकता की एक मोहर लगी रहे, हमारे मन पर, हमारे हृदय पर, तभी हम बचा सकते हैं, कभी इसको भूलना नहीं है।

जबसे, स्वराज के पहले यहाँ से कुछ भारतीय लोग, हिन्दुस्तानी बाहर जाते थे, और देशों में, तो उनका बहुत आदर नहीं होता था, वो समझे जाते थे कि अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य के नीचे कुछ लोग हैं। फिर हमारा बड़ा आंदोलन चला स्वराज के लिए, महात्मा गांधी के नेतृत्व में, उसकी वजह से दुनिया भर में लोगों की आँखें भारत की तरफ़ हुई और भारत में उन्होंने देखा कि कैसे महात्मा गांधी को हमने नेता बनाकर उनके नीचे हमारी एकता मज़बूत हुई, हमने अपना महान आंदोलन किया और हमारी शक्ति बढ़ती जाती है। तो हमारा आदर करने लगे और लोग, क्योंकि आदर करते हैं जो लोग बड़े काम करें और महात्मा गांधी के सिखाये हुए हमारे देश में भी बड़े-बड़े काम हो रहे हैं। तो हमारा आदर होने लगा, जब हमें स्वराज मिला तो और हमारा आदर हुआ। तो क्यों आदर हुआ? इसलिए कि उन्होंने देखा कि भारत के लोग, लोगों में अब इतनी शक्ति आ गयी है कि वो शान्तिमय तरीकों से भी, अपनी एकता से और आंदोलन से उन्होंने एक बड़े साम्राज्य को हटा दिया अपने देश से और सच पूछिए तो जो हमारा नाम बहुत कुछ दुनिया में है [वो] बहुत कुछ महात्मा गांधी जी की वजह से है क्योंकि उनका आदर दुनिया भर में होता है और उनके नाम की शक्ति अब तक हमारे साथ है।

और उसके बाद, स्वराज आने के बाद हमने जो कुछ देश में किया, बहुत हमने जो निश्चय किया, जो काम किया, पंचवर्षीय योजना आयीं कई, एक के बाद एक, उससे देश में बड़ा, देश की खेती अच्छी होने लगी, देश में बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बने और नयी-नयी बातें होने लगीं, जिससे देश का लाभ हो और देश आजकल की दुनिया में आ जाये, क्योंकि हम अभी तक पूरीतर से आजकल की दुनिया में आये नहीं हैं। हम पुरानी दुनिया में पड़े हैं और बहुत कुछ प्राचीन बातें तो बड़ी भली हैं, हमारी बातें, हम उनको छोड़ेंगे नहीं, बड़े सिद्धांत की बातें, लेकिन उसी के साथ अगर हम नयी दुनिया की बातें नहीं समझते तब हम पिछड़ जायेंगे, दुर्बल होंगे, हम पर और लोग हमारी छाती पर चढ़ आयें।

क्यों चीन वालों ने हिम्मत की हमारे देश पर आक्रमण करने की? चीन में करीब बारह-तेरह बरस हुए वहाँ बड़ी क्रांति हुई थी और जैसे उनकी क्रांति हुई उस वक्त से—उनका तरीका तो दूसरा था—लेकिन पूरी शक्ति से उन्होंने अपने प्राचीन देश को नया बनाया, बड़े-बड़े काम शुरू किये, खेती में बड़े काम किये, बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने, उद्योग-धंधे किये। क्योंकि जानते थे शक्ति इसी तरह से होती है, नयी दुनिया को समझे, इसलिए उनकी शक्ति बढ़ गयी, इसलिए उनका अभिमान बढ़ गया, हिम्मत बढ़ी, हमला करने की हिम्मत हुई। अब उसका सामना हमारी फ़ौजें करें, ठीक है, फ़ौज तो हमारी तैयार है, होगी, लेकिन उसका सामना भी भारत की नयी दुनिया को समझना और उसको अपनाना है, क्योंकि उससे शक्ति बढ़ती है उसकी, उससे भारत की जनता की हालत अच्छी होती है और जैसे और देश बहुत हैं, पश्चिम में, खुशहाल देश वैसे हम भारत को खुशहाल करेंगे, लेकिन जब भी हम करेंगे अपने परिश्रम से और अपनी एकता रखकर।

हल्के-हल्के इस तरह से भारत बदलता जाता है, भारत का रूप बदल रहा है, प्राचीन रूप तो है उसका, हमारी संस्कृति का, हमारी सभ्यता का, वो तो सब है, वो तो रहेगा, लेकिन नया रूप भी आयेगा एक नयी शक्ति का। नयी शक्ति आजकल क्या-क्या है?

आप देखिए सौ-डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए दुनिया में एक बड़ी क्रांति हुई थी जिसको अंग्रेजी में इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन कहते हैं यानी एक क्रांति यंत्र, यंत्र युग शुरू हुआ था, मशीनों का युग शुरू हुआ जिसमें सब यह बातें हुई, रेल आयी और तरह-तरह के कारखाने बने और जिससे शक्ति बढ़ी, बिजली आयी, उसकी शक्ति का प्रयोग किया। अब नयी बड़ी महान शक्ति आयी है एटम बम्ब की, एटम बम्ब की नहीं, एटम की, एटोमिक एनर्जी की, उसमें बम्ब भी बन सकता है जिससे दुनिया तबाह हो और भला भी हो। तो नयी दुनिया तो बदलती रहती है, संसार बदलता रहता है, हमें उसको समझना है और समझ के उससे लाभ उठाना है। आजकल दुनिया ऐसी हो गयी है कि अगर कोई बड़ी लड़ाई हो, उसमें एटम बम्ब इत्यादि चलें तो सारी दुनिया तो नष्ट हो जाये, उसमें कोई जीत-हार नहीं हो, सभी को नष्ट हो। इसलिए बहुत आवश्यक हो गया है कि हम इन नयी शक्तियों को अपनी भलाई के लिए करें।

यह बड़े-बड़े काम हमारे सामने हैं और आप जो एक, भारत के एक सीमा पर रहते हैं, आपके ऊपर बड़ा काम है, विशेषकर कि भारत की रक्षा करें, सारा भारत आपकी रक्षा करेगा, लेकिन आप भारतीयों के दरवाजे पर रहते हैं, उसकी रक्षा करते हैं, तगड़े हैं और क्योंकि भारत की रक्षा करने में अपनी रक्षा हो जाती है, भारत की भलाई चाहने में, भारत की उन्नति चाहने में अपनी उन्नति आ जाती है। भारत बड़ेगा तो हम सब बढ़ते हैं और भारत नहीं बढ़ा तो हम सब गिर जाते हैं, ये बड़े-बड़े काम हमारे सामने हैं।

तो आज का दिन जो यहाँ मैं आया और ये शुभ बात हुई यहाँ वर्षा भी हो रही है, अच्छी बात है, इससे आपको लाभ होगा, चाहे ज़रा सी तकलीफ़ हो लेकिन लाभ होगा। तो इस काम के लिए, ब्रह्मपुत्र के पुल को खोलने के लिए यह एक शुभ बात है, शुभ दिन है। शुभ दिन वो होते हैं जब कोई शुभ कार्य हो, यह कार्य शुभ है इसलिए दिन शुभ है। लोग देखते हैं, मंत्रों को देखते हैं और तारों को देखते हैं [कि] कौन शुभ दिन है? शुभ दिन वो होता है जिस दिन शुभ कार्य करें, कोई किताब से देख के नहीं होता, जो आपके मन में कोई शुभ कार्य करें वो शुभ दिन हो गया। तो हमें सब अपने दिन शुभ करने हैं, शुभ काम करके, बड़े काम, छोटे काम। अब यह एक शुभ काम हुआ आपके पुल का और आपको बहुत-बहुत बधाई और इससे आपको तो लाभ होवेगा ही बल्कि सारे आसाम को लाभ होगा और भारत को लाभ होगा।

अब एक बात, यह पुल जो बना है इसका नाम भी तो होना चाहिए, क्या नाम हो? विचार करने की बात है, तमाम लोगों से सलाह-मशवरा किया, तो हमें याद आया जहाँ यह पुल बना है वहाँ आसाम के इतिहास में बड़ी बातें हुई। आसाम पर तीन सौ बरस हुए आक्रमण हुआ था, आसाम वालों ने अपनी रक्षा की थी, ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी पर, इस जगह पर लड़ाई लड़ के, ज़मीन पर लम्बी लड़ाई हुई, लेकिन आखिरी लड़ाई इसी नदी पर हुई थी, इसी जगह हुई थी।¹⁵⁸ तो बाज़ लोगों ने सलाह दी कि इस आखिरी लड़ाई हुई थी वहाँ, प्रसिद्ध है आसाम के इतिहास में, उसी के नाम से इस पुल का भी नाम होना चाहिए।

158. Battle of Saraighat in 1671 against the Mughals.

तो मैं ने इसको बहुत पसंद किया और हमारे रेल के मंत्री हैं सरदार स्वर्णसिंह उन्होंने बहुत पसंद किया और मुख्यमंत्री जी चालिहा जी तो चाहते ही थे। तो इसलिए सब हमने सलाह की है कि इस पुल का नाम “सरायघाट पुल” हो। तो मैं, मुझे खुशी होती है यह मालूम करके कि आपको यह नाम पसंद है, यह आपको भी याद दिलायेगा कि आसाम के इतिहास की एक बात का, जो कि शानदार बात थी, जो कि हमें याद करके खुशी होती है, हिम्मत उससे बढ़ती है और यह भी आप याद करेंगे। तो फिर से इतिहास के चक्कर में, फिर से भारत के ऊपर कुछ खतरा है, आक्रमण होता है, हमला होता है क्योंकि फिर से उसे, बहादुरी से हमें सामना करना है, बहादुरी से, एकता से, और तैयारी से। और तैयारी होगी हर बात में, तैयारी में कोई खाली बंदूक चलाना तैयारी नहीं है, जो खेती करता है वो तैयारी करता है, अपनी अच्छी खेती करे, जो कारखाने में काम करता है वो अपना काम ठीक करे, जो रेल चलाता है वो अपना काम ठीक करे, सब ठीक काम हों भारत में तब भारत की शक्ति बढ़ेगी और भारत मुकाबला ज्यादा आसानी से कर सकता है और करेंगे हम, यह शक नहीं, यह आवश्यक होगा, करेगा ही। तो आपकी, लोगों की सलाह से इस पुल का नाम है, ‘सरायघाट का पुल’ रखता हूँ मैं। [तालियाँ]

अब बहुत देर से आप इस वर्षा में बैठे हैं। मैंने तो आपको शुरू में कह दिया वर्षा अच्छी चीज़ है आसाम के लिए और आप चाहे ज़रा भीग जायें, हाँ यह बात ज़रूर है कि आप ज़रा वर्षा में बैठे हैं, मैं ज़रा साये में बैठा हूँ यहाँ। तो अब जो कुछ मैंने कहना था आपसे कह दिया, यहाँ आसाम आना मुझे हमेशा अच्छा लगता है, सुन्दर जगह है और इस तरह आया हूँ और आज जाऊँगा मैं यहाँ से अभी थोड़ी देर में तेजपुर और उसके बाद यह नेफ़ा का इलाक़ा जो है वहाँ दो-चार जगह जाऊँगा, बोंमडिला [Bomdila] वगैरा में, कल जाऊँगा।

तो अब अन्त में यहाँ कुछ बटन दबाऊँगा या कोई चीज़ खींचूँगा तो यह रेल चलेगी, वो पुल पर जायेगी रेल जो खड़ी है आपके सामने और उसके बाद आप चले न जायें, उसके बाद मेरे साथ आप सभी को मिलके कहना है जयहिन्द, तीन बार बड़े जोर से।

जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Governor,¹⁵⁹ Chief Minister,¹⁶⁰ Sardar Swaran Singh,¹⁶¹ Brothers, Sisters and Children,

There is a sea of umbrellas before me. I cannot see very much of you. It is all right. I do not mean that you should close your umbrellas when it is raining. I would say that in spite of the slight inconvenience caused to all of us, this rain

159. See fn 153 in this section.

160. See fn 154 in this section.

161. See fn 155 in this section.

is very welcome, particularly for our agriculture. So it is an auspicious sign that it is raining today.

I had come here more than three years ago to lay the foundation stone of this bridge.¹⁶² Today I am here once again to see this beautiful bridge and to inaugurate it formally though it has been open for many months now. I am very happy about this. For one thing, as you must have seen, it is a beautiful, strong bridge. It is the first time that a bridge has been constructed on the mighty Brahmaputra which is one of our famous rivers. Brahmaputra is a very large river from which we benefit a great deal, and at the same time, suffer a great deal too by its pranks every year. Yet it is very dear to us, to everyone in India, particularly the people of Assam. Brahmaputra has been mentioned in our very ancient texts, and innumerable legends and myths have grown around it. The Brahmaputra is an inseparable part of our literature. So far a bridge has never been constructed on it because it is extremely difficult. I am glad to see that it is complete. It has been built entirely by our own engineers. This bridge has become famous in the world as a symbol of our engineering skill.

The significant thing is that even when the Chinese aggression took place, we have gone on with all these tasks, totally unperturbed. We faced the Chinese attack with calm courage and continued with the great tasks of development that we had taken up. That is the only way for India to progress, by building bridges, roads, industries, etc. which will benefit the masses and improve their condition. This bridge ranks very high in the list of India's achievements since independence.

We are all gathered together here today to rejoice over the completion of this auspicious task and to congratulate the people who have worked on this project. You have been told about Shri Ganguly,¹⁶³ the gentleman in charge of the entire project. There were innumerable other engineers and thousands of workers who assisted him. All of them are to be congratulated for they have done a great service to their country.

As I said just now, recently India was attacked by the Chinese. We have to be fully prepared to counter the attack militarily. But another aspect of preparedness is to go on with our daily routine with greater strength and determination, and increase production in every sphere. We have to show a brave front and continue to do our duty with greater determination. The worst thing is to panic. India is a great country which has had to face grave crises in the past and will have to do so in the future. No matter how great our difficulty may be, we must make up our minds to face it with courage and without giving in to panic. This is the

162. See fn 156 in this section.

163. See fn 157 in this section.

atmosphere which prevails in the country today. We are doing our work keeping up our strength and courage, and are fully prepared for every contingency. We are determined to show a united front to the enemy.

The Chinese attacked at a place very near Assam, in the NEFA, just above the Himalayas. So you had to bear the brunt of the attack though it affected the entire country. It was not an attack on Assam and NEFA alone, but on the whole of India. A blow dealt to any part affects the entire body. So the entire nation geared itself to meeting the threat and we continue to keep up with our preparations. Please remember that whatever the future may bring, we shall face it with full strength we in India do not like wars. We want to adhere to the path of peace. This has been our ancient tradition and it is what Mahatma Gandhi taught us. We shall continue to follow that path and try to solve any problem or dispute that may arise by peaceful means. But if there is an enemy attack upon our soil, it is our duty to combat it and we shall do so. We must remember that war is not desirable and try to solve all disputes by mutual agreement, and yet be fully prepared to face any external aggression with strength. Both these things are necessary.

Fifteen to sixteen years have passed since we became free and there have been a great many ups and downs during this period. We have taken up the task of building a new India out of the old. It is a difficult task to retain the old traditions and values and at the same time to change the forty crores of people living in India. However India has changed a great deal during the last fifteen years. We are stepping into the new age of machines and science and progressing. The present is a particularly difficult time for us and our difficulties have been compounded by the Chinese aggression. I think that the next ten years will be crucial in determining how fast we can progress. It is essential that we should hold on to our fundamental principles and beliefs. The most important one is, of course, the unity of the country. People belonging to different religions, castes and provinces; tribals living in the hill areas; all of them must live in unity because they are all citizens of India and we can become strong only through unity. The attack on Assam will have an impact right down to Madras because India is one. So unity is extremely important.

Secondly, we must live in mutual harmony and cooperation irrespective of the different castes and provinces we belong to or the language we speak. We often get foolishly carried away by these petty differences and quarrel with one another. This shows great stupidity. It is only ignorant, illiterate people who do such things. There is a war that we must fight and that is against poverty. Secondly, we must of course fight if there is external aggression upon our country. We will only help our enemy if we fight among ourselves. It would amount to betraying the country. So we must maintain unity and not fight among

ourselves. Many religions are practiced in India. The majority of the people are, of course, Hindus. Then there are millions of Muslims and Christians and they too are Indians. There are Jains, Parsis, Sikhs and various other religious groups. Most of these religions have existed for hundreds of years. So we must respect them while following our own religion. Tolerance is the hallmark of India's culture and civilisation. We must always bear this in mind.

Our task was by no means over with the coming of independence. In fact, the arduous journey has just begun. It is in our hands now to ensure that there is progress and the people have a better standard of living and equal opportunities for everyone, rich or poor. There must be no child in India who is not properly looked after. Every child in India must get enough to eat, clothes to wear, house to live in, health care and educational facilities. There must be jobs for everyone. We want to build an edifice of India where there is no disparity between the haves and the have-nots. It is obvious that everyone cannot be exactly alike for there are bound to be natural differences, physical as well as mental, intellectual. This is no doubt true. But everyone must get equal opportunities so that they can go as far their strength and intellectual capacity takes them. It is a demanding task to provide the basic necessities of life to everyone. It means changing the social set up completely. In fact, it means adopting the principles of socialism. It is a difficult thing to do because it cannot be done merely by passing laws. It means changing the thinking of the people of a millions who live in India, their way of life and working, etc. which is not easy. Therefore we feel that the most important task before us is education of the people. No child or adult must remain illiterate because ultimately we can progress only through education. As you know, this is the age of machines. There is great progress in the world and if we want to remain at the forefront we will have to imbibe the new knowledge and become strong and powerful by maintaining unity and creating new wealth in the community. This is the only way everyone can benefit. It is a very great challenge.

Nearly sixteen years have gone by since we got independence and we have a great many achievements to our credit in this time. But a great deal remains to be done. I feel that it will take us another ten to fifteen years to reach our goal though the work of a nation is never done. India is a very ancient country and will continue to exist for thousands of years more. But we have to set targets for ourselves and strive to reach them. The moment we attain one goal, we have to go on to the next. We have attained the goal of freeing India from the foreign yoke and are now embarked upon another, more arduous, task of getting rid of poverty and making the people well off. I hope that within the next fifteen to twenty years, we would have reached this goal too. However we can succeed only by our effort and hard work. We cannot go around with a

begging bowl. We ask for loans from other countries for which we are grateful to them. But please remember that no country can progress except by its own hard work, effort and intelligence.

So there are great tasks before us. There is threat of external aggression and internally, the task of improving the country economically and socially. All this has to be done by our joint endeavour. The Parliament in Delhi or Shillong cannot do it by passing laws. It is true that the government can pave the way and help in every way, and pass laws which would benefit everyone. But ultimately the work has to be done by the people. We can be successful in this arduous journey only by maintaining unity and cooperation, by helping one another.

Therefore when we see a great achievement like this bridge on the Brahmaputra, which has been built by the hard work and cooperation of the people, it gives us fresh strength and courage. The people of Assam are to be congratulated on the completion of this bridge. It is a symbol of the progress which is taking place in Assam and in India. The people who were responsible for constructing this bridge are to be congratulated. But now we must get ready to move on to the next task. We want to expand the railway lines and build more broad gauge tracks all over Assam. It will benefit the people greatly. But that is only one thing. There are innumerable tasks waiting to be done. Assam is a beautiful province of India and the people are strong and hard working. Assam lies on the borders of India and therefore the people of this state must be particularly vigilant and strong and maintain unity. Disunity will weaken us.

What does the history of India show? There have been great monks, scholars and saints and generals all over the country. But our one great weakness has always been disunity. We fight with one another over religion or language or something else. This malady of ours vitiates even our good points and weakens us. How did the British and other foreigners invade and conquer India? It is because there was great disunity in the country and the British took advantage of our weakness to establish their empire here. So we must learn the important lesson of unity. We must try to solve all our disputes by peaceful methods. The stress should always be on unity. We must remember that there is great diversity as well as unity in India. There are different provinces like Assam, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan and others. There are great differences between them, difference in climate, language, life style, etc., but behind all these differences is a strand of unity which has to be fostered. The idea of India's unity is a great bond among us. If we wish to progress and save our country from external threats, the stamp of unity must be firmly imprinted upon our hearts and should never be forgotten.

When India was under British rule, the Indians who went abroad did not get much respect in other countries. Then the struggle for freedom began under

Mahatma Gandhi's leadership which drew all eyes towards India. The world saw the people of India becoming strong and united under Gandhiji. So there was a dawning respect for India in the world. Those who do great deeds are always respected in the world, and under Gandhiji's leadership we were raising ourselves higher in stature. Then, when we gained independence, respect for us went up still further. Why? It was because the world saw that that having got rid of the foreign yoke by peaceful methods, India had become truly strong. As a matter of fact, India is famous in the world chiefly due to Gandhiji. He is held in great respect throughout the world and we continue to gain strength from his memory.

Once India became free, we took up the task of reconstruction and by means of the Five Year Plans have managed to improve agriculture, set up huge industries all over the country and taken various steps to try to fit into the modern world. We are still in the old ruts. There is a great deal in our past which is very good and we will hold on to them, particularly our high ideals and principles. But at the same time, if we fail to understand the new age in which we live, we will become backward once again and vulnerable to external threats.

How did the Chinese dare to attack us? There was a great revolution in China about twelve to thirteen years ago and since then they have put all their strength into the task of rebuilding their country. They started huge projects and industrialised the country. They know that strength lies in understanding the modern world. This has led to their becoming more powerful and arrogant and so they have dared to attack us. Now our armed forces will no doubt combat that threat. But our way of doing so is to understand what modern science and technology have to offer and adopt it. That is the only way for us to become strong and raise the standard of living of the people. But all this is possible only if we work hard and maintain unity.

India is gradually being transformed. Her old culture and civilisation will continue to exist. But now it will be linked to the modern age. What are the new sources of power today? You will find that about 150 years ago, there was a great revolution in the West known as the Industrial Revolution. That was the beginning of the machine age and then came the railways and electricity and all kinds of new industries. Now an even greater source of power, atomic energy, has made its appearance. It can lead to the destruction of the world if used unwisely or do great good to humanity. So there are great changes and upheavals in the world. We must try to understand these trends and take advantage of them. If there is another world war and nuclear weapons are used, there will be no victor or vanquished but only total destruction. Therefore, it has become extremely important to see to it that these new sources of energy should be used for the welfare of mankind.

These are the big tasks before us. The people of our frontier provinces have a special responsibility for protecting and defending India. The whole of India is behind you but it is crucial that those who live on the frontiers must be strong. In defending India, you are defending yourselves. In working for India's progress and welfare, you automatically progress and gain. Our progress depends on India's progress, for without that all of us will fall. Anyhow, we are assembled here today for this auspicious task. The rains may have caused some inconvenience. But it will benefit you in the long run. Any day on which an auspicious task is performed is auspicious. So this day on which the Brahmaputra bridge has been inaugurated is an auspicious day. People look to the stars and the moon for auspicious days. But that is unnecessary. We must make every day of our lives auspicious by taking up some worthy task. I congratulate you on the completion of this bridge. It will benefit not only Assam but the whole country as well.

Now we must consider what to name this bridge. A great deal of thinking has been done. Then we remembered that at this spot where the bridge has been constructed, great historic events have occurred in the past. Three hundred years ago, it was at this spot that the people of Assam had fought the last battle of the long war to defend their territory.¹⁶⁴ So it was suggested that the bridge should be named after that battle. I liked the idea very much and so did Sardar Swaran Singh, our Railways Minister and the Chief Minister, Chali Haji. So we decided to name it the Saraighat Bridge. I am happy to see that you like the name. It will be a constant reminder of a glorious event in the history of Assam which gives us fresh courage. The cycle of history has once again brought grave external threat to our country. We must be prepared to face it with courage and unity in a full state of preparedness, which means not only military preparedness but involves every citizen of India, the tiller and the farmer and the factory worker. Everyone must do his duty well in order to make India strong and better prepared to face the external threat. There is no doubt about it that we will succeed in doing so. So with your permission I name this bridge the Saraighat Bridge [Applause].

You have been sitting in the rain for a long time. I have said right at the beginning that rain is good for Assam even if it causes you some inconvenience just now. However, it is true that you are getting wet while I am under shelter. I have said whatever I wanted to. I like coming to Assam because it is a beautiful province. I shall go on to Tezpur and from there to NEFA, to Bomdila and a couple of other places.

164. See fn 158 in this section.

When I press a button or pull something, this train standing there will go across the bridge. But please do not go away. You have to say Jai Hind with me three times.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

47. In Tezpur: Public Meeting and Press Conference¹⁶⁵

PM calls for unity to Chinese challenge

Tezpur, June 9 (PTI) - Prime Minister Nehru told a public meeting here yesterday that unity and mutual respect alone would make India strong and then the country would be able to resist any attack from whatever quarter it came. We should not, therefore, fritter away our energy by quarrelling over small matters like language.

Referring to Chinese aggression in October, Mr Nehru said they made this unprovoked attack and on their own they went out again. It was difficult to predict Chinese intentions and “at any moment they might enter our territory again, and we should, therefore, be prepared to meet any challenge.”

He said a special responsibility lay with the people living in this region, because it is on their morale and behavior that the entire country’s morale would ultimately depend.

He said the unity shown by the people of India when the Chinese invaded and the anger raised by it was something which China had never expected.

Mr Nehru said India was a big country and had many differences—difference of food habit, religion and climate—but, then string of unity persists.

“We should always lay emphasis on this unity rather than on diversity. Language is a means of communication and this should be properly nurtured and not allowed to destroy the essential unity of India,” the Prime Minister said.

“During the past 16 years after independence India had made sufficient progress and this was an eye-sore to China,” Mr Nehru said. “She, therefore, tried to upset our system and progress. India as a democratic country is pledged to justice and fair play and peace and co-operation among nations. We have no intention of converting this country into a totalitarian State or a police State. We want to progress through unity and co-operation. For this we must work and work hard.”

165. Report of speech, 8 June 1963. Reproduced from *The Hindustan Times*, 10 June 1963, p. 6 cols 5 & 6.

“Things have changed in this country tremendously since independence and our former rulers are not here to see the progress. For a country wanting to develop her economy and progress there are many problems and we must be prepared to face and solve them. Then we would be able to achieve our goal, for a vast country with 40 cores of population there would be equal number of problems but that should not deter us from our objective.

“Similar problems were faced by nations like the USA, Britain, Japan and Germany who wanted to progress and develop their countries. We should strive to work more and earn more and spend more, and in that alone lies our salvation. The Government is meant for helping the people, and the law of the country shows the way how people should work and behave methodically.”

Mr Nehru stressed the need for scientific advancement in the country for better prosperity.

The real strength of the country, Mr Nehru said, did not come from arms but from the unity of its people and economic stability.

The Prime Minister said that “despite increased expenditure on defence programmes to meet the threat of Chinese aggression the third Plan schemes would have to be carried through without any limitations.”

Biggest democracy

Mr Nehru said India was the biggest democracy in the world and it had to be preserved at any cost. In most of the neighbouring country democracy could not thrive. An exception was Japan, and she was doing well, he said.

He pointed out the special responsibility of the people in this region in the context of the Chinese menace and urged them to stand united and make a concerted effort to increase production in the field and factories to build up a strong base.

India, he said, had a message of lasting peace for the world and that messaged would be fulfilled if India could become stronger to defend her own freedom.

Later addressing a Press conference, Mr Nehru said he favoured the idea of closer relationship between NEFA and Assam but felt that any proposal of integration between these two parts should rest with the people of NEFA.

He added that a resolution moved in the Lok Sabha by one of the members was opposed by him, because the Government did not want to do anything which might create more problems before solving the old ones.

He said NEFA had special problems which required special attention. He said he had received quite a number of representations from the NEFA people objecting to the non-tribals going into their area. Frequent visits of people from outside create quit a lot of problem for the administration also.

The Prime Minister agreed that communications to NEFA should be improved but ruled out the constructing of a large modern aerodrome anywhere in the NEFA, because the cost involved there would not be in accordance with the utility. He said that more emphasis should be laid on roads within and outside NEFA.

Mr Nehru ruled out the possibility of any immediate Chinese aggression adding quickly that “the Chinese are unpredictable and hence we should remain alert for all time.”

He said, “We were at the moment better prepared to meet any threat from outside.”

48. In Dibrugarh: Public Meeting¹⁶⁶

राज्यपाल जी,¹⁶⁷ मुख्यमंत्री जी¹⁶⁸ और अध्यक्ष स्वागत समिति, बहिनो और भाइयो और बच्चो, आज फिर दिल्ली से डिब्रूगढ़ आकर मुझे बहुत खुशी है, विशेषकर इसलिए कि कल से बहुत लोग मुझसे कह रहे थे, मैं आज शायद नहीं जा सकूँ वर्षा की वजह से, कह रहे थे कि हवाई जहाज़ नहीं उड़ सकता, तो मुझे इसका बड़ा दुख था। एक दुख तो सहना पड़ा, मैं यहाँ आया था आसाम में इस दफ़ा दो काम के लिए विशेषकर, एक तो वो गोहाटी के पास ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी के ऊपर जो एक बड़ा पुल बना है, एक नया सुन्दर, मज़बूत पुल बना है, उसको खोलने के लिए, चल तो रहा है कुछ दिन से, लेकिन उसको फिर भी एक तरह से ज़ाब्तो से खोलने के लिए।¹⁶⁹ और दूसरे मैं आया था कुछ नेफ़ा में कुछ जगह जाने को, कई जगह, लेकिन मुझे दुख है कि मैं वहाँ नहीं जा सका, क्योंकि वर्षा इतनी ज़ोरों से हुई कि न तो वहाँ हेलीकॉप्टर जाने को तैयार, न कोई और जहाज़ और मेरे पास इतना समय नहीं था कि मैं सड़क-सड़क मोटर पर जाऊँ, मैं तो एक दिन में या डेढ़ दिन में सारे नेफ़ा में घूमना चाहता था। तो नहीं हो सका, मुझे इसका दुख है। हाँ, वो ब्रह्मपुत्र पुल का जो कार्य था वो अच्छी तरह से हुआ और उस पुल को देखकर भी मैं बहुत प्रसन्न हुआ, क्योंकि बहुत सुन्दर पुल है, आसाम के दो टुकड़ों को, दो भागों को मिलाता है और वो सब हमारे इंजीनियर लोगों ने बनाया है। यह आसाम के लिए और भारत के लिए एक ऐसे पुल बनाना बहुत अच्छा है। आपके अध्यक्ष स्वागत समिति ने अभी जो मुझे मानपत्र दिया है उसमें लिखा है विशेषकर, कि सड़कें और नदी पर चलने, जाने-आने, सफ़र करने, यात्रा करने का और हवाई जहाज़ से, सड़क से, रेल से, वो सब बढ़ना चाहिए। वो तो बढ़

166. Speech, 9 June 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10408, 10409, NM No. 1840, 1841.

167. Vishnu Sahay.

168. B.P. Chaliha.

169. See item 46.

रहा है, काफ़ी बढ़ रहा है इस समय, एक उसकी एक बड़ी भारी बात है, एक पुल बनना है जो कि पहली दफ़ा ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी पर पुल बना है।

आप जानते हैं ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी हमें बहुत प्रिय है और हम उससे प्रेम करते हैं, लेकिन कभी-कभी बहुत नाराज़ हो जाती है और बहुत हमको दुख देती है, सताती है, आपको भी बहुत दिया है। और मुझे अच्छी तरह से याद है जब मैं यहाँ था, बड़ी बाढ़ के समय, जबकि ब्रह्मपुत्र इतनी भूखी थी कि वह डिब्रूगढ़ नगर को खाने को तैयार थी और आधा-चौथाई खा भी गई है। तो अब यह पुल बना है, इसको कुछ क़ाबू में लाये, यह एक बड़ा क़दम है। रेल भी जो थोड़ी-बहुत आयी है उसको हम बढ़ा रहे हैं यहाँ, सड़कें बन रही हैं और, नेफ़ा में भी, आसाम में भी।

तो एक बात आपने कही कि वो जो स्टीमर सर्विस है वह यहाँ नहीं आती। मुझे उसके बारे में तो बहुत मालूम नहीं है, लेकिन वो स्टीमर सर्विस मेरे क़ाबू में तो है नहीं, वो तो एक कम्पनी है, हमारे शासन, सरकार के नीचे तो है नहीं, वो एक कम्पनी शायद है, वो पाकिस्तान में से भी बहुत कारगोज़ [cargoes] से, उधर से आती है, यहाँ आये तो बड़ा अच्छा हो उसकी सर्विस, लेकिन मेरे हाथ में नहीं है। तो ये जो बातें आपने कहीं कि हमारे रास्ते और यात्रा के तरीक़े, सफ़र करने के, सड़क से, हवाई जहाज़ से, पानी से बढ़ते जायें, यह तो बढ़ रहे हैं ठीक से, ख़ूब बढ़ने चाहियें, विशेषकर नेफ़ा में हम उसको काफ़ी बढ़ा रहे हैं, सड़कें वगैरा।

तो यहाँ आकर आज जो, पहली बात जो मुझे याद आती है वह तो वही समय है जब ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी हम पर आक्रमण कर रही थी बड़े ज़ोर का, बहुत क्रोधित हो गई थी और विशेषकर डिब्रूगढ़ पर हमला था और उसका आप लोगों ने, यहाँ के रहने वालों और हमने मिलकर सामना किया, मुक़ाबला किया। क्योंकि जब कोई ऐसी समस्या आती है तो उससे डर के जाना तो नहीं चाहिए, दबना नहीं चाहिए, उसका सामना करना चाहिए, सामना करने से [recording indistinct], हमारी ड्यूटी [duty] भी बढ़ती है और हमारा आदर भी होता है। मैं समझता हूँ ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी, आपका और हमारा अधिक आदर किया जब से, जब उसका मुक़ाबला हुआ। [तालियाँ] तो वो समय मुझे याद आया क्योंकि बड़ी कठिन समस्या थी आपके सामने, रोज़ देखें कि यहाँ का, डिब्रूगढ़ नगर के मकान हल्के-हल्के ब्रह्मपुत्र खाता जाये, जो यहाँ पुराना सर्किट हाऊस था, जहाँ मैं ठहरा हुआ था उसके पास वो आता जाये और मेरे जाने के बाद यहाँ से, एक-दो रोज़ बाद उसको भी खा गया वो। अब नया सर्किट हाऊस बना है, लेकिन जो कुछ वो हुआ, उससे दुख हुआ बहुतों का, तकलीफ़ हुई, नुक़सान हुआ, लेकिन फिर भी ऐसी बातों से लाभ भी होता है, फ़ायदा भी होता है, क्योंकि उससे एक उसका सामना करने से, मज़बूती से हमारी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है, देश की शक्ति बढ़ती है, अगर कोई कठिनाई उसके सामने आये, कठिन समस्या आये और उसका सामना करें तो देश मज़बूत होता है।

इसलिए यह जो चीनी आक्रमण हुआ, पाँच-छः महीने हुए, उससे हमें बड़ा दुख हुआ, कई बातों से दुख हुआ और उससे हमारे ऊपर बोझ बहुत बढ़ गये और हमने देखा कि यह एक देश जिसको हम मित्र देश समझते थे, वो इस तरह से अपनी मित्रता को भूलकर

हमारा एक दुश्मन बने और हम पर आक्रमण करे, इसका बड़ा दुख हुआ। और दूसरा उसी के साथ यह कि हम दो एशिया के महान देश हैं, सबमें बड़े देश हैं, अगर हम एक-दूसरे से लड़ाई लड़ते जायें और लड़ाई न भी लड़ें तो एक-दूसरे को धमकी करते जायें, तो दोनों देशों के लिए यह अच्छा नहीं है। बात साफ़ यह है कि बहुत कठिन बात है कि महान देशों में एक देश दूसरे को बिल्कुल हरा दे, इससे बड़े हैं, न चीन हमें हरा सकता है, न हम चीन को हरा सकते हैं, लड़ाई में हरा दें और बात है, कोई एक लड़ाई में, लेकिन पूरी तौर से एक देश को हराना यह कठिन है बड़े देशों का। तो यह तो एक बहुत उसकी तरफ़ से, क्योंकि हम तो शुरू से उसके साथ तो मित्रता चाहते ही थे, लेकिन सारी दुनिया में, संसार में प्रसिद्ध हैं कि हम शांतिप्रिय देश हैं, हम लड़ाई नहीं चाहते, दुनिया में नहीं कहीं लड़ाई चाहते और अपने देश में तो और भी नहीं चाहते। जैसे चीन ने हमें मजबूर किया तो हमें उसका मुक़ाबला करना पड़ा और उसी वजह से अब भी हम अपनी तैयारी करते जाते हैं कि इस डर से, ख़तरे से अपने को बचाने की। कोई देश भी जिसके सामने ऐसा आक्रमण होता है उसके सामने वो दब जाये उससे, तो देश बेजान हो जाता है, उसकी स्वतंत्रता भी हल्के-हल्के निकल जाती है।

यह बात तो असम्भव है, हो नहीं सकता कि ऐसे आक्रमण के सामने दब जायें और झुकें। कितने ही हम शांतिप्रिय हों और हम हैं और हम समझते हैं कि एक तो सारे ही संसार में आजकल जो बड़ा, सबमें बड़ा प्रश्न है लड़ाई का या शांति का, उसमें सारा बोझा हमारा शांति की तरफ़ गया है। क्योंकि आजकल की लड़ाई, महा बड़ी लड़ाई बड़े देशों में इतनी भयानक होगी कि शायद उसके बाद कितने दुनिया में लोग बचें कोई कह नहीं सकता, नष्ट हो जाये। आजकल एटम बम्ब वगैरा की लड़ाई है, यह ग़नीमत है कि इतने हथियार, नये-नये हथियार, एटम बम्ब वगैरा के चीन के पास नहीं हैं लेकिन कौन जाने बाद में और फ़ैल जायें, औरों के पास भी हो जायें, क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया बड़ी कड़ी दुनिया है, सख़्त दुनिया, बेरहम दुनिया है और इसमें जो लोग ज़रा भी दुर्बल हों, जो देश दुर्बल हों, कमज़ोर हों वो दब जायें, जो लोग तगड़े हों, हिम्मत हो जिनमें वो ही रह सकते हैं। यह हमारे सामने एक सबक़ आया है और चीनी आक्रमण से हम इससे ज़रा एक धोखे में पड़ गये थे, ग़फलत में पड़ गये, कुछ नींद इतनी आ गयी थी, हम समझते थे कि हमारा बड़ा काम हो गया स्वराज लेना, अब हमारा स्वराज पक्का हो गया, अब हमें फ़ुरसत है आपस में लड़ाई लड़ने की, आपस में झगड़ा करने की, यह छोटे-छोटे प्रश्नों को बढ़ाकर हम उसमें फ़ंस जाते थे। तो एकदम से हमने देखा कि स्वराज आ गया हमारा, लेकिन स्वराज रहता नहीं है अगर कोई देश धोखे में, ग़फलत में आ जाये, सो जाये, स्वराज फ़िसल भी जाता है।

तो हम जाग उठे एकदम और आपने देखा होगा कि जब चीनी आक्रमण हुआ तो देश भर में हमारे जो सवाल थे, जिसमें हम आपस में झगड़ा करते थे, वो एकदम से बन्द हो गये और सारे देश में उत्साह पैदा हुआ, एक जोश हुआ, उसका मुक़ाबला करने के लिए। हालांकि यहाँ आक्रमण हुआ आपके पास हिमालय पर, उसका असर बिल्कुल दक्षिण में जाओ, मद्रास में भी और कन्याकुमारी के पास भी, उसका असर [हुआ]। इसी से आप देखिए कि भारत की एकता कितनी मज़बूत है, भारत एक शरीर है, उसके अगर कहीं भी

कोई चोट लगे तो सारा शरीर को चोट लगती है। हिमालय के पास चोट लगी, तो सारा शरीर, भारत में एक तरह [का] ज्वर आ गया।

बहुत सारी बातें हैं, हममें हैं हमारी दुर्बलता पैदा करने की, हमारी एकता को कमजोर करने की, लेकिन जब समय आता है तो एकता ने दिखा दिया कि वह ज़्यादा मज़बूत है। तो यह अच्छी बात है और शायद यह चीनी आक्रमण तो बुरा हुआ हमारे ऊपर और यह उससे भी ज़्यादा अधिक बुरा है कि हमारे सामने भविष्य के लिए भी एक चिंता रहे इस बात की कि क्या हो, क्या न हो, लेकिन उससे एक अच्छा भी नतीजा निकला, फ़ल निकला कि हम जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा जाग उठे और अपने देश भर में एकता की लहर अधिक फ़ैल गयी। अच्छा है, इसी तरह से देश बनते हैं, हमारा देश बना, हमारे ज़माने में, हमारे स्वराज के आंदोलन से महात्मा जी ने बनाया, एकता से देश में और हमें तैयार किया बहुत तरह से, अपने बड़े-बड़े आंदोलनों से मज़बूत किया, सारे भारत भर को, उससे हमारी शक्ति बढ़ी। अब उसी तरह हमें उसको तैयार रखना है, और भी तैयार करना है, नये ढंग से। यह तो सब पहली बात हमारे याद करने की है।

अब मैं कह नहीं सकता कि चीन में और हममें जो झगड़ा हुआ है वह किस तरह चलेगा, चीनी लोग फिर आक्रमण करेंगे या नहीं, मैं तो नहीं कह सकता, क्योंकि आक्रमण करने वाले लोग, हमारी सीमा बहुत लम्बी है, दो-ढाई हज़ार मील की, और उनको यह फ़ायदा है जब चाहे वहाँ जायें आक्रमण करें, हमें तैयार होना चाहिए [कि वो] जो कुछ करें उसका सामना करें, रक्षा करें अपने देश की।

और उसमें एक पहलू और है जो आपके विचार करने का है कि स्वराज आने के बाद हमारा सबमें बड़ा काम क्या था? हमारा काम हुआ स्वराज आया, अब हम दूसरी लड़ाई लड़ें। कैसी लड़ाई? किसी देश से नहीं, हम लड़ाई लड़ें अपने देश की दरिद्रता से, उसको निकाल दें कि कोई हमारे देश में ग़रीब आदमी न हो, कोई आदमी ऐसा न हो पुरुष-स्त्री-बच्चा जिसको आवश्यक वस्तुएँ न मिलें, यह हम चाहते थे देश को खुशहाल करें जैसे यूरोप के देश हैं। यूरोप के देशों की हर बात में हमें कोई नक़ल नहीं करनी है, हम अपने ढंग से रहेंगे, लेकिन एक बात तो हमें उनसे सीखनी है [कि] कैसे उन्होंने अपने देशों में से ग़रीबी निकाल दी और उनकी जनता का हाल अच्छा हो गया। यह हमने काम उठाया और एक नयी यात्रा पर हम चले स्वराज लेने के बाद, वो यही यात्रा थी कि हम देश को उठायें, यहाँ से ग़रीबी निकाल दें, सब लोगों को काम मिले और खुशहाल होते जायें। अब आप समझ सकते हैं कितना बड़ा प्रश्न है यह, क्योंकि हमारा देश बहुत बड़ा है, चालीस-चवालीस करोड़ लोग यहाँ रहते हैं, और बढ़ते जाते हैं, उनको उठाना यह कोई एक-दो कारख़ाने बना देना नहीं है, यह तो उन लोगों को बदल देना और चालीस-चवालीस कोटि लोगों को बदलना यह बड़ी कठिन बात है। और जो हमारी दुर्बलता है, ग़रीबी है यह आज की नहीं, कई सौ बरस की है, उसको निकालना भी कठिन है, एक ही तरह से निकल सकती है, कोई बाहर से पैसा तो आ नहीं जायेगा इसको निकालने को, उस तरह से निकलती है, यह तो हम अधिक अपने देश में, अपने परिश्रम से पैदा करें, तो उसी तरह से हम ग़रीबी

का मुकाबला कर सकते हैं। तो इसकी बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ बनायीं, पंचवर्षीय योजना पहली थी, फिर दूसरी हुई, फिर तीसरी बनायी, आजकल हम तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में हैं।

तो हमने सोचा कि जैसे लड़ाई लड़ते हैं किसी दुश्मन से, कैसे लड़ते हैं? इस तरह से तो नहीं लड़ते कि हर सिपाही जाये जो चाहे करे, लड़े अलग-अलग। लड़ाई लड़ते हैं एक उसका प्रबंध करके, उसकी योजना बना करके, जो बड़े अफसर होते हैं, सब मिलकर हमला करें, कहाँ करें, कैसे करें, सोचें, इसी तरह का हम लड़ाई लड़ें अपनी दरिद्रता से। तो उसके लिए भी योजना चाहिए, प्लानिंग चाहिए और ऐसी बातें करनी चाहियें, एक-एक बात जिससे उसका फल अच्छा हो और उससे दूसरा कदम हम उठा सकें आसानी से, इसी को प्लानिंग कहते हैं। मैं इसलिए कहता हूँ कि आजकल कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो ऐसी अनोखी बात कहते हैं जिससे आश्चर्य होता है, वो इतने कुछ नाराज़ रहते हैं कि हर बात जो हमारी शासन करे, आजकल की गवर्नमेंट करे उन्हें ग़लत मालूम होता है। यहाँ तक ऐसी मोटी बात, ऐसी सीधी बात कि हमें योजनाएँ बनानी हैं, योजना बना करके देश को बढ़ाना है, वो इसको भी पसंद नहीं करते, वो चाहते हैं कि इन सबको छोड़ दें, योजना न बनायें, अपने आप देश बढ़ता जाये। अपने आप तो देश बढ़ेगा इसमें कोई शक नहीं, थोड़ा बहुत मैं मानता हूँ लेकिन अपने आप जो बढ़ेगा वो टेढ़ा बढ़ेगा, टेढ़ा बढ़ेगा [अगर] कोई [भी] चीज़ बढ़ेगी, कोई चीज़ नहीं बढ़ेगी, अमीर और अमीर होंगे, ग़रीब और ग़रीब हो जायेंगे, यह सब बातें हैं। इस तरह से आजकल की दुनिया में कोई बड़ा काम नहीं होता। आजकल कोई लड़ाई हो दुश्मन के सामने हम यह नहीं कहते, अपने आप देश लड़ेगा उससे या हरेक आदमी लड़े जो कि वो मूर्खता की बात है, हमें उसका प्रबंध करना होगा। तो ऐसे बड़े सवाल हैं देश को उठाने के जिसमें आवश्यक है कि हम जितनी देश की शक्ति है उसे काम में लगायें और उसमें हम योजना नहीं बनायें, प्लान न करें तो हमारी शक्ति नष्ट हो जायेगी उसमें, उसमें लाभ नहीं मिलेगा। दुनिया, सब जानते हैं कि आजकल, कोई इसमें समाजवादी बात ऐसी नहीं है लेकिन कुछ आजकल तो बहुत देश तो पूँजीवादी देश हैं, इस बात को मानते हैं लेकिन हमारे देश के जो पूँजीवादी लोग हैं और बाज़ एकाध दल जो नया बना है, जो कि हर बात में, वो कोई उन्नति की बात उनकी समझ में नहीं आती और ऐसे ही रहे जैसे थे। हमारे राजा लोग राजा रहें, हमारे पूँजीवादी लोग पूँजीवाद करते जायें, और बढ़ते जायें और हाँ थोड़े बहुत और देश भी बढ़ें, इस बात में विश्वास करते हैं, मुझे तो बड़ी निकम्मी बात यह मालूम होती है, ग़लत बात मालूम होती है और यह रास्ता है देश को तबाह करने का।

देश के सामने बड़ी-बड़ी समस्याएँ हैं, बड़ी भारी मुश्किलें हैं, एक समस्या यह है कि हम कहते हैं कि देश की जनता को उठायेंगे, लेकिन हर साल—मुझे याद नहीं इस वक़्त कितने—कितनी हमारी आबादी बढ़ जाती है, वह बोझा हो जाता है हर-सू, देश और देश की जनता को खिलाने, पिलाने, घर रहने, शिक्षा का काम करें, उनके स्वास्थ्य का काम करें, यह सब बातों का प्रबंध करें। तो हर साल मुझे याद नहीं है इस वक़्त कि करोड़ों लोग बढ़ते जाते हैं, लाखों लोग बढ़ते जाते हैं, आबादी बढ़ती जाती है, यह बोझा बढ़ता है देश का और खाना अधिक ज़रूरत होती है उसके लिए और वस्त्र पहनने के, घर रहने

के, काम करने के, शिक्षा आपके बच्चों की, बड़ी कठिनाई है यह, लेकिन इसका सामना हमें करना है। तो यह हम समझ लें सिवाए हम योजना बनाने के, प्लान करने के, हम इतना कर नहीं सकते काम, और जो कहता है योजना बनाना ठीक नहीं है, वो जाने किस दुनिया में रहता है, आजकल के भारत के लोगों की समझ में नहीं आया, आजकल के ज़माने की समझ नहीं है कहीं भी। जहाँ योजना नहीं बनी है, [जहाँ] नहीं बनती है वहाँ आजकल कठिनाई होती है, चाहे कोई भी देश हो, चाहे पूँजीवादी क्यों न हो और खासकर जो देश ऐसे हैं, हमारे जैसे, जो कि इस बात में, आर्थिक बात में समझते होंगे, पिछड़े हुए हैं, वो अगर योजना बनाकर न करें काम तो कभी निकलें ही नहीं, वो दब जायें अपने कठिनाई के बोझ से।

अब चीनी आक्रमण हुआ, तो हमारे सामने बड़ा मुश्किल सवाल हुआ, प्रश्न हुआ, लोगों ने कहा कि चीनी आक्रमण हुआ तो बड़ा हमारा बोझा बढ़ गया, खर्च करना है हमें, फ़ौज बढ़ानी है, हथियार लेने हैं, हवाई जहाज़ लेने हैं, तो हमें अपनी तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना को बंद कर देना चाहिए या मुलतवी कर देना चाहिए और सारी ताक़त चीन से लड़ने में लगानी चाहिए। यह बात तो एक तरह से भली मालूम होती है लेकिन इस पर ग़ौर से आप देखें कि बात भली नहीं है, यह बहुत बुरी है, क्योंकि इससे आपकी, भारत की शक्ति नहीं बढ़ती, अपनी शक्ति। भारत को, भारत को सामना करना है एक महान देश का और महान ख़ाली वो नम्बर में नहीं है लेकिन इसलिए है कि उसने तरक्की की है, बढ़ा है वो, आजकल के विज्ञान में, आजकल के कारख़ाने बनाने में, आजकल के नये तरीक़ों में, इसमें उसकी शक्ति बढ़ी है। अगर हम भी अपनी शक्ति न बढ़ायें उसी तरह से, विज्ञान से, मशीनों के बनाने में, मशीन के और सब बातों में जो आजकल की दुनिया में होती हैं तो हम दुर्बल रहेंगे। सिपाही कैसे लड़ता है? आप जवानों की तारीफ़ करें ठीक है, लेकिन जवान कैसे लड़ता है? जब उसके पीछे एक देश हो, जिसकी शक्ति है, जो कि पैदा करता है, जो कि खाना काफ़ी पैदा करता है, खिलाने के लिए उसको, ख़ाली फ़ौज को नहीं बल्कि सब सिपाहियों को भी और सब सामान, वस्त्र वग़ैरा, बंदूक, यह सब सामान पैदा होता है देश में। देश में पैदा नहीं होता तो कहाँ विदेश से आयेगा, एकाध दफ़ा आ जाये लेकिन कब तक आयेगा और देश कब तक उसके दाम देगा, दीवालिया निकल जायेगा।

इसलिए जो यूरोप के देश ताक़तवर हैं, शक्तिशाली हैं वो कैसे हुए, कैसे खुशहाल हुए? इसलिए कि उन्होंने अपनी सामाजिक और आर्थिक हालत अच्छी की है, उन्होंने अपने देश में क्रांति की, बड़ी क्रांति, क्रांति के माने लठबाज़ी नहीं है, क्रांति के माने जिससे उनके देश में नये-नये तरीक़े पैदा करने के हुए, कारख़ाने बने, साइंस से, विज्ञान से उन्होंने सीखा और खेती में अधिक पैदा करने लगे, कारख़ानों में, कारीगरी में, सब बातों में, इससे उनकी शक्ति बढ़ी, ताक़त बढ़ी, आर्थिक ताक़त बढ़ी और फ़ौजी ताक़त भी बढ़ी। और हम, हमारी ताक़त बढ़ने के असल माने ये हैं कि जो कि योजनाओं में हमने कहा, प्लानिंग से बढ़े हैं हम, चारों तरफ़ से और उसके पीछे बहुत बातें हैं—एक बात यह है कि आजकल के देश मज़बूत नहीं हो सकते अगर देश भर में शिक्षा काफ़ी नहीं हो तो। यह कोई, यह कोई एक दुकान खोल के चालबाज़ी से रुपया कमाना नहीं है, यह परिश्रम करना है, नयी

दुनिया को समझना है, नये विज्ञान को समझना है, यह नया युग है, यंत्र युग, मशीन-ऐज [machine age], उसको समझना है और एक को नहीं समझना है, दो-चार आदमियों को, सारी जनता को समझना है।

इसलिए आवश्यक है एक-एक बच्चा और बड़ा, लड़का और लड़की की शिक्षा हो और अच्छी शिक्षा हो, सबमें जरूरी बात है, उसके बाद और बातें आती हैं। एक कारखाना आप खड़ा कर लीजिए, हो सकता है लेकिन एक कारखाने का सवाल नहीं है, यहाँ तो लाखों कारखाने होने चाहियें और लाखों हमें इंजीनियर चाहियें, लाखों डॉक्टर चाहियें, लाखों ही यह सब चाहियें और उसके नीचे होना चाहिए एक शिक्षित देश, जिसमें एक आदमी भी, एक बच्चा भी ऐसा नहीं है जिसकी शिक्षा नहीं हुई। इससे और बातें बढ़ती हैं, शिक्षित हो, उसका स्वास्थ्य अच्छा हो, काम करने के क़ाबिल हो, काम करने के तरीक़े ठीक हों, आजकल की दुनिया से सीखें। क्योंकि हमारे सामने महान, बड़ा प्रश्न यह है कि हम भारत को नया रूप दें, पुराने उसके सिद्धांत हैं उसको तो रखें लेकिन नया रूप दें, नये वस्त्र पहनायें और एक उस नयी दुनिया में उसको लायें। नयी दुनिया में भारत नहीं आता तो ख़ाली पुरानी दुनिया में रह के, पुरानी दुनिया में बाज़ अच्छी बातें हैं उसको तो रखें, [लेकिन] पुरानी दुनिया में आके हम दुर्बल हो जाते हैं, कमज़ोर हो जाते हैं, इसीलिए हमारे दुश्मन यहाँ आये। अंग्रेज़ यहाँ आये, क्यों? उस समय पर अंग्रेज़ नयी दुनिया के, विज्ञान की दुनिया के नमूना थे, वो लाये नयी शक्ति को, नये विज्ञान की, नये शस्त्र वगैरा, यहाँ आये और हम आपस में लड़ रहे थे और नयी दुनिया को समझते नहीं थे, कट गये थे। हम किस बात को समझते थे? मालूम नहीं के हज़ार अपनी जातियाँ बनायी थीं, बस इस बात की फ़िक्र हम इस जाति में रहें, इसके साथ खाना खायें, इसके साथ न खायें, इसको छुएँ, उसको न छुएँ, उसके साथ विवाह करें, उसके साथ न करें, इसमें पड़े हुए थे। दुनिया बढ़ गयी हम अपने जातिभेद में पड़े रहे और उसमें न राष्ट्रीयता थी, न देश की एकता थी, न समाज ही कोई बढ़ सकती थी, कितने लोगों को हमने हरिजन बना दिया, अनटच [untouchable] कर दिया। कोई देश इस क़ाबिल है कि वो आज़ाद होके आधी अपनी आबादी को, चौथाई आबादी को अनटच समझे, आप सोचो यह कहाँ का न्याय है, कहाँ की अक़ल है।

हम कहते हैं कि हम जनतंत्र लेंगे, प्रजातंत्र, हम समाजवाद रखेंगे, क्या माने हैं इनके? जनतंत्र के क्या माने हैं? कि जनता के सभों के अधिकार बराबर हों, राजनीतिक अधिकार बराबर हों, और भी हैं। राजनीतिक अधिकार एक माने में बराबर हुए, सब लोगों को वोट मिले, बराबर का वोट, जो लखपति है उसका भी एक वोट है, जो ग़रीब आदमी है उसका भी एक वोट है, यह तो माना, लेकिन यह मोटी बात है कि एक वोट देना अच्छा है सभों को, लेकिन अगर एक आदमी के पास लाख रुपये हों और दूसरे के पास पैसा भी न हो तो उसमें बहुत फ़र्क़ है, उसमें दबाव पड़ सकता है, आर्थिक जनतंत्र नहीं हुआ, वो राजनैतिक हुआ, हमें उसे आर्थिक करना है, हमें ऊँच-नीच हटानी है। और कैसे हो सकता है यह? आपके यह जो पुराने हमारे तरीक़े थे, पहले तो बड़े राजा-महाराजा बहुत यहाँ फैले हुए थे, राजा-महाराजा को हमने विदा किया यानी इनके राज को विदा किया, स्वराज आने

के बाद, उसके बाद बड़े-बड़े ज़मींदार, ताल्लुक़ेदार रहे, उनको विदा किया, इस प्रथा को। यह तो बुनियादी बातें थीं लेकिन इतनी ही बुनियादी यह हैं और इसमें, न इसमें जनतंत्र हो सकता है, न समाजवाद अगर जातिभेद में अलग-अलग दीवारें खड़ी कर दीं, यह एक जाति के बीच में हम, न राष्ट्रीयता हो सकती है। राष्ट्रीयता के माने नहीं हैं कि जातिभेद हो और इस तरह से हम कुछ ऊँच जाति के समझें, कुछ को नीच करें, उनके कंधे पर हम चढ़ जायें, यह बात आपको याद रखना है। इस बात पर, गांधी जी ने इस बात पर कितना जोर दिया था, सारी दुनिया में हम बदनाम हैं इसी जातिभेद की वजह से, मशहूर हैं कि भारत में एकता है ही नहीं, अलग-अलग जातियाँ हैं, सैकड़ों और कभी-कभी जातियाँ हैं, कभी-कभी झगड़ा करते हैं, अलग-अलग प्रदेश के लोग, कभी-कभी भाषा पर लड़ते हैं, छोटी-मोटी बातों पर, यह दुनिया में प्रसिद्ध हो गया है।

पुराने ज़माने में जब मैं कम उम्र का लड़का था उस समय कहीं आप भारत के बाहर जाइये, हिन्दुस्तान के लोग जायें तो उनका आदर नहीं होता था, कहते थे लोग, परदेसी लोग कि भारत में तो लोग अंग्रेज़ी राज में हैं, गुलाम हैं, दबे हुए हैं, उनमें जान नहीं है, उनका कौन आदर करे। फिर हमारा आंदोलन शुरू हुआ था गांधी जी के नीचे, ज़बरदस्त आंदोलन हमारा था, उसमें एकता भी भारत की हल्के-हल्के मज़बूत हुई और यह भी बात हमें बदनाम करती थी कि बहुत सारे लोग हमारे अनटचेबल गिने जायें, जिनको महात्मा जी ने हरिजन कहना शुरू किया, उसके खिलाफ़ भी हमने बहुत बड़ा आंदोलन किया, हटाया, तो और परदेसों में हमारा आदर होने लगा। यह लोग हैं, हैं दास ज़रूर, लेकिन उसके खिलाफ़ लड़ना जानते हैं और लड़ रहे हैं, बड़ा आंदोलन कर रहे हैं। अब भी स्वराज हमें मिला, उसमें हमारा, और आदर हमारा कुछ हुआ, लेकिन अब भी आप बाहर जाइये [तो] सबमें अधिक आदर हमारा इसलिए होता है महात्मा जी के नाम पर। महात्मा जी को गुज़रे चौदह-पंद्रह बरस हो गये लेकिन उनके नाम पर जो मोहर डाली है हमारे देश पर सारी दुनिया में, उससे हमारे देश का आदर होता है। कुछ इसलिए भी आदर होता है कि उन्होंने देखा कि इस पंद्रह बरस में हमने बहुत कोशिश की अपने देश की उन्नति की, देश को बढ़ाने की, पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं की, और बातों की, और बहुत बातें हुई हैं इन दिनों में, जो कि, जिससे हमारे देश की शक्ति बढ़ी, आदर बढ़ा।

आप देखें कि इन पंद्रह वर्ष के अन्दर बहुत सारे देश, नये-नये देश हुए हैं, नये आज़ाद हुए हैं, जो कि पहले स्वतंत्र नहीं थे, साम्राज्यशाही वहाँ थी, अब आज़ाद हो गये, एशिया में, अफ़्रीका में। आप देखें कि एशिया में, सारे एशिया का नक्शा खोल के देखें [कि] कौन-कौन देश हैं, हमारे पड़ोसी देश, दायें-बायें, चारों तरफ़ जो कि हमारे साथ आज़ाद हुए या हमारे कुछ बाद, उनका हाल देखिए और हमारे देश का हाल देखिए बार-बार [...] और अपनी यात्रा पर आगे बढ़ा है और यहाँ के शासन को मज़बूती से रखा कायम। कोई यहाँ इस तरह से क्रांति नहीं होने पाये, चारों तरफ़ हुई है, कोई फ़ौजी राज्य नहीं होने पाये, क्योंकि यह बात तो पिछड़े हुए देशों में होती है, इसका मुक़ाबला करके फिर आप कुछ अंदाज़ा कर सकते हैं कि भारत में क्या हुआ और और देशों में क्या हुआ।

मैं तो मानता हूँ कि भारत में जो कुछ हुआ पंद्रह बरस में, बहुत हुआ और अच्छा हुआ, लेकिन फिर भी कम हुआ, बहुत अधिक करना है हमें, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि एक बुनियाद डाली है, नींव डाली है हमने नये भारत की। और नया भारत हल्के-हल्के बन रहा है और मुझे कोई इसमें संदेह नहीं कि भारत की आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी होती जायेगी और जो हमारे आजकल बच्चे हैं वो बढ़ेंगे और एक नये भारत में बढ़ेंगे, उनकी हालत भी अच्छी होगी, उनको बहुत मौक़े मिलेंगे जो आजकल अभी तक नहीं मिलते, सभी को मौक़े। मुझे बड़ा दुख होता है जब मैं देखता हूँ ग्रामों में, विशेषकर सुन्दर हमारे बच्चे होते हैं, उनको पूरा मौक़ा न मिले, ठीक खाना न मिले, ठीक घर नहीं हो, ठीक वस्त्र न मिलें, ठीक शिक्षा न हो, मुझे बड़ा दुख होता है क्योंकि भारत की सबमें बड़ी दौलत तो हमारे बच्चे हैं। अगर उनकी हम देखभाल नहीं करते तो हम भारत की क्या करेंगे, भारत कोई ईंट-पत्थर तो नहीं है, भारत तो भारत की जनता है, यह सब काम हमें करने के हैं, हम कर रहे हैं और करेंगे। और हमसे ग़लतियाँ होती हैं, कमज़ोरी होती है, कभी हम आपस में लड़ते हैं कुछ, उसको हमें समझना है, रोकना है, एकता बढ़ानी है, यह तो हैं ही प्रश्न बड़े-बड़े और फिर इसको चीनी आक्रमण हो या कोई आक्रमण हो हम इस बुनियादी बात को छोड़ नहीं सकते। चीनी आक्रमण का जवाब ख़ाली फ़ौज भेजना नहीं है बल्कि भारत में एकता से, एकता करके ज़ोरों से योजना को पूरा करना है, उससे भारत की शक्ति बढ़ेगी, फ़ौज की शक्ति बढ़ेगी, यह बात आप याद रखिए। तो कितना ही बोझा हमारे ऊपर अधिक पड़े, यह दोनों बातें हमें करनी हैं—एक तो देश की रक्षा करनी है, वो तो प्रथम है ही और दूसरे अपने देश की आर्थिक स्थिति बढ़ाना, चाहे किसानों की बढ़ाई जाये, हाँ किसान अधिक पैदा करें, कारख़ाने बनें, कारख़ानों से अधिक पैदा हो, धन-दौलत इसी तरह होता है जब पैदा करते हैं, यह सोना-चाँदी धन तो नहीं होता, यह तो व्यापार की चीज़ें हैं, असल चीज़ है जो हम पैदा करें। अमेरिका बड़ा धनी देश है, क्या माने हैं उसके? यह नहीं कि उसके पास बड़ा सोना-चाँदी रखा है, यह माने हैं कि उसका हर साल उसकी ज़मीन से, उसके कारख़ाने से बहुत पैदा करता है वो, नये विज्ञान से, कलों से, यंत्रों से और सीखे हुए आदमियों से।

सीखे [हुए] आदमी सबमें आवश्यक हैं और उसके पीछे शिक्षा, शिक्षा एक तो सब लोगों की शिक्षा, आम शिक्षा और फिर ख़ास लोगों की, ख़ास लोगों के माने हैं शिक्षा हमें चाहिए, ख़ास काम सीखें, शिक्षा, ख़ाली किताब पढ़ना नहीं शिक्षा होती है वो तो एक रास्ता है और सीखने का, काम सीखें, इंजीनियर बनें, डॉक्टर बनें। इंजीनियर कई तरह के होते हैं, बढ़ता जाता है, हमारे यहाँ इस समय कोई डेढ़ लाख इंजीनियर हैं, भारत में, डेढ़ लाख कम हैं, हमें लाखों इंजीनियर चाहियें, सात-आठ बरस में लाखों की। बहुत हमारे देश में अब भी बेरोज़गारी है, अनएम्प्लॉयमेंट [unemployment] है लेकिन आप देखेंगे कि कोई इंजीनियर को बहुत कम आप पायेंगे जिसको काम नहीं मिलता, क्योंकि इंजीनियर की बड़ी माँग है देश में। आज ही सवेरे, आज ही दोपहर को जब मैं यहाँ पहुँचा डिबरूगढ़, डिबरूगढ़ के हवाई अड्डे से मैं हेलीकॉप्टर में सोचा चला गया [कि] आपके यहाँ, पास जो आयल इंडिया [Oil India] का शहर छोटा बस रहा है, जहाँ यह तेल निकलता है, वो भेजा जाता

है रिफ़ायनरी, जहाँ वो साफ़ होता है, गोहाटी के पास नूनमती और बरौनी बिहार में जायेगा और वहाँ देखिए कि एक नया शहर बस रहा है। कौन लोग उसे चलाते हैं? सब इंजीनियर लोग, बड़े लोग, छोटे आदमी, अच्छे इंजीनियर दूसरे दर्जे के, तीसरे दर्जे के, सब इंजीनियर हैं, जो मामूली काम करने वाले लोग हैं उनको भी कुछ न कुछ इंजीनियरिंग सीखनी पड़ती है, मैकेनिक बनना पड़ता है, सीखे हुए होते हैं। कोई गिनती भेड़-बकरी की नहीं होती कि इस देश में, करोड़ों आदमी इस देश में तरक्की करेगा, गिनती होती है [कि] इस देश में कितने शिक्षित लोग हैं, कितने सीखे हुए लोग हैं, जिस देश में सीखे हुए लोग अधिक होते हैं वो देश तरक्की करता है। काम करने वाले हैं, आजकल की दुनिया में काम करने वाले हैं, विज्ञान जानते हैं, यंत्र चलाना जानते हैं, टेक्नोलोजी वगैरा यह देखा जाता है और लड़के-लड़कियाँ दोनों, आजकल कोई रह नहीं सकता।

तो यह हमारे सामने बड़े काम हैं और यह एक तरह से दुर्भाग्य हमारा है कि इतने बड़े काम हमारे पास थे जिस वक़्त यह बोझा चीनी आक्रमण का हमारे सामने आया, दूसरी तरह से शायद दुर्भाग्य न हो कि चीन ने हमें जगा दिया, तैयार किया, हमें आगाह किया कि हम छोटी-छोटी बातें अपनी छोड़ दें।

अभी मुख्यमंत्री जी जो आपसे कुछ कह रहे थे मेरे भाषण के पहले, जहाँ तक मैं समझा उनकी आसामी भाषा, उन्होंने कहा कि डिब्रूगढ़ में सब तरह के लोग रहते हैं, भारत के सब प्रान्तों के लोग रहते हैं, डिब्रूगढ़ में तरह-तरह की भाषाएँ हैं, तरह-तरह के धर्म के लोग रहते हैं, एक तरह से डिब्रूगढ़ एक भारत का छोटा सा नमूना है। मैं यह समझा, यह माना और लोगों ने कहा, डिब्रूगढ़ में यह इस चीनी आक्रमण के समय पर इन सब लोगों ने मिलकर बहुत काम किया और बहुत अच्छा जवाब दिया चीनी आक्रमण का, जहाँ तक कोई नगर या कोई हिस्सा दे सकता है। तो मुझे खुशी हुई, जानता था इसको, लेकिन उनके मुँह से सुनकर मुझे खुशी हुई। और आपको चाहिए कि डिब्रूगढ़ है और यह, हल्के-हल्के सारे भारत में यह बात होती जायेगी कि बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बनेंगे, अब कारख़ानों में बड़े-बड़े इंजीनियर आयेंगे। यह हो नहीं सकता बहुत दिन तक कि वहाँ इंजीनियर हों, उसी प्रान्त के हों, सब जगह जहाँ अच्छे इंजीनियर मिलेंगे वो आयेगा, चाहे कहीं का हो, चाहे उसकी भाषा कुछ हो, क्योंकि जब देश की तरक्की करनी है [तो] इस तरह से नहीं हो सकती कि सब लोग अपने जातिभेद की तरह और और प्रदेश की दीवारों में और जाति की दीवारों में रहें, फिर बढ़ेंगे कैसे, जो हिस्सा भारत का ऐसा करेगा वो पिछड़ जायेगा।

तो मुझे खुशी हुई देख के, यहाँ सुनकर [कि] डिब्रूगढ़ में आप सब लोग दूर-दूर से आते हैं, यहाँ काम करते हैं, पहले से भी चाय के बाग़ों में बहुत लोग यहाँ काम करते हैं और प्रान्तों के आ के, और भी आ रहे हैं जैसे यहाँ के लोग और प्रान्तों में जा के काम करें। इस तरह से मिलजुल के एक हम मज़बूत देश बनायेंगे, और कोई चारा नहीं है। एक तो हमारी इच्छा है मज़बूत देश बनाने की, हमारी इच्छा है कि खुशहाल देश हो, सब सारी जनता उठे और ग़रीबी के दबाव में न हो, इच्छा तो है लेकिन हमारी इच्छा न भी होती तब भी हमें वो करना है, क्योंकि यह हम नहीं करते तब देश दुर्बल हो जाता है, देश गिर जाता है, देश की आज़ादी तक निकल जाती है, यह हमारे सामने सवाल है। तो

इन बातों को ज़रा आप दूर से देखें अच्छी तरह से और हमें सोच-समझ के बढ़ना है और ऐसी बातें करनी हैं जिससे देश की मज़बूती बढ़े, शक्ति बढ़े और उसी के साथ देश की आर्थिक हालत भी अच्छी हो।

इसमें जो मानपत्र मुझे मिला उसमें कई बातें लिखी थीं, ठीक लिखी थीं। मैंने कहा आपसे सड़कें वगैरा, कम्युनिकेशन जो कहलाते हैं, हर तरह के, वो बढ़ने चाहियें यहाँ और यह हो रहा है, रेल वगैरा का काफ़ी हो रहा है, सड़कें बहुत बन रही हैं, हवाई जहाज़ के अड्डे भी बन रहे हैं। एक बात उसमें लिखी थी कुछ नेफ़ा [NEFA] के बारे में कि नेफ़ा का संबंध आसाम प्रदेश से अधिक होना चाहिए और वो मिल जाना चाहिए, यह बात बहुत विचार करने की है आपके। मैं आपसे साफ़-साफ़ कहता हूँ कि इस बारे में मेरी राय क्या है और मैं आपको सलाह क्या दूँ? नेफ़ा आसाम का पड़ोसी है और यह ठीक बात है कि इसका संबंध आसाम से करीब से होना चाहिए, मित्रता होनी चाहिए, यह सब ठीक है। उसी के साथ नेफ़ा में बहुत तरह-तरह के सवाल उठते हैं, बड़े कठिन प्रश्न उठते हैं और नेफ़ा ही में अभी चीनी आक्रमण हुआ था और चीनी नेफ़ा ही को अपने नज़रों में दिखाते हैं कि वो चीन का है, इसलिए बड़े नये-नये प्रश्न हैं। इस पिछले दस-बारह बरस में नेफ़ा में बहुत तरक्की हुई है, बहुत मुझे याद नहीं, सैकड़ों स्कूल-कॉलेज भी हैं, स्कूल भी हैं, हाई स्कूल बहुत हैं और बहुत तरह से सहकारी संघ, कोऑपरेटिव बने हैं और आमतौर से तरक्की की है। अब नेफ़ा में बहुत सारे ट्राइबल लोग रहते हैं, तरह-तरह के लोग हैं, एक ट्राइबल नहीं हैं, बहुत हैं, सब बड़े अच्छे हैं, मुझे ट्राइबल लोग पसंद हैं लेकिन ज़रा आसानी से बहक जाते हैं, आसानी से गुस्सा हो जाते हैं, आसानी से बुरा काम करते हैं और ज़रा भी अब ग़लत क़दम उठाया जाये तो उसकी हानि होती है, नेफ़ा से कोई किसी को आमदनी नहीं होती है, देश की, इस समय तो देश का नेफ़ा में खर्च होता है।

तो ऐसी हालत में नेफ़ा का सवाल बहुत पेचीदा है और लोग कहते हैं, बाज़ लोग कहते हैं कि नेफ़ा बिल्कुल आसाम में मर्ज [merge] कर दिया जाये। मैं समझता हूँ [कि] वो नहीं समझे हैं कि नेफ़ा में सवाल क्या है और उसका नतीजा उसके करने का यह हो, अगर ज़बरदस्ती किया जाये कि नेफ़ा को बजाए साथ लाने के और अलग कर देना हो, झगड़ा पैदा करना हो। तो कोई बात नेफ़ा की नहीं हो सकती बगैर नेफ़ा के लोगों की मंजूरी के, ऊपर से दिल्ली में बैठ के या शिलांग में बैठ के हुकुम नहीं चला सकते हैं कि नेफ़ा में यह हो, मर्ज [merge] कर देना, आखिर में जो हम करेंगे वो ऐसी बात होनी चाहिए कि नेफ़ा के लोग स्वीकार करते हैं खुशी से।

यह एक नमूना है, यह एक इम्तिहान करने की बात है। अब मेरे पास आपके यहाँ, अख़बारों में यहाँ कभी-कभी चर्चा होता है [कि] यह हो जाना चाहिए, मर्ज हो जाना चाहिए, जब-जब होता है फ़ौरन मेरे पास नेफ़ा से लम्बे-लम्बे पत्र आते हैं वहाँ की जनता के कि यह नहीं होना चाहिए और वो भड़क जाते हैं, वो पहले आसाम की तरफ़ आते हैं तो वो रुक जाते हैं। यह तो अक्ल की बात नहीं है, यह तो उल्टी बात है, जो करवाना चाहे उसका उल्टा असर होता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि संबंध कई तरह का नेफ़ा का और आसाम का बढ़ना चाहिए, हल्के-हल्के बढ़ना चाहिए, समय आने पर देखा जायेगा क्या हो।

कई बातों में संबंध बढ़ भी सकता है, हम बढ़ायेंगे भी, लेकिन यह बिल्कुल मेरी पक्की राय है कि उसका आसाम में मिला देना इस वक्त आसाम के साथ घोर अन्याय हो और नेफ्रा के साथ अन्याय हो, दोनों के साथ में और बड़े झगड़े पैदा हों, और मुश्किल हो जाये और आसाम को संभालना कठिन हो जाये, और तरह से मिले तो अच्छा है। तो मैंने आपसे कहा, आप समझ लें इसको, क्योंकि आजकल एक तो यों भी यह बात ठीक थी और विशेषकर चीनी आक्रमण हुआ, इस वक्त ऐसे पेच पैदा हुए जहाँ कि ऐसी बात को उठाना अकल की बात नहीं है।

मालूम होता है आपके उठने-बैठने से [कि] वर्षा हो रही है। मैं तो बहुत अच्छी तरह से यहाँ बैठा हूँ, साया में, इसलिए मेरे पास वर्षा नहीं आती है। तो खैर जो कुछ मुझे कहना था आपसे, अब बहुत कुछ कह चुका हूँ। आपने जो यहाँ डिबरूगढ़ में मज़बूती से अपनी सब लोगों ने मिलकर एकता दिखाई, इस चीनी आक्रमण के समय, उसके लिए आपको बधाई। आप देखते हैं और हमारे मानपत्र में भी लिखा है डिबरूगढ़ के पास आसाम की कैसी उन्नति हो रही है, तरक्की हो रही है, उसकी तरफ़ आप ध्यान दें और ऐसी बातें न उठाइये जिससे आपके बोझें बढ़ जायें, आपकी परेशानी बढ़े।

यह तेल आपके यहाँ निकला है, तेल से बहुत आपको लाभ होगा, फ़ायदा होगा और सबमें बड़ी बात यही है कि आप भारत की सीमा हैं, भारत की सरहद हैं और वो सरहद पर हमला हुआ है, उसको कैसे बचायें? अब यह ख़ाली आसाम का काम नहीं है, सारे भारत का काम है, तो उसके लिए हम तैयार हों अपनी एकता मज़बूत करके और छोटे-छोटे झगड़ों को भूलकर। इस तरह से आसाम में बहुत, बहुत, जिसको अंग्रेज़ी में पोटेंशियल [potential] कहते हैं बहुत छिपी हुई है, शक्ति जो निकली, तो उसकी शक्ति बढ़ायें, आर्थिक हालत सुधरे, जैसे तेल निकला है, गैस निकली है उससे बहुत फ़ायदा होता हो। आजकल तो तेल है, लोहा है, कोयला है इन चीज़ों की क़द्र है, सोना-चाँदी तो पिछड़ गये हैं। तो देश बढ़ते हैं कोयले से, तेल से, लोहे से। आपके यहाँ इस वक्त एक बड़ी भारी चीज़ है, तेल है और उससे लोगों को बहुत फ़ायदा होगा, अच्छा हर तरह से, ख़ाली तेल निकलने से पैसा मिलेगा वो नहीं, लेकिन उससे बहुत नये-नये कारख़ाने बनेंगे, नयी-नयी शक्ति बढ़ेगी, यह आपके सामने हैं अगर आप मिलकर उसका सामना करें और अपने को तैयार करें।

अब मैं नहीं चाहता कि आपको और अधिक तकलीफ़ हो, वर्षा होती जाये आप परेशान हों, इसलिए मैं, जो कुछ मुझे आपसे कहना था मैं समाप्त करता हूँ, ख़तम करता हूँ और मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि हमारे, मेरी शुभकामनाएँ आपके साथ वर्षों से हैं, और भी रहेंगी, क्योंकि मैं समझता हूँ आसाम प्रदेश एक सुन्दर प्रदेश है, भले लोग रहते हैं, यहाँ अच्छे लोग, और बहुत कुछ हो सकता है यहाँ अगर ठीक तौर से हम अपनी शक्ति को बटौर के सही कामों में लगायें। तो मैं आशा करता हूँ आप यह करेंगे और आसाम की तरक्की होगी, उन्नति होगी और आप लोग भी आसाम को ख़ुशहाल प्रदेश बनायेंगे।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Governor,¹⁷⁰ Chief Minister,¹⁷¹ Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sisters, Brothers and Children,

I am very happy to be in Dibrugarh today, particularly as I was told that I may not be able to make the trip due to the rains. The weather was bad for flying. Anyhow I am here for two special purposes this time. One is of course to inaugurate the beautiful new bridge on the Brahmaputra. It has been open for some time. But there is [has] to be a formal inauguration.¹⁷² Secondly, I came to pay a visit to some of our posts in the NEFA area. But unfortunately, due to the rains, I could not go there. Neither a helicopter nor an aeroplane can fly there in this weather and I do not have the time to go by road. I had wanted to tour the entire NEFA area within a day and a half. I am sorry that it was not possible. But I was happy to see the bridge on the Brahmaputra complete. It is a beautiful bridge which links the two halves of Assam together. It is a very good thing for Assam as well as India that such a bridge has been built. In the Manpatra just presented to me by Chairman of your reception committee, it is written that travel by road and water, by train and aeroplane and motor car must increase. It is already increasing. This is the first time a bridge has been built on the Brahmaputra. As you know, the Brahmaputra is very dear to us. But sometime it bursts into angry torrents and brings great suffering to us. You have suffered too. I remember I was here at the time of the big flood when the Brahmaputra was so ravenous that it was prepared to swallow half of Dibrugarh, and in fact, did submerge more than one fourth of it. Now that this bridge has been built, the situation may be brought under control. It is a very big step. We are trying to increase the network of trains and roads too, in NEFA and in Assam.

You have mentioned that the steamer service does not cover this place. I do not know very much about that but in any case, it is not under my control. It is a company and the Government of India has no jurisdiction over it. I think cargoes from Pakistan are also carried by it. It would be a very good thing if it could cover Dibrugarh. But it is not in my hands. I agree with you that the means of travel by road, air and water must increase. They are already increasing which is a good thing. We are paying particular attention to the NEFA area.

170. See fn 167 in this section.

171. See fn 168 in this section.

172. See fn 169 in this section.

When I come to Dibrugarh the first thing that comes to mind is the time when the Brahmaputra was swollen with rage and was ready to swallow everything for miles around. The citizens of Dibrugarh and all of us together faced the situation calmly. When a problem like this arises, we cannot run away in panic or give up. It has to be faced squarely [recording indistinct] for that is the only way. It gives us greater self-respect and self-reliance. I think the Brahmaputra treats us with greater respect since then. [Applause] I am reminded of that time because we faced an extremely difficult problem. I could see the river swallowing up the houses in Dibrugarh in front of my eyes and the flood waters were slowly advancing towards the old circuit house where I was staying. A day or two after I left, even that was submerged. Now a new circuit house has been built. But in spite of all the suffering and hardship that the people had to bear, such calamities do some good too, because we learn to face them bravely, we gain strength and confidence from it. A nation gains strength by facing a difficult problem with courage and fortitude.

So when the Chinese suddenly attacked us five to six months ago, we were grieved for various reasons, because it increased our burden enormously and secondly, it was painful to see a country which we had regarded as our friend suddenly turn into an enemy. India and China are the two great countries of Asia and if we fight with one another, or even if we are in a constant state of tension, it does no good for either. It is quite obvious that it is extremely difficult for two great countries like India and China to inflict a crushing and final defeat on each other. Battles may be lost but it is not possible to defeat another country completely. India has always wanted friendly relations with China. We are famous in the world as a peace-loving country and certainly did not want to go to war with anyone as China has compelled us to do now. We are still making preparations to protect ourselves from this danger. A country which succumbs to an external invasion and is unable to defend itself becomes lifeless, and freedom slowly slips away.

So it was impossible for us to bow down before this aggression, no matter how peace loving we are. India stands for peace and we have put our entire weight towards the cause of peace in the world. If there is another world war, it will have terrible consequences. It will destroy our entire civilisation and nobody can escape the effects of a nuclear war. It is a good thing that China does not possess nuclear weapons. But nobody can say when a proliferation may occur among the other powers. The world is a completely ruthless place and there is no place for the weak in it. It is only the strong and the brave who can survive the hazards. This is the lesson that we have learnt from the Chinese aggression. We had been in some confusion earlier and thought that now that we had got freedom, we need not do any more. We got bogged down by our

petty problems and feuds. Then suddenly we realised that freedom is likely to slip away if a nation is not constantly vigilant.

So we woke up and as you may have noticed during the Chinese aggression, all our petty problems and feuds went into the background and the whole country was united against the enemy. There was great enthusiasm and spirit among the people and though the attack took place somewhere in the Himalayas, the effect was felt right down to Kanyakumari. This shows how strong Indian unity is. Any wound inflicted on India's body politic hurts everyone. The blow to the Himalayas induced a fever on the whole of India.

There are many factors which weaken us. But in a crisis we have demonstrated how strong our unity is. So in a way, the Chinese aggression which has been a traumatic experience and will remain a constant source of anxiety in the future, has done some good too. It has made us more vigilant and a wave of unity has spread all over the country. This is a very good thing, for this is how nations are moulded. India was moulded during the freedom struggle under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. We became unified and were moulded by the long and arduous struggle which gave us strength. We must be fully prepared once again for any danger which may threaten us. This is very important.

Now I cannot say how the Sino-Indian border dispute will proceed. I do not know if the Chinese will attack again or not. Our borders are very long, stretching over two thousand five hundred miles and the Chinese have an advantage that they can attack any point. Anyhow, we must be fully prepared to defend our country.

There is another aspect of this problem that you must bear in mind, what was the task that awaited us immediately after India became free? We had to fight a war of a different kind. It was not a war against another country but with our poverty. We wanted that no man in India should be poor or be deprived of the basic necessities of life. We wanted India to become as prosperous and advanced as the West. We do not want to copy anyone but learn what we can from others. We could learn from the West how to remove poverty and raise the standard of living of the people. So we took up the task and embarked upon a new and long struggle for prosperity. You can imagine what an enormous problem it is because India is a very large country. There are forty to forty-four crores of people in the country. It is not enough to set up some industries here and there to raise the standard of living of the people. What is required is to change the forty-five crores of people which is a very difficult thing to do. The country has been in a mire of poverty for centuries. We cannot get money from outside. We can get out of that mire only by working hard and increasing

production in the country. So we adopted the Five Year Plans and implemented them. We are in the midst of the Third Plan.

How does one fight an enemy? It cannot be done by each soldier fighting separately. A war has to be fought by proper planning of strategy. Similarly we came to the conclusion that in order to wage war against poverty we needed planning so that each step can lead smoothly to the next. That is why I am amazed that some people are so opposed to planning. They are annoyed with everything that the Government does. The plans are meant for the development of the country but some people are opposed even to that. They want us to give up planning and to leave everyone to do as they like. I agree that there will be some progress that way too. But the progress will be lop-sided and not uniform. The rich will become richer and the poor poorer. We cannot allow that to happen. In a war against another country, we cannot allow every soldier to fight as he likes. That would be stupid. In tasks of development too we have to utilise the country's resources by careful planning. Otherwise, our resources will be frittered away in useless tasks. This is not a socialist principle. Even the capitalist countries accept it. But there is a new party consisting of Indian capitalists and other reactionary elements which does not like any progressive idea. They want to maintain the status quo. It is true that in some of the other advanced countries too, some people are in favour of the status quo. It seems absurd and wrong to me for it is the surest path to ruin.

India is facing complex problems and difficulties. We talk about raising the standard of living of the people but every year the population of the country is increasing. That is a big burden for there are more mouths to feed, human beings to clothe, provide education, health care and housing for every year. The population is increasing by millions every year and the burden on the exchequer increases proportionately. But it has to be faced. It cannot however be done except by planning. Those who oppose planning are ignorant of the realities of the modern world. The countries which have not taken to planning are facing difficulties, even capitalist countries and particularly economically underdeveloped countries like India. We will be completely submerged by our difficulties.

When the Chinese attack came, we were faced with a great dilemma. Some people felt that our financial burdens would be greatly enhanced by having to fight a war. So the Third Plan should be abandoned or postponed and all our resources should be committed to fighting the war. This may seem very sound but if you think deeply about it, it is positively harmful because it would not increase the nation's strength in any way. We have to face a big power which has not only a very large population but is advanced in the field of science and technology, industries and modern techniques of production. If we do not keep

pace with China and advance, we will remain weak. How can a soldier fight, no matter how brave he is, unless he is backed by the economic strength of the nation and is well supplied with food, arms, ammunition and equipment. We must increase the production of essential consumer goods for they cannot be imported all the time. We will go bankrupt if we try to do that.

How have the western countries become so affluent? They have done so by improving their social and economic condition. The great Industrial Revolution introduced new methods of production and the great advance in science and technology has led to those countries becoming enormously wealthy and powerful. Now if we really wish to become powerful, it can be done only through an all-round development through planning. No country today can become strong if the people are not well educated. Progress in the modern world is not a shopkeeper's job. It requires hard work and a knowledge of modern science and technology of the machine age in which we are living today. It is not enough for a few to have this knowledge. The entire population must do so.

Therefore it is most essential that every single boy and girl in India must get the opportunity for education. Other things follow from that. It is not enough to put up a few industries here and there. Millions of them must come up all over the country. We need lakhs of doctors and engineers and every single individual in the country, man, woman and child must be educated. Other things stem from that. The people must be educated, healthy, capable of hard work and trained in the modern methods of production. The great task that we are facing today is to build a new edifice of India, to retain the old heritage but to give it a new garb so that it can fit into the modern world. If we stick only to the old, we will become weak. That is how we lost to the British. They were a symbol of the new age, the world of science and technology while we were cut off from the outside world and steeped in our petty internal feuds and dissensions, and divided by caste distinctions. We were bothered by trivialities like whom to eat with, who was an untouchable and whom to marry, etc. The world went ahead while we were riddled with the caste system. There was no unity of spirit of nationalism and consequently no progress. How could any nation be worthy of freedom when it had reduced one-fourth of its population to the status of untouchables? You can imagine how unjust and stupid the whole thing was.

We talk about democracy and socialism. What do they imply? They imply equality for everyone in the country. In a sense, we have achieved the goal of political equality. Everyone has the right to vote in India, a millionaire as well as a poor man. But though that is a good thing, to have great disparities of wealth makes this right meaningless. So we need economic democracy which is possible only by reducing the gap between the haves and have notes. We have taken many steps in that direction. For one thing, we have got rid

of the princely states and abolished the zamindari and jagirdari system after independence. The caste system is as much of a hindrance to democracy and socialism as the feudal system was. There can be no nationalism so long as the caste system continues to create barriers among the people and some people are considered superior and others inferior. You must bear this in mind. Gandhiji had laid great emphasis on this. We have a bad name all over the world because of the caste system. Everyone knows that there can be no unity in India because of the hundreds of castes into which the people are divided with all of them fighting against one another. We have got a reputation for internal disunity and dissensions over province, language and other issues.

When I was a child, there was no respect for India anywhere in the world because we were slaves under the British. Then began our struggle for freedom under Gandhiji. It was a great movement which gradually strengthened the unity of the country. Mahatma Gandhi started a campaign against untouchability which was another cause of our bad reputation in the world. Anyhow, gradually we began to be respected in the world. They began to recognise that though we were not free, we were struggling towards freedom. We gained in stature in the world after we became free. But even now, India is respected most because of Gandhiji. It is fourteen to fifteen years since he passed away but the stamp of his personality is upon us still and so the world respects us. One of the reasons for this is also because other countries have seen the tremendous effort that we have been making in the last fourteen to fifteen years to progress. Many things have happened during this time which has enhanced our strength and respect for India has grown.

You will find that in the last fifteen years, many countries have become free from colonialism in Asia and Africa. If you look at the map, you can compare the condition of all those newly independent countries and India. [Recording indistinct] India is progressing and there is a stable government here. It is not possible for coups and revolts to take place in India as it is happening all around us. Such things are signs of backwardness. Only when you compare the situation in all these countries can you have an idea about what is happening in India.

I agree that a great deal has happened in India in the last fifteen years. But a great deal remains to be done. I think however that we have laid the foundations of the edifice of new India which we can gradually build. There is no doubt in my mind that India's economic condition will improve and the children of today will grow up in a better world with greater opportunities which are not available today. I feel very sad when I see our little children particularly in the villages, not being properly looked after, with not enough to eat, no proper clothes or education, etc. The children are our greatest treasure. If we do not look after them properly, what sort of a future will our country have? After all, a country

is not made of brick and mortar but of people. It is the people who have to do the work. We may make mistakes and there are weaknesses among us. There is disunity among the people. We must try to understand our weakness and get rid of them and foster unity. These are the problems that have to be faced at all times. We cannot give up the basic tasks whether there is Chinese aggression on the borders or something else. We cannot combat external threat merely by sending forces. We have to strengthen India's unity and complete our plans. No matter what the burden is, we have to do both. Our first and foremost duty is of course to defend the country, and secondly, we must improve our economic condition by increasing production from land, from the industries and factories. It is not gold or silver which is wealth but the goods that are produced in the country. United States is a very rich country. That does not mean that there are great treasure troves there. It means that every year they produce enormous amounts of goods from land and factories in the United States by means of their newly acquired knowledge of science and technology, skilled and trained human beings and new machines.

Trained human beings are extremely important apart from education. The masses must have education. Then the bright ones must be given special higher education and training in engineering, medicine, etc. There are about a lakh and fifty thousand engineers in India. But we will need lakhs of them in the next seven to eight years. There is a great deal of unemployment even now in India. But you will find very few engineers without jobs because there is a great demand for them in the country. When I reached Dibrugarh this afternoon, I went by helicopter straight to the small township which is coming up near the oil refinery, in Noonmati. There is another refinery in Bihar, at Barauni. It is engineer of all kinds who run the refinery. Even the ordinary workers and mechanics have to learn some engineering. The greater is the number of skilled and trained human beings, the greater the pace of progress in a country. It is not the size of the population which contributes to a country's progress. What counts is the number of educated and trained, hardworking people there are in a country. We cannot do without trained human beings who know science, technology and the use of machines, etc.

So this is a big task that we are facing today. In a sense, it is our misfortune that the Chinese aggression has imposed an even greater burden upon us. On the other hand, the Chinese attack has jolted us out of our lethargy, prepared us for the future and warned us not to be bogged down in petty issues.

Just now the Chief Minister told you in Assamese, as far as I could understand, that people from all provinces of India live in Dibrugarh, people following different religions, speaking different languages. In a sense, Dibrugarh is a miniature India. I have been told that the people of Dibrugarh had worked

in great unity and cooperation in combating the Chinese aggression, as far as it is possible for a city to do so. I was very happy to hear this and hope that it will gradually spread to the whole country. India is rapidly getting industrialised and engineers will be required to run them. It is not possible to adhere for very long to the rule that they should belong to the state where the industries are. The best qualified engineers will be recruited, irrespective of their state and language. But when a country is progressing, it cannot let the barriers of caste, province and language exist among the people. The parts of India which do this will remain backward.

So I was happy to hear about what is happening in Dibrugarh. You have come from different parts of India, from far and wide. People come here to work in the tea gardens. Similarly, people from here must go to other provinces in search of work. This is the only way to build a strong and united nation. There is no other alternative. We want to build a strong and prosperous nation, free from the pressures of poverty. We have to do this whether we want to or not, for the country will be weakened and our freedom will slip away. You must consider these problems in a farsighted way and do everything we can to strengthen the country and at the same time, improve its economic condition.

The manpatra which has been presented to me contains many demands which are, I am sure, quite justified. As I said, the means of communication and travel must increase. We are already building roads and railway tracks and airports, etc. One of the demands is that NEFA must be merged with Assam. You must give it very serious thought. I shall tell you quite clearly what my views in the matter are and what my advice to you is. NEFA is a neighbour of Assam and it is right that there should be close links and friendship between the two states. At the same time, all kinds of different problems are cropping up in NEFA. Recently it was where the Chinese had launched their attack. China shows NEFA as part of Chinese territory in their maps. This raises new and difficult problems. There has been great progress in the last ten to twelve years in NEFA. I do not remember exactly but there are hundreds of schools and some colleges, cooperative societies, etc. Now there is a large tribal population too in NEFA. I like the tribal but they get easily carried away by their passions and indulge in wrongful activities. So if we take even one wrong step. It can do great damage. NEFA does not yield any profits though we are spending a great deal of money in that area.

In short, the NEFA presents very complex problems. When some people say that it should be merged with Assam, I feel that they have failed to understand what the NEFA problem is. The only result of any coercion would be to create more dissensions rather than to link NEFA with Assam. Nothing can be done in NEFA without the consent of the people of that area. We cannot pass orders

from the top, from New Delhi or Shillong, to merge NEFA with Assam. We will do only what the people of NEFA accept willingly.

This is a test case in a sense. There are frequent discussions in the newspapers that NEFA should be merged with Assam. Whenever this happens, I got long letters from the people of NEFA saying that it should not be done. Their emotions are incited and the process of integration is halted. This is not a sensible thing to do. I feel that links between Assam and NEFA should be forged in various ways and later on when the time comes, we can see what should be done. We will try to increase the contacts between the two provinces in every way. But it is my firm conviction that a merger between Assam and NEFA will be an injustice to both and will create great chaos and problems. It will be difficult to control the situation. You must understand quite clearly that contacts must be established in other ways. It is not wise to bring up the subject of merger at a time when NEFA is beset with complex problems.

It seems to be raining. I am under cover. Well, anyhow, I have said a great deal already. I congratulate you on the way you confronted the Chinese aggression. As the manpatra mentions, there is progress in Assam, in Dibrugarh. You must pay attention to that and not raise any issues which will increase your burdens and problems.

Oil has been discovered in Assam which will bring great prosperity to the state. You are a border province which faces the threat of external aggression. The task of protecting and defending our borders belongs not only to Assam but to the whole country. We must be prepared for it by fostering unity and forgetting the petty feuds which weaken us. A great hidden potential has come to light in Assam which will bring great prosperity. In the modern age, it is things like oil, steel and coal which are in great demand. Gold and silver take a back seat. Oil is a precious commodity which Assam possesses. It will lead not only to economic prosperity but to industrialisation and new sources of energy. You must prepare yourselves to meet these new demands.

I do not want to put you to any more trouble in this rain. So I shall stop now. My good wishes will always remain with you. I think Assam is a very beautiful state and the people are good with great potential for progress if they channelise their energies in the right direction. I hope you will do this and Assam will progress and become a prosperous state.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

Madras and Pondicherry Tour

49. In Madras: To the Rubber Research Centre¹⁷³

Chief Minister,¹⁷⁴ Mr Cherian,¹⁷⁵ Mr Hoffman¹⁷⁶ and Friends,
 Ever since this morning, when I got up in Delhi, every newspaper that I have opened had had a full page advertisement. That has followed me to Madras too. I found that here also, an advertisement repeating what I said elsewhere about research and the importance I attach to research, and how since independence we have laid great stress on research. That is true, because we do think that research is not only very important in itself but it cultivates, or helps to cultivate, a kind of mind which is desirable, a searcher's mind, an active mind, searching whatever he may search for. It is a part of the truth. I think in Sanskrit it is called *jigyasa*, that is searching, and that is ultimately the scientific mind, searching always, trying to find out the reason, the cause of things, the path of the truth, and in doing so, never being quite satisfied with what you have got, or have the feeling that you have achieved everything but that you have always got to achieve, to go ahead. So research is a word which moves me, it gives me all kinds of perspectives in my mind, in the larger sense of the word. Research is good, no doubt, for an industry and that is good, but I look upon it as something more than that, as something leading a community or a country forward, or humanity forward in its march towards the goals they have. Therefore, when I was invited to come here for the inauguration or the foundation stone laying of this Rubber Research Centre,¹⁷⁷ I gladly agreed. I should confess that part of the reason which made me agree was also the fine record of Mr Cherian and his family in the business they have undertaken, and so I am here and presently I shall perform my allotted task in connection with this foundation stone ceremony.

I am glad, apart from other things, I am glad that I have been given this opportunity to come here today for an entirely different reason, because this has enabled me to pass through parts of Madras City which I have never been to before and see large numbers of people. I am interested in human beings, in humanity, naturally like everyone else, one likes seeing pleasant, happy, cheerful

173. Speech, 12 June 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes TS No. 10782, NM No. 1886.

174. K. Kamaraj.

175. K.M. Cherian, Chairman, Madras Rubber Factory.

176. James H. Hoffman, President, Mansfield Tyre Company, Ohio, the partner.

177. The centre was sponsored by Madras Rubber Factory at Tiruvoyyur near Madras. See *The Hindu*, 14 June 1963, p. 6.

faces, and I had occasion to do that in the case of very large numbers of persons during my long drive through this part of the city. Coming to Madras from time to time, I get the impression of a State that is advancing on many fronts, that is a life that is dynamic and changing, which is a pleasant impression, and I believe not merely an impression but it is a record of fact, and I should like to congratulate the people of Madras on it, because no single person or a group or even a government can do it unless the people themselves cooperate and support it. But still I should like to congratulate the Government of Madras under the distinguished leadership of Shri Kamaraj. I would wish that something like this dynamism and spirit of enterprise and growth was common all over India, in other States also. I do not mean to say that all the other States are slow moving or lagging behind. Some are going faster than others, naturally, but there is something in Madras State which appeals to me in regard to this matter, and something right far north, on the other side of India, in the Punjab State, which is also very enterprising and very progressive and quickly moving. It is not so much the good leadership the people get that is important, but rather the capacity for work which the general people have. They work hard in the Punjab, they work hard here, and they work hard intelligently. The work we have got to do in India is tremendous and while we may argue about various policies and methods, essentially it depends on hard work. No policy has yet been devised which does away with hard work and enables you to achieve a great deal without work. I am not sure that it will be good to devise such a policy. So if we are to achieve anything worthwhile we should work for it and feel that is a result of our labour.

So I am glad to be here today, because it is a research centre that we are opening, because this is an addition to the industrial progress of Madras State and because it is good for India, and I congratulate all those who are connected with this undertaking, and I hope that in carrying it forward they will always keep the large interest in view, the larger interests of the nation, the interests of the workers who work here, so that this may be some kind of a joint enterprise in which all share and all have a sense of partnership. If this is so it will prosper all the more and do good to itself and to the nation.

Thank you. [Applause]

50. In Madras: Public Meeting¹⁷⁸

Friends and Comrades,

Day before yesterday I was in the far North-East of India not far from the borders of Burma. The three days I have been round about there,¹⁷⁹ I wanted to go right up to our frontier with Tibet; or near it, but unfortunately, owing to heavy rains, it was difficult to do so. A few days later, after my return from Madras, I shall go to Kashmir. Traversing these big distances for a thousand of nearly two thousand miles, the whole panorama of India comes up before me with its tremendous variety and at the same time its basic unity.

[China]

Shri Kamaraj¹⁸⁰ just referred to the Chinese aggression. And particularly mentioned the wonderful response of the country to that aggression; the feeling of unity and the feeling of facing the aggressor unitedly. I passed through Madras just before that Chinese aggression took place last October. I was coming back from Ceylon, and I spent a day or so I think here.¹⁸¹ Soon after my return to Delhi came news of the massive Chinese attacks. You know that particular phase shocked us and affected us greatly, the whole country. The Chinese have nibbled at our territory, in Ladakh and elsewhere and caused us a good deal of annoyance; but this was a massive attack which could only have been brought about by months or possibly years of preparation; and everyone wondered, many people ask me, many foreigners ask me this question; why have the Chinese done this? Well, there were many answers which we could put forward, no one by itself was perhaps adequate; but it was odd for any reason of an explanation why the Chinese whom we had befriended should do something which would be bad enough towards a hostile country, much worse towards a country which has befriended you. Why have they paid such little attention or care to the friendship of India? I cannot prepare to answer that, but I would say that it would seem hardly likely that they would sacrifice that friendship for a little or big piece of territory. The cause must have been deeper.

178. Speech, 12 June 1963, on the Marina Beach. NMML, AIR TS No. 10783, 10784, 10785, NM No. 1887, 1890, 1888.

179. See items 46-48.

180. K. Kamaraj, Chief Minister of Madras.

181. In fact, Nehru stopped over for night in Madras on 12 October, proceeded to Ceylon on 13 October and returned to Delhi on 16 October 1962, see SWJN/SS/79/items 245 and 206.

Possibly the cause was that they disliked India and how she was functioning and how she was progressing under a democratic set-up. It came in the way of their ideological outlook of the world. You know at the present moment there is a fierce conflict, ideological conflict, between China and the Soviet Union, about their interpretation of communist philosophy or Marxism-Leninism. If they can be so bitter about this ideological conflict, between different interpretations of communism, how much more bitter perhaps they felt against India which talked about democracy and democratic socialism. It may be that that they wanted to destroy or to damage the image of India in the world which came in the way. Because it is a fact that India was influencing to a considerable extent the newly emerging countries of Asia and Africa and this was not liked by China, by China as at present paying great attention to these new countries, especially in Africa, as well as in Asia.

Whatever the reason might have been, it brought about a vast impact on the Indian mind. The Indian mind is not exactly the mind of a pacifist; it has not been that; nevertheless it has been a peaceful mind conditioned by Gandhi and after and although we prepared as much as we can, partly where it was urgently needed buying material from abroad, but chiefly by increasing our defensive apparatus, our armies and air force and other defence forces. We were always conscious of the fact that the more we spent on defence, the less we had for our development and ultimately the strength of defence lies in a developed, industrialised community. Otherwise armies and air forces fed from abroad are useful for the time being but do not represent the strength of the nation; unless they are produced in the country; unless they have an industrial base in the country. So we spent much more on our Five Year Plans and thought much more of them, not because we were not conscious of the importance of defence but because we felt that defence can only be real and effective based on a country which was industrialised and which was producing all its necessary goods, even for warfare.

Frankly, we were not happy about much that was happening in Tibet; on our borders but we did not expect any kind of major attack by the Chinese as they actually did. When this attack came therefore, it came as a very painful shock, and we have lived under the shock for the last few months. Naturally our reaction was to strengthen our defensive apparatus produced in this country. That was the only effective way because even two or three days after this attack by the Chinese in October, I broadcast on AIR and I said that we have a long struggle before us which may last for many years. I think I mentioned five years. This was in October last.¹⁸² I did not mean that there shall be a war for five years

182. See SWJN/SS/79/item 259.

between China and India continuously. I meant that the menace was there; and we have to prepare for it and this may last for many years. I still think so. I do not, I repeat, say that there would be actual fighting going on the frontier but there would always be the menace of fighting or an attack there. And we cannot always live under that menace without preparing to meet it. Therefore we have inevitably to meet it whatever our different policies might be.

There are ways of meeting it, which depend on certain policies but broadly speaking I think it is clear and without any suspicion and doubt that the right way to meet it militarily is to produce the goods in India and not merely to rely on goods that are bought by us from elsewhere or given as aid from elsewhere. In a moment of high emergency one takes help where one can and we are grateful that some help came to us from the United States, from the United Kingdom and some other countries, even in October-November. But our essential needs were big and they could not be satisfied by a little help that can be rushed through. Other help would no doubt come. And we are grateful to those countries who help us. But the fact of the matter is that all the help in the world coming from abroad does not take the place of what you can provide for yourself or produce for yourself. It means that you are always dependent on an external source which may fail you at a moment; even spares may not be available. You may get big machines or big aircraft and they may fail you because a little thing is lacking. Obviously it is not a very sure method of defence. You can depend upon it to some extent but the basic defence must be such as is based on the production of the country. Therefore we come back to the old idea that defence itself necessitates an industrial base in the country. In other words defence necessitates the growth of agriculture, industry etc., in the country, and the fulfillment, implementation of the Five Year Plan, possibly going beyond that. That is why we decided that whatever the danger in the country may be and whatever we may have to spend on defence, we shall nevertheless go on with our development schemes as laid down in our Five Year Plan. It may mean varying them here and there for special purposes.

Now, many people have criticised us and condemned us for our failure to meet the Chinese when they attacked us. They are entitled to criticise us of course. But if I may say so with all respect, it is not a very intelligent criticism. Because they must realise and appreciate the various factors that confronted us and our own difficulty in functioning as a purely military state, as China does. First of all we are not an authoritarian military state, we cannot force all the people of India, regiment them as China can do and has done. Secondly, as I have just stated, strength comes from industrialisation, and we are after that. If we turned our resources towards militarisation, industrialisation would have suffered and the real strength of building up strength would have become

slower. Thirdly, we could not go in that big way towards militarisation or strengthening our defences as we are doing today, without the shock that we have received from the Chinese attack. Imagine two years ago, a year ago, our Finance Minister¹⁸³ bringing a Budget as he did this year. There would have been an outcry against him. Imagine our trying to spend or doubling our military expenditure or more than doubling it what the result would be? There would have been condemnation and attacks all round the country. Or imagine our going abroad to other countries asking them for aid for our defence. We might have got something; we certainly would not have got anything very much. All this has taken place because of the impact of the Chinese invasion, impact on us, impact on the rest of the world. So that if we had thought—two, three, four, five years ago or more—of diverting our energies completely to military purposes, I do not think it would have been wise. Even thinking now, I do not think it would have been wise for us to do it. Because of it our development would have suffered. But apart from that we could not have raised the money from here or from abroad unless this crisis which came after the Chinese attack.

However, I am not going into the reasons for that or justifying myself or my government. No doubt we made many mistakes, and we are always making mistakes and are prepared to admit them. We do not think that we do not make mistakes. We do think we work honestly for the causes we have at heart. In doing so we make mistakes. And dealing with a vast country like India it is exceedingly difficult to have a clear and straightforward course which does not change.

Anyhow this Chinese attack and invasion has shocked us and put us on alert and made us realise above all that whatever our internal difficulties or controversies or petty arguments might be the major question is of defending India. Because, if we cannot defend India properly, then what else follows? We have nothing left to defend. Gradually it slips away from us. Therefore it was a wonderful sight, after the Chinese attack in October-November, to see the reaction in India, the reaction and feeling of unity, feeling of standing up to that challenge of China and meeting it effectively.

Reaction, which exhibited itself also in, by and large, people accepting the very heavy burdens which our Finance Minister put forward in his budget. That showed a certain strength in the nation, a certain basic unity in the nation which some people, including the Chinese, did not know or realise. They thought that they would frighten us by an attack and India go to pieces almost. And so they were greatly surprised to find that the reaction was the opposite, as it had to be

183. Morarji Desai.

in a living nation. That is a very big problem before us, on which basically all people agree, all people of India that we have to defend.

There are some differences on how we should do it. Differences, as far as I know, some people in the name of Swatantra Party, maybe some other groups, think that the best way to defend ourselves is to cast the burden of defence on others. Let them defend ourselves. Well, as I said, in a moment of emergency and crisis, we take help wherever we can. Even in October we appealed to almost all the nations in the world, pointing out what the Chinese had done and asking for their support and help and sympathy. We went to them regardless of what the countries were, and what policies they pursued, whether they were capitalist or communist or socialist, all of them we appealed to. And most of them sent replies expressing their sympathies and sometimes support. That is all right. And as I said, we did receive support and aid or are receiving support and aid from some countries, notably the United States of America and the United Kingdom. But for us almost to give up in our minds the bounden duty of the country to take the burden of defence on itself and cast it on others seems to me a sign of weakness, seems to me a hurt to the spirit and soul of the nation which no nation ought to tolerate if it has real life and strength in it. It is one thing to take the help of others and it is another thing to give up the job and hand it over to another person. It is sure, if the country does that, it is on the way to losing its freedom of action and actual freedom. Even great empires like the Roman Empire, you will remember, began to weaken when they grew soft and they employed foreign armies to defend themselves. So I cannot understand this argument advanced by some people, our asking other countries to defend us. This exhibits, it seems to me, a complete lack of confidence in our own people, and that is a very bad way of approaching any question. How long will the others defend us? What will be the price that we pay? Not in hard cash but otherwise of handing over our defence to others. These are the questions that arise.

Personally, knowing full well the strength and weakness of India, both, I do not think that India is so weak that it cannot stand up to any invader, that it cannot meet the challenge. It will have difficulties, grave difficulties but it is only thus that the nations are made. A nation that does not stand up to face these difficulties loses its right ultimately to be a nation, living under somebody else's protection or umbrella and it is no good enough, that shocks me, to think that we cannot. I said it is foolish thing to say but it shows the way I was thinking. I said that if we did not have any modern weapons, I will fight the invader with sticks and lathis but not give in. That is, as I said, a foolish thing to say of fighting aeroplanes with lathis and all that. But it does represent the spirit that I want the nation to have; not to give in, not to surrender, whatever happens.

And I do not think that it is exceedingly difficult. It is hardly a possible thing for an enemy, however big it may be, and powerful, to suppress India completely. Battles come and go, battles are won and lost, but to defeat India completely I think it is astoundingly difficult to do. I do not believe all the Chinese in the world can do it. [Applause] That does not mean of course that we should brag about our strength and spirit, but strength does come from a certain feeling which the people of a country have, a certain unity, a certain holding together, a certain decision that they would never submit to an invader whatever happens. That is a tremendous thing. Of course that has to be supported by modern weapons, modern arms, and all that. But the essential thing is the spirit. I would rather have the spirit and no arms than arms and no spirit because it is that that ultimately counts in the making of a nation. All the arms in the world given to weak kneed and confused individuals fearing every time that somebody will put down them is not good enough. Apart from that, looking at the texture of the world as it is, it is not an easy matter for the Chinese, however strong they might be, to defeat India in a final sense. Just as it is not an easy matter for us to defeat China in a final sense. These are two huge countries. One may suffer defeats in battles, but to defeat the country is more than a defeat in a battle. And neither country can do that to the other. Of course, in such circumstances the right course is not to waste their energies, those countries, in fighting each other without achieving much result. That would apply to any fight, any war.

We want peaceful ways of solution to every conflict, we have stood for that, we still stand for that. And you will remember, that even to the Chinese, after their affront they made to us, we have offered peaceful conditions for settling it. We have offered, The Hague International Court of Justice, we have offered eminent persons to arbitrate. They have not agreed to these. So we have pursued our own thinking of peaceful methods even in the face of this affront. Because we realised that that is the only way and it is not right for us to offer advice to other countries and not follow it ourselves. But the fact remains that while we do that, we realise that the only way to stand up to such a menace is to strengthen oneself and one's country and even the advice we offer is more likely to be accepted if it comes from strength and not from weakness, for weakness is an invitation to disaster. So that is the position so far as China is concerned. I do not know, because it lies with the aggressor to decide when to commit aggression. What they will do? I have said that it is not likely in the near future that they will again commit aggression or invade India. But I cannot guarantee it. And so anyhow we have to spend our energy and money in increasing our defence apparatus, whether in the land or in the air, and we are doing it. We are helped in that considerably by other countries. And I might say that while we have been helped by the United States and

by the United Kingdom, we have been helped indirectly and to some extent directly by the Soviet Union also. And the help of the Soviet Union had been particularly welcome to us because it showed that we were not approaching this question as the members of any power bloc but rather from the point of view of defending ourselves against aggression, whoever might commit that aggression. The Soviet Union, because of its alliance with China, has been undoubtedly gravely embarrassed by this turn of events on the Indian border. Nevertheless they have expressed on many occasions their sympathy with us in this matter and they have continued to help us chiefly in regard to our economy and have promised to go on helping and giving it an industrial base. We are therefore, very grateful to the Soviet Union. Because Soviet Union apart from being a great power, is also one of our neighbours and it made a great deal of difference to us what attitude the Soviet Union might or might not take. Above all, the attitude of the Soviet Union makes it clear to everybody that our policy of non-involvement in military blocs was and is the right policy.

I might remind you that most countries and newly independent countries in Asia and Africa have automatically and naturally have adopted the policy of non-involvement, in various degrees. They may not be quite clear in their minds what it means, but they have all felt the attraction of that idea. It is natural to us, it came as development of our own policy even before independence, even before there were two huge blocs facing each other. We thought in those terms of friendship with all nations and not tying ourselves up in military alliances. And if as some people suggest in India that we should give up this policy of non-involvement, it would mean not only uprooting ourselves from our own thinking and policies which have strengthened us in the past and brought great respect from other countries, not only cutting ourselves off from friends like the Soviet Union, which have stood by us even in times of their embarrassment and difficulty, it would mean our cutting ourselves off from the emerging Africa and Asia. Where would we be for a mess of pottage, for a few arms, and a few aeroplanes and other armaments and selling our soul and spirit as an independent nation, as a nation which should make its own choices and decisions? Doing that it is astounding to me that any individual with the slightest spark of independence in him should even think of this kind of thing. All I can think is that it is only due to lack of confidence in our own people and oneself, getting cold feet like this.

We live in a revolutionary age and highly changing age—chiefly revolutionary because of the industrial and scientific developments and their consequences on other matters. And no man can say what will happen and what will not happen. There is always a danger of a big scale war, of nuclear war. That would be a terrible thing. And we have throughout stood against war and

pleaded peace all over the world, in the United Nations, and elsewhere. We have pleaded for the ban on test explosions, for putting an end to all nuclear weapons, and for full disarmament. We have felt that is the only way for the world to survive quite apart from our individual interests. We do not have to disarm much or anything like that.

We have done that, and because we have done that we have come to be known in the world over as peacemakers, as spreading the idea of peace everywhere. We may have been called foolish here and there but we have been respected. We have had an individuality, before the world, and we have become a certain symbol. People have tried to destroy that symbol because it counted for much, by talking about Goa—what we did in Goa or Kashmir—but you know very well that that has no application to those examples. Only those who are out to harm us say those things or those who do not understand. So we have been these emblems of peace to the war-torn, wrecked world.

And it has been no small matter to us that we who have stood for peace should now after the Chinese invasion have to turn our energies to preparation for war. There was no doubt in our minds, we had to do it, but it has been a painful thing all the same, painful in the sense that it encourages the forces of war all over the world and discourages the forces of peace. Yet the fact remains that the basic question before the world is peace and not war, and we hold to that belief completely in spite of Chinese invasion or anything else. And we shall yet continue and endeavour to work for peace in the world to the best of our ability.

Of course so far as China is concerned, if they attack us we shall fight them, fight them to the uttermost, because we shall not submit. But in that you must distinguish the two things. We are not becoming a militarist nation in the world and out for war at all costs everywhere. We seek peace and we think that there will be no peace in the world without avoiding war and all its consequences. But it is a different matter to defend our territory when it is attacked by China or any other country. That is in so far as that is concerned.

[Defence Preparedness]

But you will realise that defence is not a matter of arms or aircraft or armies only. It is a question of the background. Where the supplies come from? Where the weapons came from? Where the aircraft and the ammunition are produced? It becomes important therefore, to produce them. That is the best preparation, industrial production of these things that we need, agricultural production, because that is very important in war time, we cannot allow agricultural production to go down. And even apart from that it is the most important

problem for us to increase our agricultural production. Only that can give us the strength to industrialise. That is all important for the war but behind that comes even a more important thing, the morale of the nation, the unity of the nation.

A nation whose morale is low is no good, it does not matter what weapons you give him. A nation which is not united loses itself in petty quarrels and cannot face the menace of an enemy together. That is of vast importance. We saw the reaction immediately after the Chinese attack. It is a good reaction. It cheered us. Well as I said, it is perhaps worthwhile having the Chinese attack India in order to see this fine reaction in this country. While that is true, you will see that as actual fighting stopped on our border and the Chinese withdrew in Assam and in the North East Frontier Province, gradually we have been drifting back into the old atmosphere, of petty controversies and petty internal troubles. I do not mean to say that people should put an end to all arguments and controversies, but there is a way of doing it. Even this question of preparations for war etc., defence preparations, contain an element of controversy. And that feeling of unity that we saw is hardly there. The chief thing is to utilise this disaster merely as a stick to beat the government with. Well the opposition or anybody is entitled to do that. But I have a feeling that all that has little reality behind it. These are political manoeuvres and political advantages sought to be taken. Well whatever they may be there they are, and we have to put up with them. But I merely wanted to point out how easily people and parties are apt to forget the major issues before the country, the menace to the country, and to seek some political advantage, exploit the situation.

[Recent By-elections]

Recently you know that there has been great acclamation in the ranks of some opposition parties because of some successes in certain by-elections in Uttar Pradesh,¹⁸⁴ one in Rajkot. And one might almost say that they have become rather intoxicated by it, quite drunk over it, with the result that it has been difficult from them to see straight what has happened. Now they have every right to feel pleased with the result of an election that they have won, and speaking as a Congressman, I think it is a defeat of the Congress in those particular parts, whatever the reasons for it might be. But people seem to forget that in the course of the large number of elections we had in the last few months the great majority of those by-elections have been won by the Congress. [Applause] Everywhere, all over in Bengal, it was an overwhelming victory, in Uttar Pradesh most of them have been won, and elsewhere in Madhya Pradesh

184. In Amroha and Farrukhabad.

too, and now on arrival here I heard of some of the by-elections in the Madras State, [Applause] that also must be remembered.

Now I am merely pointing out how this self-intoxication of some of the opposition parties leads them to amazing conclusions. I receive demands from them “resign” because they have won one or two by-elections. I shall resign when one or two things happen. One is when I feel myself I ought to resign, and second is when the public generally makes it clear that they want me to resign. Obviously I am not, I have no desire, to stick on to any office, it is a great burden, terrible one at times. It is only because I feel that I might be wrong in that feeling, that by continuing at this juncture I can do some good, some service to the country [Applause]. I hope, it is very difficult for one to say, I hope it is no desire on my part to hold on to power or authority. Because power as was said by a famous historian,¹⁸⁵ has a corrupting influence; I cannot say, it is for you to judge how far it has corrupted me. [Laughter]

[Socialism]

But I have come in to politics, I came in slightly over fifty years ago. I joined the Congress Party, the Congress organisation, fifty one years ago. And over since then, more or less, I have been connected with it, in fact more, rather than less till a few years later I threw myself in the movement with all the strength and energy that I had. Why did I do so? Well I did so as most others did so, because it became intolerable to me to think of India under alien rule. I wanted freedom for India. But more and more as I worked for the freedom of India the question came before me, the question of freedom came before me in the guise not only of the elimination of the British rule from India, but in the guise of social and economic changes in India. I saw this country with its terrible poverty and it became an intolerable burden and obsession that this thing should continue, How to remove the poverty of India? How to make India grow? I came to the conclusion that the only way to do so, the only basic way was to take advantage of modern science and modern industry, both in agriculture and industry, and many other things. I came to the conclusion that the society should be organised on a largely socialistic basis—I am not saying this in any doctrinaire sense—and that some people should not exploit others to their advantage. That it should be open to all, the doors of opportunities should be opened to all and not denied to those who have less or not enough. That was not so in India. So generally the ideas of socialism took possession of me as

185. John Dalberg-Acton (1834-1902), customarily described as just Lord Acton, famous for his aphorism: “Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.”

they did of vast numbers of others in India. In the Congress certainly. And our general talk in Congress long before the independence was on socialistic lines. I wrote about it, we argued about it, we passed resolutions. When India became free we had to write our Constitution. We did not use the word socialism but we used the broader words social justice, in the Constitution. The Constitution was meant to bring about, assure social justice. A few years later by the resolutions of the Lok Sabha we used actually the word socialism. And of course the Congress had done so previously. And I want to make it clear that socialism is not some thin academic policy, professional policy for me to argue. I am not thinking of any dogmatic form of socialism, but the essence of socialism which I firmly believe in, and believe in with all the passion in me, that has kept me going and that will keep me going to the end, as long as I have any strength and energy left. And I am amazed that people should talk in terms of attacking socialism, attack planning, attack everything, with no effective alternative.

Take the Swatantra Party which opposes almost everything that we do, whether it is foreign policy on non-involvement or internal policy or any socialist pattern of society, or national planning or anything, almost everything that we do. What exactly they stand for in spite of great efforts I have been unable to understand except that they stand for what might be said—the state doing less and less to encourage change and everything being left to private enterprise and hoping for the best that everything will turn out well. That I think is a pernicious and abominable doctrine. I use strong words. And it is a doctrine which intelligent men all over the world have given up. Even capitalist countries have given it up, in their entirety.

I do not say they have become socialist but in the purity of their doctrine they have given it up. Even in the United States of America which is the greatest capitalist country, social controls have come in more and more, in some ways they are much more than in India today. In Europe there are several socialist countries, others are semi-socialist. It is a wind all over the world, this wind is blowing. You must know that only a short while ago, the late Pope, who died a few days ago, a great and good man, he issued a few months ago an encyclical.¹⁸⁶ That encyclical is most interesting, coming from the head of the Roman Catholic Church, which is not by any means considered socially revolutionary. Yet in that he pointed out that social changes are necessary, social justice is necessary, social controls are necessary—he did not use the word socialism, but many of the things that come under the head of socialism were referred to by him in other terms. Because that is the thinking of that world, that is the language of the world, that is the wind that blows all over the world.

186. Pope John XXIII, who died on 3 June 1963, issued an encyclical, see item 122.

But unfortunately in India, some people live in such an ivory tower that they are unconnected with the people, over the skies or the heavens of the skies, and remain as in Sanskrit mythology Trishanku, I think, remain between the heaven and earth. [Laughter] I do not understand this. It is not a question of Party or not Party, it is a question of let us argue, we may be wrong in the form we give, but these are basic things. Are we to permit the exploitation of the people by a small number? Whether it is in industry or agriculture. Are we to go back to the old big landlord system? Are we to go back to the old princely system? I can understand the remains of the princely system supporting Swatantra Party, because they do not like the changes that are happening, although they have been treated with remarkable generosity by the Government and by the Constitution.

However what I would like is the good life for our people. A good life is possible today for every human being because science and industry and technology can produce enough for every human being. The good life, at least financially a good life, has been achieved in the Western advanced countries. I do not say that they have a good life because they have other things lacking. There is a certain ethical and moral basis which is essential for a good life. They may want that, that is a different matter. But from the point of view of financial resources, these countries have provided all the essential amenities for the human being. And this can be done all over the world. And therefore we want a way to it and we feel, I feel, that the only possible way is a way conforming to social justice, a way broadly speaking coming within the ambit of socialism. It need not be a doctrinaire socialism, that is for us to determine in the circumstances of India. And any other way will at the present moment—I am not talking about the past history—any other way is just not possible in India, that will bring wrack and ruin and conflict all over.

And I am prepared to argue this, let us discuss it, it's no good damning and condemning each other. Let us discuss it, let us have alternatives, an alternative is not merely to say this is bad, it must positively and constructively put out a scheme. We tried to put it out, all our planning is putting forward a constructive scheme of doing things with agriculture, with industry, education, etc. etc. because it affects all the aspects of national life. And let that be criticised. I do not say that all that we have put forward must be done, must be right, we make mistakes, we are constantly learning. I welcome that. But it is no good merely to say that government is bad and government is corrupt, as if corruption is the monopoly of government and nobody else. We all want corruption to go, we fight against it. It is a major problem and it must be dealt with. But decrying policies, basic policies, merely by shouting about corruption and like things is not enough, it is not an intelligent approach to things. Just a demagogue, it becomes demagogism to say that. I do not welcome such an approach. We

have taken the trouble in our planning to take the advice in the last few years of experts from almost every advanced country in the world, from the United States of America, from Canada, from the United Kingdom, from France, from Germany, from Austria, from the Scandinavian countries, from Italy, from Poland, from the Soviet Union, from Czechoslovakia, from Japan and so on; communist countries, capitalist countries, socialist countries, we invited them, we discussed with them, we have an open mind. And curiously enough when they came to discuss these matters, whether they came from America or from England or anywhere else, broadly the broad framework of planning they all agreed to. It is only details on which they argued. Obviously whatever we plan, we plan for India, as conditions are in India. We do not plan for some academic utopia which may come into existence elsewhere.

Now apart from the subject that I have dealt with about our major problem today of defending ourselves, the major problem is the question of India's development. That is vital. But I must confess to you that I am always worried that the pace is not good enough. The pace is slow. And I wish that the pace would be faster. I do not like our dependence, continued dependence on foreign countries whether it is for food, food grains, or for machines and the rest. I realise that if that is necessary we have to get it from them. But the whole purpose of our planning must be to stop this dependence—trade of course with foreign countries we must have, but stop this basic dependence. I do not like this to happen. After fifteen years or sixteen years of independence we shall still depend, being an agricultural country, for foodgrains from outside to feed our people. It hurts me. So long as we want it we have to do it. That is a different matter. But I am quite sure that we can grow enough. It is true that agriculture is largely dependent on the monsoons, upon the vagaries of floods, drought and all that, Still I am sure we can grow it; we can enough. And we must find the way to do it. If not, then all our plans for development suffer. That in a different sense applies to industrialisation.

[Industrialisation]

What was the strategy behind our industrialisation? To build heavy industry. And once we have done that, the lighter industries came out of it. If we build light industry only and continue to depend for our machinery on countries abroad, we are never free from that dependence. But once we have got enough iron and steel, once we have got machine-building industry to produce our own machines, once we have got enough power, and so on, well then the light industries can spread like anything. Light industry has spread, I believe, in Madras fairly well. In Punjab they have spread with remarkable speed. Punjab

has hardly any big industry, no big factories etc., big plants. Yet Punjab in a sense is more industrialised than any other part, chiefly the small industry that has grown, because the people are hardworking and mechanically inclined. And, the per capita income of the Punjab is the highest in India because they are good agriculturists and good people in regard to machines. That is the strategy behind our planning.

It is no good saying that our planning is no good. It only means that they do not want any thinking that is done by the few major firms to increase their own powers over industry, on new plants etc., new plants also in association with outside credit. I do not mind that being done, but I do mind India's economy coming in control of outside vested interests or inside vested interests. I do mind our industrial processes resulting in the concentration of wealth in a few hands. Even our Constitution has laid down that this should not be so. It is difficult, all these things, complicated things; and it is not good my saying we have to arrange that this should not happen. So this is a major problem.

Now I have taken your very long time but one matter I should like to deal with, that is the language issue which seems to excite some people here very much.

[Language]

You know that recently a Bill was brought in Parliament and passed. What was the purpose of the Bill? The purpose of the Bill was to remove a barrier which the Constitution had set to the use of the English language after a certain date—1965. The Constitution stated that after 1965, Hindi should replace English for simple official purposes. Now, I have given an assurance and undertaking last year, I think, or two years ago, in this matter that we do not wish to do anything merely by force of numbers which would be prejudicial to people of non-Hindi provinces. They should decide. Now, this Bill was a limited Bill to remove this barrier put by the Constitution; it said that English may be used after that date as an additional language.¹⁸⁷ Now, I can understand a Hindi fanatic objecting to what we did, since that came in the way of Hindi. But I do not understand how anybody else could have opposed it. Because it was in fulfilment of our assurance that we did it. It is said, I do not know how far what parties say, but I believe some of the leaders of the Swatantra Party, and many others too, that our Constitution must be changed and English should be made a sole Central language permanently.

187. See item 138.

You know that I am not against English, my background is one of English education. I like the English language and hope English will continue to be widely studied in our schools and colleges; and I believe it will be and English would [Applause] probably be more widely known in India than in the past, though it will probably may not be so well known. The quality will suffer but in quantity it will probably be much more than in the past. That is one thing. But to permanently lay down that English will be our official language or official national language is a thing which I consider above a nation, which is intolerable for me. To use English, certainly let us use it, wherever we like in Universities and colleges; but to call it an official language by the Constitution of India is an abomination which would be intolerable to the large number of Indians—they will not tolerate it. Whatever happens, we have some pride in us. It is not a question of doing injury to English or of not respecting it. I respect it. It is important. I think there will be English, but I will not call it a national language, because it is not. I will not say in my Constitution that in so far as it is necessary we shall use it as an additional language. But to call it, to tell the people to use it as the one and only language, amazes me. Is there no pride left in the Indian heart and the Indian mind that this should be done and is that the way to deal with the masses of the Indian people? You are cutting yourselves off from the masses.

Remember, there is no real essential conflict between English and Hindi, if I may say so. The real conflict that arises today in the language issue is between the provincial, regional languages, and English. Whether the regional language is Tamil, or Hindi is a regional language, that is the conflict. Because some of us, many of us, have learnt English as a medium of instruction even from school onwards and perhaps because of that we learnt it rather well. We did not learn it really as a foreign language is normally learnt. English is now learnt as a foreign language, it is learnt even today by millions, but it is learnt as foreign language. You will learn in your schools, you learn through the medium of Tamil as it should be, and not learn in your schools through the medium of English. English will be learnt as a second language, that is all right. So also English would be learnt as a second language in Bengal, the medium being Bengali. In UP Hindi being the medium, English would be learnt as a second language. The real conflict, therefore, is with the regional languages which displace English as the medium of instruction and take that place for themselves. Thus English, though widely learnt, is not learnt in that intimate way which comes from using it as medium of instruction.

And therefore I say, English would be widely known, much wider than it is today, because we are making English a second language all over India. But it will not be so well known, and because it will not be so well known

it will be a burden, if you ask the masses of India to use it in any way. They cannot be creative, they cannot develop in a foreign tongue. Some odd Indians may know English very well, they may pride themselves on it, and may write poetry, prose, and all that, that is different matter. But think of the masses of India, and whatever we talk about English or any other Indian language, we must think of the masses of India. Are you going to convert 440 millions to the English tongue? You cannot. It is physically not possible. And if it was possible it would uproot them completely, whether it is a person in Madras with the Tamil language or a person in Bengal with the Bengali language. Why is it that Gandhiji and Rabindranath Tagore, all of them insisted on education being through the medium of one's own language. Tagore started his school fifty years ago in Bengal. He was not against English. He was a very fine English scholar. It is essential that you be so. You cannot make English as a mass language. You may make it a language understood by many people, in the country by large number of millions, still it cannot become a mass language and it would suppress creative thinking and creative action. That must be in a great regional language like Tamil here. Now that is where the conflict comes between English and the regional languages. English is an associate language, an additional language; it can be used. But to say that only English can be used creates, apart from sentiment difficulties, actual physical difficulties in some parts of India.

But I will point out another thing to you how languages are changing today? We think of a language in terms of old classical languages whether it is Tamil or Bengali or Gujarati, or Marathi or Hindi, with their classical words, with their poetry and drama and prose works, very fine works and all that. The language today is becoming more and more a vehicle of scientific and technological studies. Every year a Western language increases its vocabulary by thirty, forty, fifty thousand words, all technological and scientific. It is changing the texture of the language. You may admire English language, and I may admire English because it is Shakespeare's language or Milton's language, that is alright. But the fact is that Shakespeare's language and the Milton's language is undergoing a vast change, every language is. Because life is conditioned today by technological changes tremendously. And now another major change is coming. Technological changes today depend a great deal on higher mathematics and if you see any book on higher mathematics or in anything, whether it is air communications or anything, you will be surprised to find a number of symbols in it. Mathematical symbols are coming to be used more and more. In a page you will find half the matter written in symbols, not words at all, scientific symbols or technological symbols. So a symbolic language is developing which says in short what you have to say in a big sentence, a symbol explains it.

Now that symbolic language should be a common language all over the world. You cannot have different symbols in Tamil and in Hindi, in English, in Bengali. That is why we made a decision that so far as technological words are concerned, scientific and technological, we must as far as possible adopt international terms, not only in Hindi but in all the languages of India. That will keep us in touch with international technology and science in all the languages and keep them in touch with each other. And as this grows the part of the language which deals with the technology and science which is going to be very great and a growing part becomes common in all the languages in India. So there are many ways of approaching this problem, but certainly there is only way which is not a good way, that is, merely shouting loudly and opposing things without understanding what they are, or worse still, using it for political purposes. That is a bad thing, it is not worthy of a party to do that. As a matter of fact, as at present, as I said to you, English is going to be used indefinitely—there is no limit to it—the barrier has been removed; but Hindi may be gradually used for the small purposes. And probably it is a good thing that it may be used, because whether we like it or not, English standards are going down because of these regional languages coming up. Standards are going down and it is not very easy to express oneself, many people find it difficult to express themselves in English with the same lucidity as they used to do.

Now, there is one point which has some importance. By any language change, harm might be caused on the non-Hindi people, economic harm, or employment harm, or something like that. That is a very valid point and we have stated previously that no change should be made which has that obvious result. That should be kept in mind always. At the present moment if you go to Delhi then you will find that very large numbers of people from South are employed in all the Central Ministries of Government there. In my own personal Prime Minister's Secretariat, I have mostly people from the South. Why? They were not chosen because they were from the South but because they passed an examination, they were competent, and they were chosen. Can you imagine, whatever the language policy might be in future, that any competent, let's say engineer or doctor, will not be employed because he knows or does not know a certain language? It is absurd. We employ Russians, Poles, what not, as experts. The whole thing resolves itself into, relatively speaking, about employment of clerks in a big way, using the term in a wide sense. Well we can make rules and regulations, but really it is extraordinarily simple if you analyse it and if you lay down the policy, this rule that no policy should be pursued which affects the non-Hindi knowing people, affects their employment etc., then you put a tremendous check on the possible evil that might arise. I do not think that it can arise, and anyhow, as I have said, the present position is that English has

been made an additional language and will continue to be that and the question does not even arise now.

I do not understand what this shouting is all about, threats of direct action. It seems to me and that can only mean some kind of making it a political weapon for political purposes. That is unfortunate. That means that we have within seven to eight months forgotten all the bright things we said when the Chinese aggression took place. All the petty things come up and trouble us and consume our minds.

[Opposition Parties]

One of the remarkable things among our Opposition Parties has been their extraordinary love for each other, even though they follow policies which are diametrically opposite to each other. It is really quite extraordinary. For this shows that the only binding link, which is not any policy, is their dislike for the Congress. And if I may with all respect say so, dislike of me. In fact, at the present moment there are two or three parties, two parties perhaps in India, which are with the Chinese in disliking me and running me down. The Chinese take the trouble almost every day to having a leading article about me in their papers, saying what a bad person I am and many, many strong words about me. The Swatantra Party does not like me either. To my misfortune, I am sorry, but there it is. I have no objection to the Swatantra Party but I have the strongest objections to what they stand for which is perhaps slightly different.

Then there is so-called Socialist Party which is obviously non-socialist and the Socialist Party which talks of Socialism and joins Swatantra Party in elections, and sectarian parties and communal parties. It is a quite extraordinary jigsaw puzzle in the Indian election scene. They do not stand for principles as such but make opportunist alliances just to try to defeat the Congress. It is not a healthy development in public life. I do not mind parties, one or more, and it is a good thing to have a good opposition. I believe in a good opposition, but this is not opposition, these motley groups joining together for a particular purpose, and it shows that they do not offer any kind of legitimate alternative to the Congress. You can well imagine if by any chance this motley crowd gets a majority together, they will break up and break each other heads. After that they cannot pull on together. They do not offer an alternative. They only offer an opposition just to cause annoyance and irritation and difficulty and that's all, not an alternative, if that is at all an alternative. What is the policy of that alternative? Just six or seven contradictory policies of these parties. It is very extraordinary, all this.

Well, I have spoken for a long time and I have endeavoured to talk to you as intelligently as I could, because Madras audience is an intelligent audience by and large [Applause] and I put these facts before you so that you might think about them and consider these aspects. It is no good my trying to be eloquent about them, but I want you to think and I want you to think that we are passing through the world at a very critical stage to India which concern us more, certainly a more critical stage in every way not only because of the Chinese invasion but because of our development schemes. And these years, let us say this decade in which we are going to be, a vital decade for us from the point of view of our freedom, of our development, of our growth, and therefore we must think hard and not fall prey to wrong practices and take our steps accordingly.

I came today at mid-day and spent half a day here. I am going away tonight. Even during this half a day I have passed through the streets of Madras a good deal and everywhere found an extraordinary welcome and affection. This always moves me greatly and I am very much beholden to you, the people of Madras, for the affection you shower on me. I do not know, it is not for me to say whether I am worthy of it or not, no man can judge for himself, but it does strengthen me greatly and enables me to do things which otherwise I would not be able to do. And so I am deeply grateful to you and thank you.¹⁸⁸

Jai Hind! Will you please say Jai Hind with me three times.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

51. In Pondicherry: Reply to Civic Reception¹⁸⁹

Mr Mayor and Councillors of the Pondicherry Municipality,
I am grateful to you, Sir, for your address of welcome and the kind sentiments you have expressed in it. I am even more grateful if I may say so, to the people of Pondicherry for the exceedingly warm and affectionate welcome that they have given me again today and I hope you as their representatives will convey my gratitude to them for this affectionate and friendly welcome. It is pleasant to come back to Pondicherry after some years and to see it outwardly perhaps much the same pleasant small town with a flavour of forms in it, inwardly, I believe, changed considerably in many ways.

I hope that it will continue to retain not only its individuality which is important but also that flavour of French culture which it has retained during

188. On 13 June 1963, on his way from Madras to Pondicherry, Nehru visited the Neyveli Lignite Project.

189. Speech, 13 June 1963, at the Mairie. AIR Tapes TS No. 10781, NM No. 1885.

the past long period when it was under French domination. In the rest of India, we were under British rule as you know, and many of us were influenced in some ways by the language, many of us learnt their literature and many other features, some good, some bad. We try to discard the bad features, but we want to keep the good features because culture should not be an exclusive prerogative of a particular place. So also in a place like Pondicherry which is essentially so far as the people are concerned, a part of the great Tamilnad earlier steeped in Tamil culture. You will of course preserve it. For Southern India is not only a repository, is not only a participant in the common culture of India, but if I may say so, it has been most specially a repository of it, even more so in the wars because of various historical circumstances. So it is natural that you should share in this common culture of India and enrich it at the same time; it should be good and desirable from every point of view for you to retain what you have learnt of French culture here, French language and culture and thereby enrich and widen your own outlook and the way you look at the world culturally. I have said and you have referred to in your address that I would like very much Pondicherry to continue to remain a window in India looking towards French culture and profiting by not only maintaining its own culture, individuality and Indianness. I think thereby we can enrich our own basic culture by learning something of the great culture of the West, the British the French, and yet essentially remaining rooted in our own cultural, background. I hope that will be so and from your address I should imagine that you agree with me in this.

You will appreciate that it is ultimately for the people of Pondicherry to decide their future in large measure within the ambit of India. Very soon there will be a political change here, and there is the new Act that has been passed by our Parliament affecting Union Territories, including Pondicherry, and will be given effect to.¹⁹⁰ That will give you a greater measure of responsibility and authority in dealing with your affairs, and that is right because we are wedded to democracy in all its phases.

You know that apart from the top layer of the democratic apparatus, Parliament, State Assemblies etc., we have extended it to the lowest layer in the village too. We want every Indian to participate in the working of the State, in his village or district or State or in the whole country and to have the sense of participation. We firmly believe in this democratic way of working because sometimes it has this disadvantage but nevertheless it enables individuals to grow and I am sure in the long run it is better for a people to grow than even to be governed well. Ultimately, good government will also come with people

190. For Goa, Daman, Diu and Pondicherry, the Government of Union Territories Act, 1963, came into force on 13 May 1963.

growing and looking after their affairs. And I would respectfully suggest to you as members of this municipal council and thus coming into direct touch with the people need to be particularly careful in dealing with them and to give them efficiency on its government and fulfill their needs. The main purpose of Government is not to supply officers to people, but to look after the people's needs.

In India, we are faced with tremendous problems, because we have to face the curse of poverty of our people and we have to get rid of it and that is why we have had plans, many plans, Third Plan now, the main object being to raise the level of living of our people, to remove big disparities which exist and to bring a measure of prosperity to all, to every Indian citizen, to whatever religion or caste or area he might belong, have full opportunity of progress. That is a very big undertaking. But we are laying the foundation for it and I am sure that we shall succeed even though it may take some time. You in your little state of Pondicherry, I am sure, welcome those objectives that we have and will work to the best of your capacity to fulfill them here as well as fulfill the other ideals and objectives that we possess in India.

For you are now not only in the physical sense but legally and emotionally fully integrated to India. And you will share not only our joys and victories but occasionally our sorrows and defeat. Those have to be taken together if we are partners and those have to be taken by one and all of us in India. I hope that with your effort and the efforts of others our share and your share of the triumph of the Indian people will be greater, ever greater. But we must be prepared for setbacks also, it is only people who are prepared for that who ultimately win in the end. We must not lose heart if anything happens which we do not like, because we live in a world full of revolutionary possibilities.

It is a period of tremendous changes in the world, nobody knows whether progress has been made, war or peace. That itself is a terrible question that hangs over our head. We stand for peace and you work for peace because if any country attacks us, attacks our freedom and integrity we shall defend it with all our might. Nevertheless, we stand for peace in the world and we shall work for it. So these are the big things and I am glad to welcome you fully into this great family of India, to work for tremendous causes, which are certainly needed for the advancement of all the Indian people, giving them higher living standards, greater equality and all that. But they also need service to the world and to humanity in the cause of peace and cooperation and progress all round. Our nationalism is deep but I hope it is not a narrow nationalism. It is a nationalism, which our great leader Mahatma Gandhi said is bound up with a village sense of internationalism. And that is how we wish to progress, not at

other people's cost, but in order to help other people to go ahead and maintain peace and cooperation in the world.

Thank you, Mr Mayor. [Applause]

52. In Pondicherry: Public Meeting¹⁹¹

Friends, Comrades and Children,

I am happy to be here and the first thing I want to say is to express my deep gratitude to you, the men and women of Pondicherry, and more especially the children, for their affectionate and heartwarming welcome to me. You gave me a welcome when I came here on previous occasions, today you have even exceeded that welcome; that is very welcome to me, because affection is always welcome and your welcome is not an official welcome but a welcome of friends, so I appreciate it all the more. I have come here after five or six years or more, and it is and I like coming here because Pondicherry is a pleasant place, a pleasant and a peaceful place in this turbulent world. I have come here for the first time since you became, Pondicherry became, in law, *de jure*, a full integrated part of our Mother India.¹⁹² So I welcome you as comrades in the great adventure that India is carrying on now and you and I and all of us in India, millions of us, will now be co-sharers in this adventure, in the triumphs that we shall no doubt attain and in the occasional difficulties and defects that we might have to face.

I am glad you asked me to start the proceedings here today by laying the foundation stone of the Tagore Arts College. Education is always welcome but to associate your calling the name of your college with Rabindranath Tagore is particularly auspicious and I hope all the students who pass through that college will remember this great Indian who fashioned and moulded many of us, many of my generation, and who affected India powerfully. I see also in front of me the picture of Mahatma Gandhi lighted up. Tagore and Gandhi are the two great men of India who have made India what it is today, India politically free, India culturally not in narrow grooves as it has been often in the past but with its own deep culture looking out to the culture of the world. So between Gandhi and Tagore, we have two great men of India who have shown us the light and shown us the path we have to travel and I am sure if we remember the lessons they have taught us India will prosper and all of us will do well.

191. Speech, 13 June 1963, at Lawspet Maidan. NMML, AIR Tapes No. 10777, 10780, NM No. 1882, 1884.

192. The previous visit was on 4 October 1955, see SWJN/SS/30/pp. 56-60.

We are living today in a turbulent world full of crises, full of troubles, full of threats of war on a big scale, a nuclear war, and there are conflicts everywhere. What are we to do in these circumstances? We do not want dictators to fashion our destiny, we do not want military leaders to do so, we do not want kings and monarchs, we have deliberately chosen a democratic path. It is a difficult path, but knowing all its difficulties, we have chosen it and we shall abide by it, democracy not in name only, but democracy in practice from top to bottom, from the great Parliament in Delhi to the State Parliaments and to the village Parliaments. Everyone should participate in this democratic experiment, that is our wish, because democracy means not only voting occasionally. Democracy means many other things. It means discipline. It means not only wise leadership but wisdom in those who may not be leaders. It means that leadership is of the whole people not of an individual dictator. So it means all that, it means cooperation, it means adapting oneself to other opinions. It is a difficult path and many mistakes are made in it because people are not adequately trained for it. But however difficult it may be, I am firmly convinced that it is the best way because it enables the people to grow and each individual to be in his own sphere to develop the qualities of a leader, whether in the village, in the district, in the state or in the whole of India. Now we have embarked on this great adventure to which all of you are parties now fully and we must train ourselves for it. India in the past has had great periods of glory, of advance, of cultural greatness. When India fell, it lost its creativeness, its greatness, it lost itself in internecine quarrels, it lost itself in caste and innumerable divisions, it lost its unity and its integrity. Now we have come back again, realising the importance of unity and integrity, hoping to build up India into a great country, great in prosperity, great in thought, great in action, great in service to humanity, that is the kind of greatness we want, not mere greatness which may be called power greatness, great power greatness, not military greatness, we want other kinds of greatness for which India has stood in the past.

With the coming of Pondicherry into the Indian Union legally and constitutionally, and with the coming of Goa into the Union, our political revolution is complete. We want no additions to India. We covet no other territory, we want peace with our neighbours. Some of our neighbours like Pakistan pretend to be afraid of India and to say that India will attack them. I do not know how to assure them and everybody else that India will not attack her neighbours or anyone else. India will not take any bit of territory from another country. India wants to lead her peaceful life and to develop herself. Having finished our political revolution, we have now to devote ourselves to the economic and social revolution of India so as to fight the good fight against poverty in India, the fight against unemployment and fight against lack of

education, the fight against disease and to build up a society in India which is prosperous, a state in India which is a welfare state and in which everyone, every citizen of India has an equal share in the wellbeing of the state. We want a state which has a structure of society which can be called socialistic, which brings equal benefits to all, opportunities of growth, regardless of religion or caste or state or any other difference. We do not want a few rich. Now that is a great task for 44 millions in India, a tremendous number, and it will take some time, but that is what we aim at and I think we are laying good foundations for it and I want all of you to understand this and realise it and to cooperate in bringing this great revolution to success.

Pondicherry was for hundreds of years under French rule. The whole of the rest of India was for a long period under British Rule and naturally we wanted to get rid of a foreign rule because foreign rule can never be good for a country even though in some aspects it may bring some benefits. Therefore we struggled against foreign rule and got rid of it. Fortunately we got rid of it under Gandhiji's leadership in a friendly way and we are friends with England and Great Britain. So also we succeeded in arriving a friendly settlements with the French Government and Pondicherry saw the end of French rule because of these friendly settlements and we are now friends with France also.

This is the legacy we have from our great leader Gandhiji to try to solve and often succeeded in solving the most difficult problems in a peaceful and friendly way. Now we have to remember that legacy because in this world of strife we should avoid where we can conflict. If conflict is thrust down upon us then we have to face it, that is a different matter. We want to live our life in India, we want to develop our old culture and modernise it and vivify it, but at the same time we do not want to live in a world apart in India, cut off from the rest of the world. The world becomes one more and more, and so our culture deeply Indian as it is and must remain, must take part in world culture. Today everything becomes world, whether it is war it become a world war, if it is peace it is world peace, if it is progress it has to be world progress, if it is destruction it will have to be world destruction. Because of this, while we develop our culture we should imbibe in it the modern culture of the West, the culture of science, of technology, of the big machine, the culture of England, the culture of France, the culture of Russia, wherever we can find something to learn.

So while since independence especially we are developing the great languages of India, we are not giving up the English language but using it and we will retain it as a great window to the culture of the West which we possess. This does not mean a conflict between the English language and our language, it means something which will enrich us and I think it will enrich those who speak the English language also. Because the knowledge of languages enriches

each language, they are coming into contact with each other. Now you live in an area which is a Tamil-speaking area. Tamil is a great and ancient language, one of the treasures of India, and naturally you will develop Tamil fully and perhaps you carry on your work more and more in the Tamil language. That does not mean that you should give up what you know of the French language, what you have learnt of the French language. Whatever you know, whatever is a treasure you possess, why discard it? I hope, therefore, that the learning of French will continue in Pondicherry and you will make Pondicherry a centre in India of the French language and a window on French culture which is a great culture of the Western world.

I visited many places in Pondicherry today. In particular, I was impressed by the French Academy, which is being run here in cooperation with the French Government. I found it was doing good work, good for you, good for India and good I hope for French, that is the type of cultural cooperation that we should always welcome and encourage. Now sometimes the question of Pondicherry arises, the structure of Government. You know that it has now been decided to make it a little state directly under the Union. It will have a large measure of authority and autonomy and it will decide its future for itself, its future, but I hope that future will be one which is not a narrow future but it will keep alive this contact with French culture. Also inevitably being surrounded by the Tamil country and you being yourselves Tamils mostly, you will be powerfully influenced by them. Your contacts with the rest of the Tamil land will be great and will become increasingly greater. But you have one advantage which I would not like you to lose and that is the flavour of French culture which to some extent you have got. It is something worth keeping. We may forget French domination here but it should be a pity to forget what is good in French culture. It has been one of the great cultures of the Western world and therefore I have said that I would like the individuality of Pondicherry to be kept so that it may not forget this flavour of French culture which you possess to a small extent. Of course the basic thing, culture, that is yours, and it is Indian culture which we must develop. Another basic thing for you is the background of Tamil culture which you must develop and other ways of cooperation and coordination will also come. But I do hope that our contacts with the rest of the world will be kept alive, whether it is with the English world, or the French world or the American world or the Russian world and that the old habit we had of putting ourselves in grooves, in narrow cells of caste and other things, will go. We want to profit by the knowledge and experience of the world and yet remain ourselves.

We want to go ahead fast and get rid of poverty in our country and make people get all the necessities of life so that we might have a welfare state and ultimately a socialist state, but in order to get that we have to work hard because

only through working hard and reliance upon ourselves can be achieved success. Our Five Year Plans are there and we must implement them in the field, in the factory and any sphere of life. The more we succeed in them the more rapidly we will advance. Today we have additional burdens and a great burden that is the menace of China, to face the menace of China and to protect our country. So we have to do both these things, help in the protection of our country and in building up the strength of the country by development. Both these great tasks we have to undertake and fulfill.

Now I shall soon end. I have to go to Madras by train tonight and tomorrow morning I have to go back to Delhi. But this visit to Pondicherry will remain a bright memory with me and the faces of all of you, but especially of the children that I saw here, of the smiling and friendly and affectionate children, and I wish you good fortune in the future and I hope you will always keep before you the big objectives and ideals that have been laid down by our leaders Rabindranath Tagore and Gandhiji and fashion our lives accordingly. India is not merely a big country in size, for it has been big because it has had big ideas, big ideals, big thought and if we are to be big again, we have to think in a big way and act in a big way. I wish you all success in active thinking and acting in this way in the future.

May it be well with you all, Jai Hind!

Will you repeat with me Jai Hind three times!

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

53. In Madras: Public Meeting¹⁹³

Mr Mayor, Councillors of the Corporation and Friends,
The day before yesterday Shri Kamaraj showed me a photograph. It was a photograph taken twenty-six years ago in Madras when I came here as Congress President for a tour of this State. Mr Satyamurti¹⁹⁴ was at that time President of the Pradesh Congress Committee and he toured with me all over the State with Mr Kamaraj himself as Secretary of the Pradesh Congress Committee and other friends. So, that picture brought back to my mind events of that tour

193. Speech, 14 June 1963, at the Ripon Buildings, while unveiling the statue of Satyamurti. NMML, AIR Tapes, NM No. 1883, 1884, TS No. 10778.

194. S. Satyamurti.

Extract from the report in *The Hindu* of 15 June 1963, p.1: "The gigantic statue of the greatest of Mayors of Madras to date is situated on the south-east corner on the lawns of the Ripon Buildings and faces the statue of the late Sir Pitti Theagaraya, first Indian President of the Corporation."

which took place in 1936.¹⁹⁵ I met Mr Satyamurti often enough and saw him on many occasions in the Congress and other occasions, but that was a time when we travelled together for many days all over Madras Presidency and grew to know each other fairly intimately. I am very happy that you have invited me to associate myself with this function, because I admire Shri Satyamurti and admire him personally and admire the great work he was doing. You all know that he was, as is often said nowadays, a parliamentarian of repute. He was a great Mayor of this Corporation. He was great fighter for freedom.

Now, we who have chosen to adhere to parliamentary democracy and have stuck to it, although it has not succeeded in many countries round about, owe a great deal to many of our forebears who really made the choice then and who laid the foundations of a successful working of parliamentary democracy. Most of us feel that it is a good system although we must remember what Sir Winston Churchill said about it. He said, "Parliamentary democracy is bad, often very bad, but there is none better. It is the best system yet devised." After all, every system depends upon the human beings that function under it and who give it their own mould. I do believe that parliamentary democracy is not only a very good system but, given certain requisites, is the best system of government, and we have adopted it in India not merely as something, as carrying on an old habit, an old tradition, but because we deliberately liked it and preferred it to the other choice open to us. You see that, after all, in the world today there are not too many countries which can be called functioning democratically. The word democracy is often used in many senses, in many ways, but with the meaning we attach to it there are not very many countries. Of those who have democratic methods of functioning there are still fewer which have parliamentary democracy. Even if one likes democracy, there are various ways, and parliamentary democracy is only one of them.

Well, for good or ill—I hope for good—we adopted this system because those who came before us really gave their shape to it and moulded our minds then, so that it became an inevitable choice for us to accept it. And we accepted it in spite of the fact that to the right and to the left of us parliamentary democracy seems to have failed and other methods of government, called by curious names, have been adopted. I hope that this system will continue in strength in India. But obviously, it will continue only so long as we live up to it and so long as we observe certain disciplines of parliamentary democracy. What are those disciplines? Well, they are many. Many of them are laid down in rules and regulations, many of them are just traditional. But all of them depend on the measure of tolerance, of allowing full opportunity to express

195. SWJN/FS/7/pp. 479-531.

themselves, full discussion, and then coming to a decision which is adhered to. Democracy means rule by a majority. But parliamentary democracy, while accepting that to some extent, limits it by saying that that majority should function within certain limits, paying due regard to the minorities, and in the final decision it may well be that it is not a pure majority decision but in which a great deal of help is taken from the minorities and there may well be some kind of a compromise. Because life is very varied and the essence of successful living, whether it is for an individual or for a State, is a certain flexibility of approach, a certain understanding of others—even though we may not agree with them and a certain acceptance that truth may not necessarily be all that one sees, but there is something bigger than what one can perceive. Therefore, democracy, and certainly parliamentary democracy demands patience and flexibility, understanding and giving every opportunity to those who may not be a majority to express themselves, to state their case, and to arrive at decisions by discussions in a friendly atmosphere. It requires, if I may use the word here, certain decencies. If those decencies are forgotten, are not observed, then it is difficult for parliamentary democracy or any democracy indeed for that matter, any form of government, to be carried on successfully. I say this not because I have any fear that those decencies will not be observed—I think they are fairly deeply rooted in the Indian temperament—but sometimes, though rarely, attacks are made on the very foundations of parliamentary democracy and ordinary tenets and good sense and decency, regardless of differences of opinion. Differences of opinion there are likely to be, there should be. Indeed, parliamentary democracy recognises an opposition as a right. Without an opposition there is danger of a majority not being kept strictly to task and not being kept up to the mark. But if the majority or a minority begins to function, forgetting the spirit of democracy and parliamentary democracy, then the basis of it is shaken up and all kinds of undesirable results follow. That would be applicable indeed to any system of government because no system of government by consent, in a large number of cases, can successfully run unless there is this forbearance and understanding of different points of view and an attempt to pull together decently.

I have said something about parliamentary democracy because it seems to me that Mr Satyamurti was an eminent exemplar of it and who is one of those great persons who unfortunately left us before independence came; he laid the foundations to a large extent of the working of parliamentary democracy. It is, therefore, a great pleasure to me to be associated on this occasion with the unveiling of this statue of his and it is perhaps fitting that the Corporation, whose Mayor he was for some time and where he tried also to lay down certain traditions, to build up certain traditions and lay down certain practices which

have helped to make the Corporation of Madras known all over the country as a leading Corporation, as indeed the City of Madras, is known as a leading and well managed City. The City of Madras has grown greatly in recent years and it continues growing, continues growing industrially and otherwise. Yet it has managed to retain its atmosphere of quiet charm in spite of its growth, which is a difficult task, difficult thing to do. And I suppose it is the Corporation here which is largely to be commended for maintaining this atmosphere of quiet charm and tolerance. It is always a pleasure to come to Madras City and to be subjected to this pleasant atmosphere.

You, Sir, in the course of your address had referred somewhere to linguistic imperialism. I need not tell you how much I agree with you in the opposition to every kind of imperialism, and included in that is certainly any such thing as linguistic imperialism. As a matter of fact even if some foolish persons thought in terms of that, it is an impossibility in the modern age, it cannot be done. But I do not think any person still thinks in terms of it. People are passionately fond of the particular language they use and throw their weight about. It is unfortunate. Any throwing of weight about is unfortunate and irritates others. But even that does not mean, and nobody thinks it is possible today to achieve linguistic ends by that method anywhere in India and least of all in South India where you have great languages. Tamil which is coeval with Sanskrit and which has a fine literature and no doubt is growing and will grow.

There have been changes in the manner of growth in the last hundred years or so of all our Indian languages. Most of our languages are fairly old, with fine literatures and with great popular appeal in their particular regions. In the last hundred years or so, possibly influenced by the west through the English language, they have adopted many of the linguistic ways of the West, western languages, and have taken more and have developed more and more by it. That is natural because in this world of science and technology language is affected by it very greatly; language is moulded by it. We all know how changes are even taking place, considerable changes, in the English language as spoken or practised in England and as spoken and practised in the United States of America, although both have undergone the same industrial revolution process. But our languages which had been kept apart from the influence of the industrial revolution, had remained, therefore, rather static. With the gradual influence of the English language they began to be influenced in this way and their form changed to some extent, retained their old form and texture and beauty; it changed and it is changing today. And today, all over India there is a very rapid growth of all the Indian languages. I have the honour to be, as some of you might know, the President of the Sahitya Akademi, which deals with all the languages of India as well as English and Sanskrit, and we are intensely

interested in bringing these languages, in the growth of all these languages, and bringing them nearer to each other, because I do firmly believe that the growth of a language comes from knowledge of other languages. The interaction of two languages meeting encourage them both. Some people imagine that purity of language consists in keeping it cut off from other languages. I think that is a great mistake. It may result in some kind of purity but it also results in a lack of growth, in the decadence of a language which shuts itself out from other influences. One of the main reasons for the growth of English, as I believe, it has a remarkable capacity for absorbing words, phrases and phraseology from other languages; it does not hesitate; there is no attempt to keep it pure Anglo-Saxon or whatever it might have been originally. If that had been there, that attempt, English would not have grown. So, in our languages we should not be afraid of being influenced, provided it is always right influence and does not spoil the language by this absorption.

Language, today, is growing more and more technical, technological, scientific; retaining, of course, its basic structure which gave it life; and in this age of science and technology language becomes more and more a thing of symbols. The relative number of scientific and technological words in a language are growing at such a terrific pace that their proportion in the language is far greater than the original words in the language. In the English language that is gradually taking place and so also in all the European languages. That will, no doubt, happen in India.

Now, what we should be more concerned with is that this rapid growth of our languages should be, first, to bring them nearer to one another. I may mention a very simple thing, when we were making the Constitution, the question arose about numerals, what kind of numerals we should have. In your area, in the Tamil area, long ago, I do not know when, they had adopted the international form of numerals, very wisely. Not so in the North where they used different types whether it was Hindi or Gujarati or Marathi or Urdu or whatever it was, different numerals. Some people objected, rather narrowly objected, to our adopting the international type of numerals even though every intelligent person knows that the so called international type is derived from India. It is really the Indian numeral with slight changes. Before that they had the Roman type of numerals. If it had continued in Europe there would have been no advance in mathematics or technology or anything. Such is sometimes the narrow way, narrow outlook of people, some people do not want to adopt their own produce because it has changed its face slightly having gone across the world.

Anyhow, in our Constitution we laid down that the international type of numerals should be adopted by us as a whole in India. Now, that in itself, you will see, is a simple thing, but it simplifies many things. If all numbers are

written in a particular way all over India, many of our books, technical books and scientific books are somewhat simplified. First of all, they come nearer to the international form and secondly, inter se, the languages use the same numbers.

I mentioned the case of numerals. So also, numerous symbols are being used in science and technology. The growth of these symbols is terrific. You know, in mathematics it is largely symbols; if you deal with mathematical physics, higher mathematics in physics, it becomes more and more a language of symbols. Now, it is of the highest importance that this language of symbols that is growing all over the world should be uniform all over the world, and it is likely to be so; and it is easier to convey one's thoughts to another person who speaks a different language if the language of symbols is the same. It is, therefore, desirable for us and we have taken some steps, we have gone into it a little further, apart from symbols, and said that in India we should, as far as possible, adopt international terminology for scientific and technological words, first of all, to keep in touch with international uses, international languages and secondly, inter se, among the languages of India, it will be a binding link and bring them nearer to one another. We cannot progress in science if we spend half of our lives in learning all kinds of scripts and symbols, different ones in each language. We do not have enough time to make any progress.

So that is likely to be the tendency in future in India and a right tendency it will be. In all these matters to be rigid in any sense is not a good thing because life itself is not rigid, language is not rigid; language flows, you cannot make any language grow by order or by decree or law just like ordering a plant to grow. The plant grows because of the inner life in it. If we try to make it grow faster and pull it out, we make it die or perhaps injure it. A language is a very living, throbbing, delicate instrument which takes sometimes generations, hundreds of years to grow and it grows, not because of law makers, but because people who serve that language nourish it with love and care and ability and knowledge and make it a vehicle for all kinds of thought. I have little doubt that, even during these dozen years or more of contact with the Sahitya Akademi, the languages of India will progressively approach each other, first of all in the scientific and technical fields and then in other fields too. Of course, the northern languages are bound together by Sanskrit, very much so. I am a poor linguist, but if I go to Bengal, if I go to Punjab or Gujarat or Maharashtra—often times I stay there a fortnight—my ear gets attuned to those languages. I do not understand any word but I understand the sense of many things because there are many common words and it is more the way they are said that one has got to get used to. Obviously, that does not apply to the southern languages, although in the South too there is a very large number of Sanskrit words which have become absorbed in the southern languages, and Sanskrit is a binding cement.

So, there are so many common features among all these languages and in this new world of science and technology they are bound to come nearer to each other, apart from our developing a certain knowledge and consciousness of even the languages, the literary type of languages. I do not know why people are frightened of learning languages or think it is too great a burden. Many of you in the South, I am told, know Tamil and Telugu in Madras, may be Malayalam too. It is quite a common thing for a person to know three or four languages here. Why should people be frightened of that, I do not know, and almost take pride in their ignorance sometimes, this is not—in most cases ignorance—the thing to be proud of. It is to be hidden, not to be shown, but here sometimes people take pride in the ignorance of not knowing something, which is rather absurd. I think these questions should be considered calmly and dispassionately and without rigidity. The moment you bring in rigidity, you set a pattern which impedes the growth of a language. Now, we want the growth of languages and it is quite absurd for anyone to think that one language is going to come in the way of the growth of the other language. All these languages are growing and will grow in their regional spheres. They are becoming languages of the medium of education and otherwise growing, and no doubt they will grow and influence each other greatly. And by their influence they will help in the growth of other languages too. So, I would venture to assure you that any idea, that any one language can dominate over others or, what is called linguistic imperialism, is totally unrealistic and cannot be and nobody thinks of this in those terms.

I have spoken about various matters which I had in mind, partly because you, Sir, referred to them in your address and I thought I might also say a few words about them. But to come back, I thank you for having asked me to come here to take part in this happy occasion. And we put up a statue to a great son of Madras and of India who was friend and colleague of ours for many years and we miss very greatly now, whose presence has helped us in dealing with the problems that arise now.

Thank you.

West Bengal Tour

54. In Calcutta: At the Ramakrishna Mission¹⁹⁶

Madam Governor,¹⁹⁷ Chief Minister Mr Sen,¹⁹⁸ Swamiji¹⁹⁹ and friends,
I am happy to be here. As you have just heard, I visited not this new building but the predecessor of it a little over a quarter of a century ago. It was rather a humble effort then but it has grown and now we see this fine five-storied hospital building. I am glad to be here because such an effort and such a fine hospital in the heart of Calcutta deserve every encouragement. I am especially glad because the Ramakrishna Mission has sponsored this and has run it. In various parts of India I have been and I have seen the work of service done by the Ramakrishna Mission—hospitals and other forms of service, to some extent outside India too—and I have always been impressed by the quiet, unostentatious and efficient way this Ramakrishna Mission foundations have been working. And, therefore, I am always attracted to any work of theirs and feel that we should do everything to help it and help the Mission to carry on its good work of service. So I have come here and I have seen this fine new hospital building. It has grown up and I have been much impressed. And I wish it all success. I am sure it will have that success because it has all the reasons behind it which command success, the reasons being in the main efficient people serving it in a manner of service and large numbers of people in this great city of Calcutta who help it. So I wish this venture every success and I am glad, if am supposed to say, to open this new hospital block of this Pratishthan and I am sure it will prosper and grow and do service to the people of Calcutta and outside.

196. Speech 1 July 1963, on the opening of the General Hospital Block of the Ramakrishna Mission Seva Pratisthan. NMML, AIR, TS No. 10611, NM No. 1858.

197. Padmaja Naidu.

198. Prafulla Chandra Sen.

199. Swami Sambuddhananda, General Secretary of Swami Vivekananda Centenary Committee of Shri Ramakrishna Mission, Calcutta. See the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 3 July 1963, p. 6 col. 5.

55. In Calcutta: To the Indian Thinkers' Convention²⁰⁰

Mr President²⁰¹ and friends,

Mr President has told you that when I was invited to this Convention, I expressed a doubt as to my fitness to address, what I was told was going to be a Thinkers' Convention. I did not quite understand what a Thinkers' Convention was and I do not yet understand it. I have heard no doubt that eminent people are asked to address this Convention and no doubt what they say is worth thinking. But after all, we are hearing eminent and non-eminent people frequently speak. It would be a sort of exaggeration to call all these public meetings and semi-public meetings "Thinkers' Conventions". Perhaps it would be more correct to call them Talking Conventions. Now, in what way does a Thinkers' Convention differ from a normal Talking Convention? I have been wondering and I am unable to find an answer.

You have done me an honour and those who are invited to this Convention by labelling them thinkers. I think there are very few thinkers anywhere. They call themselves thinkers but they talk a lot. That does not mean that we are thinkers. The less we talk, the more we are likely to think but we are apt to talk too much.

I must confess that when I first learnt about the Thinkers' Convention I wondered what exactly you are going to think about. There are many aspects of thought. Normally one would imagine they would think about basic things – not about one particular aspect. You may have thought about many aspects. I have just learnt from the President's address that one of the aspects you are dealing with has something to do with defence. That is an important question today for experts and others. It is not exactly what I would call a subject for Thinkers' Convention to take up, it is a specialised job. What are the major questions before us in India? Naturally, as the President has said—I forget his words—the unity of India is some kind of synthesis out of the diversity of India, and, I think, the disruptive forces of India and all that. That is a common ground; that is not a matter for argument. We all agree, except possibly some mischievous persons, that this should be done. It is not a thing which requires thought, it is a thing which may require action. So where is the thought? I am told Mahajati Sadan is a place where you have cultural shows to bring to the

200. Speech, 1 July 1963, at the Mahajati Sadan. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10608-09.

This was the Seventh Annual Conference of the Bharatiya Sanskriti Bhavan, see report in the *The Hindu*, 3 July 1963, p. 5.

201. Dr S.K. Mitra, National Professor presided. See the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 2 July 1963, p.1 col. 5.

people greater knowledge of various cultures of India and various languages. That is very good also. But that again is not a matter of thought. It is a matter of action. Where is thought coming in all these? Yet there are very vital issues which require deep thought. I imagine that at no time in history, whether it is history of the world or it is history of India, have there been so many problems facing the world or India as today—problems as to which way we go and how do we go there. We have to choose a path and what is necessary? Creative energy is necessary.

The shouting of slogans is not thinking and we are too apt to shout slogans for the time being made in awed reverence. I do not wish to be irreverent about it, but even the shouting of mantras without understanding what the mantra is and without thinking about it is repetition of what somebody else has thought. Repetition is very useful and it may be done, but it is not thinking. Let us all realise it. It is just repetition of good phrases, good slokas, good mantras. Where does thinking come in then? Repetition certainly is not thinking. I think there is much that requires repetition, I do not deny that. Let us repeat it, but let us realise that it is not thinking.

[History]

Now we have a long, long history in India and, by and large, a very impressive and rather magnificent history, or rather a history with magnificent periods in it, characterised by high and brave thoughts which have been partly preserved and which are very inspiring. We also had periods in history when the creative energy of the nation had somehow disappeared. It really became a repetition what had been done before, and we lived in a narrow shell of our own. Our social systems became narrow without touch with the growth of the world and naturally—call it what you like—our civilisation suffered. We, who in some respects had ventured far and wide, even thinking about the heaven and the depths of hell without being afraid of it, we who have had that courage, suddenly became a closed society, encompassed in rigid ideas—you must not stand near others, you must eat here, you must not touch that man, you must not marry that woman, you must not do this, you must not go abroad, out of India. This was extraordinary. We became imprisoned in our thought and in everything. We, who had dared to challenge the heavens and hell in our thought, developed a social system so narrow that it is amazing how a great country, a great people, could have lived in it so long. And today, even though we have a largely democratic or social system, we still adhere to the forces of the stars, and this system imprisons us and makes it difficult for us to follow the high ideals that we placed before us. What is envisaged is that we want to get the

people pushed out of want, we want to get the people pushed out of political subjection. We want to have it, but it is a very dangerous thing, and above all a vicious thing, to be tied by bonds of our own thought.

There is no doubt that India happens to be a most extraordinary example of high thought and low action; let us realise that. It is no use talking in terms of slogans. We are high in thinking, we have been and no doubt we will be so. But in our social fabric we have not been high, we have been remarkably low in our caste system and all that, and we continue to be bound by them.

What are we aiming at then? We talk about synthesis in India. Talking about India and the Indian history, there have been many examples of the capacity of India to synthesise. Anybody who knows anything about Indian history knows the repeated incursions into India from the earliest times. Even before the Aryans came here, the pre-Aryans and the Dravidians together made the basic Indian civilisation. That is the basic thing. After all, all kinds of people came here—I forget the names—the Sakas, the Scythians, the Huns, the Turks, and what not. Before the Muslims came here, all of them came and got absorbed in India, all of them were absorbed completely in India. The Rajputs are a very brave people. But who are they? By far the vast majority of them are the descendants of the Scythians and the Huns. They may call themselves descendants of Rama, of the race of the Sun and the race of the Moon. But in fact, they are the descendants of the people who came in India, invaded India in groups and settled down here and adopted the Indian background—the Indian gods and goddesses—and made it appear as if they are the descendants of the Chandravansa or the Suryavansa. They were completely absorbed in India because India has an amazing capacity to absorb people. It has been like an ocean into which rivers have flowed and have lost themselves, no doubt affecting the ocean too. Then came the Islamic invasion. I remember Islam also came to India in the first two hundred or three hundred years, not so much in the form of an aggressive invasion except in the North West a little. Later came the Arabs. Then came the Turks—The Turks relate to Central Asia—who were not very good representatives of the original Islam. They came not so much to spread Islam but as conquerors, Mahmud of Ghazni and others came as conquerors to take that power with the shade of religion. There came, therefore, a political conflict; the religious conflict was a covered political conflict. Now there started a glorious period of ambition and interaction of Islam on Hinduism and vice-versa. They acted and interacted greatly on each other although they were very different—very different in the sense that those who represented a closed society, the Hindus of that time, had grown into a closed society, an amazing closed society, more closed than any I can think of except perhaps the Jews. The Muslims were not closed in that sense, but in ideas they were also closed. The two closed societies came into

touch and into conflict. Their action and reaction were interesting to study—the way they acted and reacted powerfully on each other—sorry, I am going into details, into the background.

We also discussed many things about the effect of Islam in India on Hinduism, Pan-Islam etc. or Christianity. Remember, Christianity came to India in the first century A.D. in South India and elsewhere, and fitted in because it did not come as a conqueror. It came as a religious mission and it fitted in South India. But behind all this was a kind of society that we were creating. After a period, early period in India, there came a really creative period, an amazingly creative and adventurous period, when the tremendously adventurous and creative thought came from the Upanishads and books of that type. But there was form of another activity. People went abroad from India to South East Asia, right up to Mongolia, where representatives of India who went there had started a process had started a process of bringing in Indian thought which is alive today—it is very much alive. It was a period of thinking, not religious thinking, but thinking in mathematics, in architecture—wonderful architecture—and much else. But suddenly or gradually you see a slump—creativity goes out of India. We began to repeat something that we had learnt. Take anything, take the science of medicine. Ayurveda made a tremendous advance. India was at that time one of the most advanced countries in that science, and how did it advance? It advanced because of the spirit of enquiry which is essentially the spirit of science. It happened like this, if I can guess. Ayurvedic and Unani systems became one, having very old and very useful prescriptions given by masters to pupils on usage, not enquiry. The spirit of science goes out. It is quite extraordinary that our country which loses its creative capacity loses it in every respect.

Take the Sanskrit language—it is a wonderful language. In fact, the whole of Indian culture, I would say, is largely based on the Sanskrit language. Take the books that were written in Sanskrit after the classical period of Kalidasa and others. Gradually they lost their vigour. The vigour of the Vedas was lost at a tremendous rate and there appeared works of average merit. The classical Sanskrit was written in strong, chaste and beautiful language. Then gradually we find Sanskrit like ornate architecture losing the simplicity of design but full of something, ornateness, which we see nowadays in ornate architecture. Many buildings in Calcutta are very far from being beautiful, they are very ornate. That happened to language also. You will find in the Sanskrit books written afterwards an amazing thing—a sentence running into a page and a half with the verb at the end. It is extraordinary. It is very beautiful sometimes—metaphors, similes, are very beautiful and all that—but it is a degradation of the language, certainly of the Sanskrit language, which was so very magnificent. So you see

all this, the coming down of a people, coming down in every way, whether it is in philosophy or in any matter. The great philosophers lived then—Ramanuja and other great men. Then came the commentators. Then came the people to make even a gloss on the commentators and so on. It goes into bits, and the creativeness, the creative thought, the challenge of thought is missing; the thinking capacity is missing. If that is missing in a nation, it just does not matter what you do. You are a second rate or third rate or tenth rate people and the question before us fundamentally is have we got or are we developing that creative capacity or thinking capacity and the capacity to take action on our thinking. That is the question before us.

The modern world is represented very much in the West and that is why the Western countries became important. They took to science and the ways of science and the children of science—technology and the rest—from which flowed good things and bad, arms and even ultimately the atom bomb, a sort of child of science. They had that creative capacity in them in doing all these. They also did a lot of bad things—colonialism and imperialism and all that—but they had the creative capacity. We lacked it and we went down. It is no good our sitting and cursing those people who exploited India. They did exploit India—it is a bad thing—but they had the quality, the vital quality which gave them strength, vital thinking capacity and acting capacity. Whether they have it now or not is another matter; whether we develop something or not is another matter. But these are the basic things to note.

I think of Mahatma Gandhi—and why Mahatma Gandhi—before that, the whole of the nineteenth century was a period of great internal slow change in India—the reaction of India to the West, to the British, to Western science, to Western literature, to Western thinking. Indians were so impressed by the West, but gradually, we got over it—Raja Ram Mohan Roy and others came afterwards—we got over it and we realised the values of the West and the high values of our own thinking and philosophy etc. and a certain balancing took place. It was in this nineteenth century effort that the leaders mostly produced in Bengal played a very important part. Well, that happened. Then came other people—political leaders and others, Gandhiji came, who, although great in many ways, was essentially great as a man of action and great in coordinating his action with his thought. He was not a pure thinker, he was not a pure preacher, but his greatness meant that he lived the life of his thinking and he told the people to live according to that; and his whole purpose, which many people today may not realise, was not just to drive out the British from India—no, definitely no. The driving out of the British from India was a corollary and a necessary corollary of gaining strength in India. His job was to give strength to India, to give creativeness, and to make people self-reliant. After that was

done, it necessarily followed that foreign rule would go from here. There is a difference in this. When I say that he was not just out to drive out the British from India, British rule from India, he was doing something which would give reliance to Indians, would give strength to Indians, would give unity to Indians and all that, from which it followed that British rule could not stand so, he was after something more basic. If, without gaining that strength, some circumstance had driven out the British from India, then we would still have been weak and somebody else could have taken their place or they could have broken up our unity. Therefore, he was after more fundamental and deeper things. Well, he achieved, he succeeded in a large measure in this respect—not completely—because the process goes on.

[Atomic Power]

What today are we aiming at? Merely saying that we are a great people, we pull together, does not help us at all. That is what a thinker requires to think about. What kind of civilisation are we going to create in India? The first thing, of course, is survival. We are attacked by China. It is a question of survival for us, to fight for our freedom, for our integrity. The question is largely—not wholly but largely—a technical question behind which lie matters on which there can be no difference of opinion. So, every country and every individual fights for survival. We have to fight for that, and we have to prepare ourselves for that, and included in that is, of course, unity and all that strengthens a nation. Survival is not a question of physical prowess, although it is necessary. Today it is a question of developing India industrially and economically. That is real strength—not a man of the gun, he is just the end-product. The real product is the machine that manufactures the aeroplane or the gun or other armaments, or indeed the educational apparatus which produces the man who can use the machine and the aeroplane. That gives strength to a nation. So, it becomes a widespread process for leading a nation in all fields. After all, the nations which are considered to be stout and prosperous today are nations which have gone through the industrial revolution and built up their industries, built up their science and technology, and I see no way for India or any country becoming prosperous unless it follows that path of using science and technology. I do not mean to say that everything that science and technology have done is good. They have produced the atom bomb and all that. That is bad, definitely bad. But that brings you to another question as to what your objectives in life are as a nation. In any event, atomic energy and the atom bomb may be bad, but atomic energy is a great power—greater than any you have yet—a developing power, and we have to understand it, we have to control it and utilise it for good

purposes. The use of it for bad purposes or evil purposes is a question of your thinking, of your moral and other objectives in life, but you cannot do away with the knowledge of a new power, i.e. atomic energy, because it can be used for bad purposes. You may become helpless if you do that.

[Borrowing and Imitation]

So these are the problems of the age, problems of the world, problems of humanity, problems of India. What do we aim at in life? Obviously, speaking for myself, we cannot aim at going back to what existed in India a thousand years ago or five hundred years ago or two hundred years ago. It just can't be done, we just can't reverse history like that and any attempt to do that will make us useless for any kind of creative activity. That is just an activity of trying to repeat what has been done. We may learn a great deal from what happened a thousand or two thousand years ago. We can indeed, we must, but we cannot go back – just to give a silly example, we cannot go back from the age of the aeroplane and the railway train, etc. to the age of the bullock cart even though the bullock cart may be in use in India today. You cannot do it. If you try to do it, you go to pieces. On the other hand, our trying in a sense to imitate the western industrialised countries—in many ways we can learn from them, in some ways we may imitate them—but essentially and basically any attempt to imitate them is bound, I think, to result in failure for us for many reasons. First of all, for a great country like India, a country with a mighty record of thinking—merely to become an imitating nation is a failure. Secondly, the conditions are quite different. We cannot imitate without losing everything that we have. It is one thing to be open to all ideas that can come in from the rest of the world. We must keep our minds open and for us in India particularly, it is necessary to remember that we have lived in this closed society for too long. It has now opened a little but it is a dangerous thing to live in a closed society. It is one thing to keep our minds open and another thing to be swept away and lose our roots. We have in fact to accept something. For instance, we have to accept science. True science is knowledge, we cannot reject knowledge of any kind, we have to accept the progeny of science but the use we put it to, is to be decided by ourselves—the use suitable to our country. Many of the ways we use it will be the same as they use it in America, England, France, Germany or the Soviet Union. Remember there may be a great deal of conflict—apparent conflict—between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Yet both of them are children of science and technology and the industrial revolution. That is the essential thing. The other things—the much talked about ideologies—are very secondary compared to the basic oneness of this.

[Ending Poverty]

So, what are our objectives? That is what we have to think about. What kind of society do we aim at? We have to think about this matter at a time when there is tremendous danger that unless we think and act correctly, disaster may overwhelm us and overwhelm the world. For instance, if there is a world war with atomic weapons being used, it would bring the most terrible disaster in the world. Everybody realises it. Therefore, it is a matter of very clear and deep thinking that we must organise a society not only to avoid the disaster but organise a society which does not bring in conflict and which enables us to utilise the present scientific discoveries and even atomic energy, if you like, for the benefit of the world, because one thing is perfectly clear—and it can be established by pen and paper—that the world resources today for the first time in world history are enough to give, if not an affluent life for everybody in the world, at least a satisfactory life for everybody. There need be no real poverty in the world if you use science and what science teaches us. We can solve the problems of the world—the physical problems etc. The real difficulty is the mental problems, mental conflicts, jealousies and all that.

[Ideologies]

Now, how can we have a society which helps us to solve these problems and puts an end or tries to put an end to the conflicts of the world which have in the past resulted in big disasters? Now, of course, such a conflict on a major scale may well result in the final disaster of the world because of atomic weapons. That is the problem. What society do we aim at in India and what do we hope for for the rest of the world? It is not good enough to repeat the slogans of the history of the nineteenth century. I think you will find that although there are all kinds of arguments about socialism, capitalism, communism and various other isms, most of those arguments are slightly out-of-date. They might have been good arguments in the nineteenth century, but the basis of those arguments gradually disappeared—chiefly the slogans attacking each other without meaning. Some truths remained. We forget those words, we forget those ideologies. It is obvious that in India we must aim at something which offers a chance of good living, decent living, progressive living to every individual in India, that is, we have to build up a good society in which every individual—man, woman and child—has an opportunity of growth. Let us take that for granted and forget the ideology.

[Caste]

We particularly want that because we have committed the heinous offence through the ages of crushing large sections of our own people, sitting on them

and exploiting them, the so-called Harijans and the like. It is a terrible offence that we have committed against humanity through the ages. Let us realise that when we condemn others, and we have to some extent expiate that offence. We are trying to build up a society that will solve that problem completely, that is why Gandhiji laid the greatest stress on it. We talk of democracy. It is obvious that democracy, much less socialism, cannot tolerate these grades of human beings. There must be equality. It is inherent in democracy; it is still more inherent in socialism. If you want to build up that society, well you must definitely aim at it and take every step to do so, to remove these discrepancies. Ultimately, a society like that must remove the discrepancies in wealth. That does not mean that everybody must be alike. People differ but we must remove the major discrepancies which today exist, in which we see some people possessing vast sums spending in a most vulgar, disgusting manner while others are starving. Any sensitive man should realise that this kind of thing is not good. You know in our Constitution it is said that we are bringing about social justice. But what is social justice? It is not socialism, not dogmatic socialism, but the basic idea of socialism—equal opportunities for all etc. So, we must realise what kind of society we are building up because then our education must be moulded to that, our social laws must be moulded to that and in that society probably—I won't say anything more—probably, national conflicts would be much less.

[Nationalism]

Nationalism has been a great thing for us and for many countries, but remember that nationalism with all its great qualities has also had very great evils hidden in it. Hitler's nationalism was also nationalism which wanted to conquer the whole of Europe and possibly the world. Fascism is an extension of nationalism. So, nationalism in spite of its essential goodness, may develop into something exceedingly bad, and we have to be careful about it because once we think purely in national terms, we rather get out of the world as it is today which is much more than nationalism. If you travel in a jet plane for a few hours you cover countries and continents, and frontiers cease to have any meaning. We live in a different world, a rapidly changing world and talk about space travel and all that. It does not fit in with the nationalist concept. Of course, nationalism is very important in its own way but it is out of pace with today's world. We have to go out of it not only in the space world but we have to become internationalists. That does not mean that I am against nationalism, but I am widening the frontiers of nationalism. All these are problems of the age. We are still slumbering because in many ways we are backward not only

in our society but in our thinking with the ideas of a hundred years ago, and we repeat them. Therefore, I have ventured to suggest that these concepts be considered as they are today in the modern world.

[Synthesis]

India today is faced with the major problem of synthesis. It has always done that, and succeeded in doing that too. It could not quite do it. With the British coming here, it did do it partly but not completely. The process is going on. Anyhow, the problem before us is how to synthesise the science and technology of the West with the Indian background—call it what you like—the spirit of India or whatever it is. It is not opposed to that, but a long period of stagnation in our thinking and in our action and in our social fabric has damaged us very greatly. We have to get rid of this stagnation, not by repetition of phrases and mantras but by active thought and active action and the opening out of the windows of our mind to what is happening in the world, and understanding them and learning by them. We are a great people, we have tremendous potentialities. We have only to get out of the prisons of our own making, social prisons, intellectual prisons, and if we get out, our thought will begin to work and then indeed we will be thinkers—not merely by repetition of some slogans, or some phrases of long age or of today.

[Thinking in Modern Times]

That is why I wondered, when this invitation reached me, what this Thinkers' Convention was and what it was going to think about. Personally, I do not see how we can think in a large crowd like this. We may give out some ideas to others to think about, but the thinking process is largely a silent process, not a process of discussion. Take the Upanishads—a magnificent book of our old times. What does "Upanishad" mean? It means sitting near each other, that is, the teacher and the pupil sitting near each other and putting questions to each other and trying to find out the truth by thinking, by enquiry and discovery and not merely by repetition or slogan-raising.

The world is passing through, and we particularly in India are passing through, a very difficult phase, trying to fit in with the new world. We have to catch up from the middle ages to the new world, but the new world itself is changing into a newer world. Now, we have to catch up to this and not lose our roots, our being, our spirit and our culture. It is a difficult task. I do believe that India can succeed in this and will succeed, but before we try to do it we must realise what it is and not live in a dream world of our own in which we imagine that some pious phrases and slogans will satisfy the needs of today. It

is, after all, necessary for us to think. A great difficulty has arisen everywhere in the modern world, the capacity to think is getting less and less, because people are so terribly engaged in the day-to-day activities pressing upon them that they do not have the leisure to think and they lose the capacity to think. Dr Schweitzer, a great man, you know him, who lives in Africa all by himself,²⁰² has plenty of time to think and minister to the people there. He complains of this lack of thought in the world—people have lost the art of thinking and I think he is largely right. We think that we think. We do not do so. We merely repeat something. That is a problem of the age, of this industrial age, where in an industry we have to function, one after another, in a particular way, in a routine way, in a repetitive way. Thinking is not encouraged. Of course, there are some thinkers in the world. I do not say there are none. But the opportunity to think becomes less and less. We don't really think. I do not know how far our education encourages thinking—to some extent it does no doubt, but I doubt if it aims at it. So, all these great problems arise. Just when we require most thought of all, we are forgetting the art of thinking. If that happens, if we do not think, we lose all creative activities, then we stagnate, we shrivel up as a nation, the world shrivels up.

So, I am trying to put some ideas before you in order that you may think about them. It is not such an easy matter to solve the problems of the world by slogans or processions only, or something else, but it requires careful thinking. In the context of today of a changing world we should find out what we should do about it, and then try to do it. I do not know if I have justified myself by what I have told you or have qualified myself to be a worthy member of the Thinkers' Convention, but anyhow I have put some ideas before you, and I hope they will make you think about those matters and get us out of the ruts in which we all live.

Thank you.

Jai Hind!

202. Albert Schweitzer had set up a hospital at Lambaréné, Gabon, then a French colony, in 1913.

56. In Calcutta: Foundation of B.C. Roy Memorial Children's Hospital²⁰³

अध्यक्ष महोदय,²⁰⁴ बहिनो और भाइयो,

आज साल भर हुआ आज की तारीख को, डॉ. बिधान चंद्र राय²⁰⁵ का देहान्त हुआ था, उचित है कि आज उनकी तारीख को, हम इस बच्चों के अस्पताल को, जो कि उनके स्मारक के तौर पर बना है, उसकी बुनियाद डालें और शायद जहाँ तक मैं समझता हूँ कोई भी और इससे अच्छा स्मारक नहीं होता डॉ. राय के लिए, जिसको कि आपने चुना है यानी एक बच्चों का अस्पताल।

एक तो एक प्रसिद्ध डॉ. थे वो और और भी बातों में बहुत प्रसिद्ध हुए, वो पिछले वर्षों में वो पश्चिम बंगाल के मुख्यमंत्री रहे और सारी ज़िम्मेदारी उनके ऊपर रही, कठिन समय पर जबकि बंगाल के दो टुकड़े हुए और हज़ारों प्रश्न उठते थे, यहाँ के सम्भालने के। और कैसे काम किया उन्होंने इस ज़माने में वो आप सब जानते हैं, कैसी कुशलता से, समझ के और जो भी काम उन्होंने उठाया उसमें सफलता पायी।

आखिर में ख़ाली कलकत्ते के और बंगाल की बात नहीं थी बल्कि हमारे देश के चुने हुए पहाड़ की चोटियाँ थीं, जो होती है मनुष्यों में, वो थे। हालांकि वे एक अच्छी उम्र में गुज़रे लेकिन फिर भी उनका चले जाना, एक ख़ाना ख़ाली हो गया देश के लिए और सारे देश में बहुत दुख हुआ। हल्के-हल्के पुराने जो हमारे नेता थे, जिन्होंने बड़े बोझ उठाये और जिन्होंने एक इस नये भारत को, आज़ाद भारत को बनाने में बड़ी सहायता की उसको वे ढाले, वे गुज़रते जाते हैं और जो लोग बचे हैं उनके ऊपर बोझ अधिक पड़ जाता है।

एक बच्चों का अस्पताल उनके नाम से आपने बनाया। अस्पताल तो मौजू हो हर तरह से होता, बच्चों का ख़ासतौर से। मेरा विचार है और मैं समझता हूँ, आप में से भी बहुतों का होगा कि अगर हम ठीकतौर से अपने सब बच्चों की देखभाल कर सकें तब एक माने में, हम [ने] देश भर की देखभाल कर लिया है। चाहे बड़ों की फ़िक्र हम ज़रा कुछ कम करें, करनी तो सभी को चाहिए, लेकिन अगर बच्चों की ठीक हो, उनका स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध हो, उनकी देखभाल का, उनकी शिक्षा का, सब बातें हों, तो फिर वो बच्चे आजकल के, कल बड़े होंगे, तो देश का हो गया सारा प्रबंध। और बच्चों का प्रबंध बिल्कुल ही छोटी उम्र से होना चाहिए बल्कि एक माने में थोड़ा बहुत उनके जन्म से ही कुछ होना चाहिए और मुझे यह बिल्कुल विश्वास है कि उसका ठीक प्रबंध हो जाये, बच्चों का हमारे देश में, तो हमारे देश के बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हल हो जायेंगे। हाँ, ठीक प्रबंध करना आसान नहीं है और

203. Speech, 1 July 2019, on laying the foundation stone in Narkeldanga. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10610, NM No. 1858.

204. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, Chairman of Dr B.C. Roy Memorial Committee, which had sponsored this hospital, presided.

205. The late Chief Minister of West Bengal.

उसके साथ और बातें भी करनी चाहियें तब वह हो सके। इस माने में भी सब हमारे प्रश्न मिले-जुले हैं, हम कोई अलग एक को रख के आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते, सभी को बढ़ाना है।

इसलिए पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ बनायी गयीं कि एक साथ हम आगे बढ़ें लेकिन इन सब योजनाओं में मैं ज़रूरी समझता हूँ कि बच्चों की देखभाल आवश्यक है, उनके स्वास्थ्य की और उनके शिक्षा की। इसलिए जिस काम में आप जो मुझ से नींव डलवा रहे हैं, मैं बहुत खुशी से रखता हूँ। एक तो एक हमारी श्रद्धांजलि है डॉ. बिधान चंद्र राय के लिए और दूसरे वह काम भी ऐसा अच्छा है कि मुझे बहुत प्रिय है।

डॉ. राय तो बहुत बड़े आदमी थे बंगाल के और भारत के और उनका नाम, उनका काम जारी रहेगा लेकिन हम लोग जो उनके साथी बहुत वर्षों से थे, हमारे वो प्रिय मित्र थे, एक साथ काम करने वाले थे और कुछ न कुछ हमारी देखभाल भी किया करते थे डॉक्टरी हैसियत से, सभी तरह से हमारे बहुत नज़दीक थे और बहुत प्रिय थे।

तो कोई काम भी उनके नाम से हो, वह भी प्रिय हमारे लिए हो जाता है, ऐसा अच्छा काम जो जिससे कलकत्ता शहर और बंगाल को लाभ होगा और भारत को और इस ढंग से होगा जैसे उनका स्मरण ठीक-ठीक रहे। यह तो बहुत ही शुभ काम है और मैं बहुत खुशी से उसका, जो बुनियादी पत्थर है शिलान्यास करूँगा उसका।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Mr Chairman,²⁰⁶ Sisters and Brothers,

A year ago on this day, Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy²⁰⁷ passed away. It is a fitting tribute to his memory that we are laying the foundation-stone of a children's hospital named after him. I cannot think of a better memorial to Dr Roy than what you have chosen.

He was a very famous doctor. But he earned fame in many other fields too. He had been the Chief Minister of West Bengal during the last years of his life. In that capacity he carried a heavy load of responsibility, particularly at a difficult period in the history of Bengal when it was divided into two. There were innumerable problems to be dealt with and all of us are aware of the manner in which he discharged his responsibilities. He showed great understanding and expertise and succeeded in all that he took up.

He was a giant among men, a rare human being. This is true not only for Calcutta or Bengal, for he was among the stalwarts in India. Though he passed away at a ripe old age, his going left a great void behind for the whole country which was filled with grief. Gradually, all the old leaders who had shouldered

206. See fn 204 in this section.

207. See fn 205 in this section.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

great burdens and played a role in moulding this new and independent India are passing away. This increases the burden upon the ones who are left behind.

You are putting up a children's hospital in his memory. A hospital is a good thing at all times, particularly a children's hospital. In my opinion, which I think many of you will agree with, if we can look after the children of the country properly, we would have, in a sense, looked after the whole country. It does not matter if we pay a little less attention to the grown-ups, though of course everybody must be looked after in the long run. But if we can look after the young ones well, make proper arrangements for their health care and education, the country's future would have been looked after. Child care must start from a very young age, in fact from birth. I am convinced that once we do that, all our major problems will be solved. It is true that it is not as easy as it sounds. So many problems are linked that it is not easy to isolate one or the other.

That is why we have started the Five Year Plans in order to ensure an overall development in the country. But, of all the plans, I consider child care and education to be the most important. So I shall with great happiness, lay the foundation stone of this hospital. For one thing, it is our tribute to Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy and secondly, it is a purpose which is dear to me.

Dr Roy was a great son of Bengal and India and his work will go on. He was a friend and colleague of long standing. He looked after me in his professional capacity too. So he was close to me in many ways. Therefore, anything that is associated with his name becomes dear to me. This is a noble cause which will benefit the city of Calcutta, Bengal as well as India, and a fitting tribute to his memory. It is an auspicious task and I willingly lay the foundation stone.

Jai Hind !

Translation ends]

57. In Calcutta: At the R.G. Kar Medical College Hospital²⁰⁸

Madam Governor,²⁰⁹ Chief Minister,²¹⁰ and Mr Principal,²¹¹

For long years Calcutta was associated in my mind with Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy. Whenever I came here, inevitably I saw him, consulted him about many matters, we discussed many things and now a visit to Calcutta appears strangely lacking because his presence is not here. And yet as I go about Calcutta I find him, in a sense, present wherever I go. There are so many memories of him, so many things that remind us of him because he was so intimately connected with the life of Calcutta, this great city which he loved. And so I come here today for another little memorial ceremony of a great man who is so tied up with the life of Calcutta and the life of West Bengal specially which he nursed so devotedly ever since independence and the Partition.

I am happy to be here at your invitation and to participate in this ceremony and to pay my tribute to Dr Roy—one of the giants of ours not only in public life but in so many other fields. Here you look upon him as a great doctor, a great physician, but that quality which should be that of a great physician, the quality of healing, he applied to public life generally and among the many virtues and qualities he possessed, perhaps this quality of healing was the most prominent, shall I say, and the one which helped him to achieve so much at a time when Bengal specially wanted that touch of healing.

So I am glad to be here to pay my tribute to his memory and to associate myself with this ceremony of unveiling of his bust in this college with which he was so closely connected for so long.

Jai Hind!

208. Speech, 2 July, on laying the foundation stone of Dr B.C. Roy Casualty Block at the R.G. Kar Medical College Hospital, and unveiling the bust of Bidhan Chandra Roy. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10611, NM No. 1858.

B.C. Roy was Professor and Head of Medicine of the College for over thirty years, see the *National Herald*, 3 July 1963.

209. Padmaja Naidu.

210. Prafulla Chandra Sen.

211. Major Dr H.K. Indra, Principal, 1957-63. See <http://rgkarmedicalcollege.org/history.html>, accessed on 5 July 2019.

58. In Calcutta: Public Meeting²¹²

राज्यपाल जी,²¹³ मुख्यमंत्री जी,²¹⁴ कलकत्ते के कारपोरेशन के मेयर साहब,²¹⁵ भाइयो और बहिनो,

अभी मैं यहाँ आने के पहले, इस आम सभा में, यहाँ से जो पास है, प्लेनेटेरियम, जिसको बिड़ला जी ने बनाया है या बनवाया है, उसको हम देखने गये थे और वहाँ एक आधा घंटे रहे और इस संसार का एक बहुत छोटा सा नमूना वहाँ देखा आसमान तारों से भरा हुआ है, सूर्य-चाँद चलते थे, और बातें भी देखीं। और वहाँ कुछ यह मालूम हुआ, शायद आपको तो मालूम ही है कि यह हमारी पृथ्वी कितनी छोटी और अदना चीज़ है संसार में, एक समझो एक खाक, धूल का एक ज़रा सा, रेज़ा है, यह बीच [में] घूम रही है। और इस पृथ्वी में हम जो रहते हैं, हमें बड़ी मालूम होती है और हम अपने को भी बड़ा समझने लगते हैं, एक खाक के टुकड़े पे रहने वाले हम। पृथ्वी क्या चीज़ है और हम क्या चीज़ हैं इस पृथ्वी पर? लेकिन फिर भी हम इस धोखे में पड़ जाते हैं कि हम लोग बड़े आदमी हैं, पृथ्वी बड़ी चीज़ है, बड़े-बड़े साम्राज्य हुए, क्या-क्या हुए, लेकिन इसको अगर आप इस बड़े पैमाने पर देखें जो कि दरवाज़े खुल गये हैं, हमारे, विज्ञान ने खोले हैं, तो हम लोग बहुत छोटे हो जाते हैं, जब पृथ्वी छोटी है तो हम क्या हैं? अच्छा होता है कि कभी-कभी ऐसे विचार हम करें और हम धोखे में न पड़ें अपनी निस्वत या पृथ्वी तक की निस्वत। तो इस सभा में आने के पहले यह शिक्षा मुझे मिली।

कुछ रोज़ हुए, कुछ दिन नहीं कल एक जुलूस, एक प्रोसेशन [procession] मैंने सुना, देखा नहीं, आया था राज भवन में, जहाँ मैं ठहरा हूँ और कोई हमारे भाई एक कोई दल के हैं, उन्होंने एक खुली चिट्ठी मेरे नाम लिखी थी, वह मुझे भेजी थी, छपी हुई थी और उन्होंने शुरु ही किया था कि यह बहुत बुरी बात है, बेज़ा बात है कि मैं स्वीकार करूँ यह मानपत्र कलकत्ता कारपोरेशन की तरफ़ से, कौन सी ज़रूरत थी इसको मुझे स्वीकार करने की। मैं चाहता हूँ अपने को बढ़ाऊँ, मेरा नाम ज़्यादा फ़ैले और एक तरह से प्रचार अपना कर रहा हूँ। और मुझे उन्होंने सलाह दी थी कि मैं ऐसी बातों को पसंद नहीं करा करता बल्कि ऐसी बातें तो हैं ही, लेकिन अब समय हो गया उनकी राय में कि मैं प्रधानमंत्री के पद से मैं अलग हो जाऊँ और कुर्सी ख़ाली हो जाये। शायद हो सकता है, कौन जाने कि उनमें से कोई उस पर बैठ जाये। तो यह चिट्ठी मुझे मिली।²¹⁶ तो उनको अधिकार था, आप सभी को अधिकार है जैसी चाहें चिट्ठी लिखें, लेकिन मैं उसके माने कुछ समझना

212. Speech, 2 July 1963, at the Brigade Parade Ground also called Calcutta Maidan. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10612, 10613, 10614, 10615, NM No. 1859, 1862, 1863, 1864.

Nehru was accorded, for the first time in Calcutta, a civic reception by the Mayor of Calcutta Corporation.

213. Padmaja Naidu.

214. P.C. Sen.

215. Chittaranjan Chatterjee.

216. From PSP, see the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 3 July 1963, p. 6 col.3.

चाहता था कि मैंने क्या-क्या गलतियाँ कीं, उनको सोचता था। गलतियाँ तो बहुत हुई हैं और भारत को धक्के भी लगे हैं बहुत कुछ, और एक माने में जो कोई प्रधानमंत्री हो उसकी पहली ज़िम्मेदारी है जो-जो गलतियाँ हों, गलती तो बहुत लोग करें लेकिन उसकी ज़िम्मेदारी है और मैं स्वीकार करता हूँ। यह तो ठीक है बात लेकिन दुनिया अजीब है, पेचीदा है और अगर हम अपनी मनमानी बातें कर सकते हैं दुनिया में, तब तो हम दुनिया को, संसार को बदल देते बहुत जल्दी, उसमें कोई कठिनाई नहीं होती, जैसा हम चाहते कर देते लेकिन मनमानी बातें तो होती नहीं हैं।

हमारे देश में जहाँ कि पैंतालीस करोड़ लोग रहते हैं, पैंतालीस करोड़ अलग-अलग व्यक्ति हैं। मुझे एक दफ़ा लंदन में पूछा गया कि तुम्हारे देश भारत में कितने तुम्हारे प्रश्न हैं? कितने सवाल हैं? कुछ बरस की बात है, मैंने उसको जवाब दिया कि हमारे देश में पैंतीस करोड़ प्रश्न हैं, क्योंकि एक-एक व्यक्ति एक प्रश्न है, कि भारत आखिर भारतवासियों का है, और बातें भी हैं, ईंट-पत्थर, हिमालय पहाड़, नदियाँ हैं, गंगा-यमुना और हज़ारों बातें हैं, हमारा इतिहास है, हमारे दर्शनशास्त्र हैं, हमारे बहुत शास्त्र हैं वगैरा, सब बातें मिलकर भारत होता है लेकिन आजकल का भारत तो अन्त में, आजकल जो भारत में व्यक्ति रहते हैं वह है भारत। तो वह सब अलग हैं, अपना मिलजुल कर काम करें, जो कुछ करें, लेकिन अलग हैं और एक-एक व्यक्ति एक-एक सवाल है बल्कि एक-एक व्यक्ति कभी-कभी एक से अधिक सवाल है। तो यह मैंने उनको जवाब दिया था, उनको ज़रा आश्चर्य हुआ सुनकर कि यहाँ पैंतीस करोड़ सवाल हैं लेकिन ठीक है इस तरह से सोचना।

हम भारत माता को कहते हैं, वन्दे मातरम कहते हैं, वो भी ठीक है। मैं एक दफ़े पंजाब के एक गाँव में मोटर पर फिर रहा था और वहाँ शाम को पहुँचा, तो वहाँ के तगड़े जवान, जाट लोग थे मेरा विचार है वहाँ के, वो जमा थे, उन्होंने पुकारा भारत माता की जय, सुन्दर लगा, अच्छा लगा, फिर मैं उनके पास बैठा, मैंने उनसे पूछा आपने भारत माता की जय तो पुकारी, लेकिन कौन है यह भारत माता? तो बड़े सोच में पड़ गये वह, मैंने कई दफ़े उनसे कहा कि अक्सर आप पुकारते हैं भारत माता, कौन है? कहाँ रहती है? कोई स्त्री है, क्या है? कोई गुफ़ा में रहती है? उसके चित्र आप कभी-कभी देखते हैं? तो बड़े पेच में पड़े वह, बेचारे बूढ़े किसान थे वहाँ के जाट, बहुत परिश्रम करने वाले, मैं उनसे कोई ऐसा सवाल तो नहीं किया चाहता था। तो बहुत सोच के उन्होंने कहा कि धरती है। मैंने कहा, हाँ धरती है, कहाँ की धरती? आपके ग्राम की, आपके ज़िले की, आपके प्रान्त की, कहाँ की धरती? खैर, ऐसे बहुत देर तक सवाल जवाब हमारे होते रहे, फिर वो बड़े परेशान हुए और उन्होंने कहा कि आप बता दीजिए हमें कि क्या है?

तो बात सच है, भारत माता का बताना क्या है, यह आसान नहीं है क्योंकि वह तो बहुत चीज़ें मिली-जुली हैं, आज की नहीं हज़ारों वर्षों की, सारे हमारे विचार हज़ारों बरस के हमारे पुरखों के, जो हमने किया अच्छा बुरा सब मिलकर है, सब, हमारा इतिहास है लेकिन आजकल जो भारतीय लोग रहते हैं वह भारत माता है। उन किसानों से मैंने कहा कि भारत माता कौन है? आप हैं, आप हैं, आप हैं, उनको बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ कि वो

भारत माता हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि हम भारत माता हैं? मैंने कहा आप भी हैं, मैं भी, हम सब हैं, उनको बहुत आश्चर्य हुआ।

तो यह बात सही है, हम लम्बी-लम्बी बातें करते हैं और फ़ंस जाते हैं राजनीति के झगड़ों में, और बातों के, लेकिन आखिर में हम क्या कर रहे हैं? क्या हमारा ध्येय है? भारत की जनता की भलाई, भारत की जनता की उन्नति कि भारत में एक-एक पुरुष, स्त्री और बच्चा तरक्की करे, उन्नति करे और उसके लिए दरवाज़े खुल जायें आगे बढ़ने के, ऊँच-नीचता न रहे, न तो पैसों की ऊँच-नीचता बहुत रहे, न समाज की, जैसे आजकल तो बहुत है। हमारे यहाँ एक मुसीबत, बहुत मुसीबतें हमारे पीछे हैं, एक बड़ी मुसीबत आज की नहीं, बहुत दिनों से है, वह जातिभेद की है, कास्ट सिस्टम की है, जो कि इस ढंग की संसार में कहीं नहीं है। यह ख़ास हमारा है, हमारा, जो कुछ समझिए, गुण समझिए, अपराध समझिए, अपराध समझिए, कुसूर समझिए यह है और जिसने हमें शुरु में, जो भी कुछ उसका हो, जिसने हमें दबा दिया, हमारे टुकड़े कर दिये, हममें एकता ठीक-ठीक नहीं होने दी, हमारे समाज के बहुत लोगों के सामने दरवाज़े बन्द कर दिये और भारत को हानि हुई। इसलिए आपको याद होगा महात्मा गांधी ने कितना ज़ोर दिया था कि भारत में स्वराज्य नहीं ठीक-ठीक हो सकता जबकि सब लोग, भारतीय लोगों को बराबर की जगह न मिले, हम हरिजन हैं, अंत्यज लोग जिनको हम कहते हैं, उनको पूरा मौक़ा तरक्की का न मिले और बात ठीक थी करने की। किस मुँह से हम स्वराज्य को माँगें या लें इसलिए कि भारत में थोड़े से आदमी स्वराज्य से लाभ उठायें, और न उठायें, यह तो बिल्कुल इन्साफ़ नहीं था।

तो हमारे सामने क्या तस्वीर है आइन्दा की? पहले हमारे सामने एक मोटी तस्वीर थी वह भारत को आज़ाद करने की और अंग्रेज़ी राज्य को यहाँ से हटाने की, वह एक सीधी सी बात थी जो सब समझ सकते थे। उसी के साथ-साथ दूसरी तस्वीर भी हमारे मन में आयी कि हम स्वराज्य मिलने पर क्या करेंगे? हम कैसी समाज बनायेंगे? हल्के-हल्के समाज के संगठन की तरफ़ हमारा ध्यान जाने लगा। समाज ऐसी होनी चाहिए जिसमें सब लोगों को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले। यह कहना तो ठीक नहीं है कि सब लोग एक से होते हैं, देखने में भी एक से नहीं होते, कोई मोटा होता है, कोई पतला, कोई लम्बा, कोई छोटा, कोई अक्लमंद, कोई मूर्ख, सब एक से तो नहीं होते, लेकिन सब लोगों को बराबर का मौक़ा समाज को देना चाहिए कि जितनी उसमें बुद्धि है, शक्ति है वो बढ़ सके, ऐसी समाज हमें बनानी है। तो समाज के संगठन जिसमें ऐसी बातें हों जो कि लोगों को दबायें, जैसे ज़मींदारी प्रथा थी, ताल्लुकेदारी, जागीरदारी, यह ग़लत थी, यह दबाती थी, लोगों को उठने नहीं देती थी, उनको हटाना था।

फिर आजकल की दुनिया में और प्रथाएँ हैं जिसमें नई-नई शक्तियाँ पैदा होती हैं, नये-नये अधिकार लोगों को मिल जाते हैं, कुछ लाभ भी उससे होता है और हानि भी होती है। उसका क्या करें? आजकल की दुनिया में बहुत से देशों में जो पूँजीवाद कहलाता है वह चलता है, पूँजीवाद ने बहुत कुछ भला दुनिया का किया, लेकिन सवाल उठता है कि आजकल की दुनिया में वह पूरीतौर से उचित है कि उसको बदलना है। आप जानते हैं बाज़ देशों में समाजवाद शुरु हुआ, बाज़ देशों में साम्यवाद है और यह विचारधाराओं

की मुठभेड़ दुनिया में चलती जाती है और एक तरह से दुनिया के सामने एक लड़ाई की तैयारी करती है। हालांकि यह मान लीजिए यह कोई विचारधाराओं की लड़ाई का सवाल नहीं है, असल में बड़े-बड़े देश जो शक्तिशाली हो जाते हैं तब उनकी मुठभेड़ होती है, वह अपने, जो उनके लाभ की बात है उसको पर्दे में डालते हैं विचारधाराओं के, असल में दो देशों की मुठभेड़ हो जाती है और उस समय यह होता है। यह सब प्रश्न उठते हैं और इसी सिलसिले में जो बातें दुनिया में हमेशा थीं, अब हो रही हैं लेकिन वह भयानक ज्यादा हो रहा है। बड़े देशों में ऐसी नाइतिफ़ाक़ी, आपस में लड़ाई के सवाल होते हैं, बड़ी-बड़ी लड़ाइयाँ हुई, छोटी-बड़ी, फ़र्क़ यह है कि कोई बड़ी लड़ाई हो तो हमारे हथियार ऐसे हो गये हैं, एटम बम्ब वगैरा कि वह नष्ट कर दें सारे संसार को, यह फ़र्क़ हो गया, बड़ा फ़रक़ है। अब मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि यह जो देशों के आपस में अक्सर एंजातानी होती है वह इसलिए, इसी विचारधारा की नहीं, थोड़ी बहुत विचारधारा की हो, होती है, हरेक अपने देश का लाभ का सोचता है।

अभी आजकल आपने देखा होगा कि दो महान देश जैसे रूस देश, सोवियत यूनियन और चीन देश दोनों साम्यवादी गिने जाते हैं और हैं लेकिन आपस में कुछ एंजातानी बहुत है उनमें, क्यों? कहा जाता है कि उनकी आइडियोलोजी [ideology], विचारधारा में कुछ फ़र्क़ है, होगा, लेकिन विचारधारा पे इत्ते एक-दूसरे के विरोधी नहीं हो जाते हैं, एक-दूसरे को गालियाँ नहीं देते हैं, कुछ और बात होती है, वह हो, उन दोनों देशों के कुछ अपने लाभ और फ़ायदे देखकर मुठभेड़ हो जाती है। अब मैं तो उसमें ठीक-ठीक जानता नहीं, कह नहीं कुछ सकता, लेकिन आपको दिखाता हूँ कि विचारधारा एक होते हुए भी कैसे देशों में आपस में कशमकश होती है, खेंचातानी होती है।

बात यह हो गई है कि अब हमारे संसार में जो बड़ी उन्नति हुई है, कहिए विज्ञान की, क्या-क्या, अब हम कलकत्ते से बैठे-बैठे थोड़े से घंटों में यूरोप पहुँच जायें, अमेरिका पहुँच जायें, जैट हवाई जहाज़ पर। तो ऐसे दुनिया बदल गयी है, सारी दुनिया क़रीब हो गयी है और अलग-अलग देशों का भी अब ज़रा कुछ बेमाने से हो गया है। तो दुनिया बदल रही है, आपको ख़बर रेडियो से, इससे, उससे एकदम मिल जाती है। आप ज़रा थोड़ी देर के लिए अपने को, एक बहुत दिन नहीं, एक दो सौ, तीन सौ वर्ष हुए पुराने चले जाइये, देखिए कैसी दूसरी दुनिया थी और हज़ारों वर्ष से चली आती थी और आप कलकत्ते से चलें दिल्ली तो आपको कितने? कैसे जायें? रथ पर बैठ के, घोड़े पर बैठकर, गधे पर बैठकर, कैसे जायेंगे आप वहाँ? तो कितने दिन लगे? ये दो ही सौ वर्ष की बात है, डेढ़ सौ वर्ष की बात है, बहुत पुरानी बात नहीं है। ख़बर आप भेजें तो ख़बर कैसे भेजें? जल्दी से जल्दी जाये, शायद आप घोड़े पे ले जायें, अब बदल गयी है दुनिया, अब बदलते-बदलते यह आ गयी है हालत कि आप दुनिया के चारों तरफ़ घूम सकते हैं थोड़ी देर के अन्दर, एस्ट्रोनोट्स, कोसमोनोट्स (astronauts, cosmonauts) जो उड़ा करते हैं चारों तरफ़, लोग कहते हैं कि दस वर्ष में, बारह वर्ष में वो चाँद पर पहुँच जायेंगे, चाँद पहुँच कर करेंगे क्या, वह मुझे मालूम नहीं है लेकिन पहुँच जायेंगे।

खैर, दुनिया बदल रही है और ऐसी दुनिया में जो विचार हमारे पुरानी दुनिया के थे, जो कि एक, इसमें अलग-अलग टुकड़े थे बहुत सारे, जो एक जगह से दूसरी जगह जाना कठिन था, वह विचारधारा यह आजकल की दुनिया में चलती नहीं है। इसलिए यह आवश्यक हो गया कि कुछ न कुछ हमारे दिल में, मन में जो नक्शा है दुनिया का वह बदले, हमारे विचार कुछ बदलें। यह कोशिश हो रही है दुनिया में और उस कोशिश में बड़ी कठिनाई हुई है, क्योंकि हमारे जो विचार हैं, हजारों वर्षों से चले आ रहे हैं लेकिन इसको बदलना होता है और अगर हम नहीं बदलेंगे तो यह खतरा है, भय है कि हमारा नाश हो जायेगा, ऐसी लड़ाई में जैसे एटम बम्ब वगैरा चलते हैं। तो अजीब दुनिया है, इसको अच्छी तरह से हमें समझना है और कैसी दुनिया हो हम समझ भी लें, यह कमजोर लोगों की और कमजोर देशों की दुनिया नहीं है, कभी भी नहीं रही, लेकिन आजकल विशेषकर जिसको, जिस देश को अपनी इज्जत रखनी है उसको तगड़ा होना है। यह मोटी बात है और आजकल तगड़े होने के माने क्या हैं? यह कोई खाली शोरगुल मचाने से कुछ ताकत आ नहीं जाती, जब देशों के सवाल होते हैं तो देशों की शक्ति जरूर उसके पीछे है, पुरुषों की वीरता है लेकिन उसके पीछे विज्ञान है, उसके पीछे विज्ञान के निकले हुए शस्त्र हैं और जो तरह-तरह की शक्ति बढ़ानी है, आजकल के ज़रिए हैं, उसके हाथ में हैं।

क्यों अंग्रेज़ भारत में आकर यहाँ के मालिक बन गये? क्यों यूरोप के बाज़ देशों ने दुनिया पे छापा मारा उन्नीसवीं सदी में? इसलिए कि इसके पहले यूरोप में एक चीज़ आई, जिसको इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन कहते हैं, एक क्रांति हुई, औद्योगिक क्रांति, उसके पीछे विज्ञान था और उसने उनकी हालत बदल दी, उनकी शक्ति बढ़ गयी, उनकी दौलत बढ़ गयी और जब उनकी ताकत बढ़ गयी तो दुनिया भर में उन्होंने छापा मारा। ज़ाहिर होता है इससे कि हमें भी किसी क्रूर उसी रास्ते पर चलना है, बिल्कुल नहीं, लेकिन विज्ञान के रास्ते पर, यह मशीनों के रास्ते पर। विज्ञान हमें बताता है कैसे हम अपने देश की धन-दौलत बढ़ायें, कैसे हम खेती से अधिक कमायें, कैसे हम कारख़ाने बनायें, कैसे हम हजार बातें जो कर रहे हैं जिससे हम लोग देश में खुशहाल हों, और कोई ज़रिया नहीं, हमें तेज़ी से करना है, उन्होंने डेढ़ सौ, दो सौ वर्षों में यूरोप में किया, हम दो सौ बरस तक तो नहीं ठहर सकते। इसलिए जैसे हमें स्वराज्य आया, हमने सोचा कि अब हमारी जो नयी यात्रा शुरू होगी, वह होगी जनता के उठाने की, विज्ञान से, टेक्नोलोजी से, और जो-जो ज़रिए हमारे पास खुले हैं। हमने प्लानिंग कमीशन बनाया था, इन्हीं बातों पर विचार करने के लिए, हमने देश भर में बहुत सारे बड़े-बड़े नेशनल लेबोरेटरी खोले हैं विज्ञान को बढ़ाने के लिए अपने विद्यापीठों में, यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में, और जगह भी इसकी कोशिश की। हमने ऐसे प्रश्न पर भी जैसे कि एटोमिक एनर्जी है, हालांकि हमने बड़े ज़ोरों से कहा कि हम एटम बम्ब नहीं बनायेंगे और हमारा यह विचार था और है कि हम नहीं बनायेंगे, लेकिन एटम बम्ब नहीं बनाना एक बात है, एटोमिक एनर्जी जो एक नई महान शक्ति है उसको समझना, उसको क़ाबू में लाना और उससे लाभ उठाना दूसरी बात है। इसलिए हमने उसी समय से एटोमिक एनर्जी की सेवा की और इस समय काफ़ी हमने उस बारे में भी तरक्क़ी की है, एटम बम्ब बनाने में नहीं लेकिन एटोमिक एनर्जी को क़ाबू में लाने की।

और उससे आप जानते हैं, अभी आज ही शायद आपने समाचार पत्र में पढ़ा हो कि एक बात का चर्चा बहुत दिनों से था कि एक एटोमिक एनर्जी का पावर स्टेशन बड़ा सा बनाने का, तारापुर, महाराष्ट्र में बनाने का प्रश्न था। उस पर अमेरिका यानी यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स की सरकार से एक समझौता हुआ था हमारा और उन्होंने उस सिलसिले में सहायता देने का इक़रार किया है और रुपया क़र्ज़ा देने को हमें। तो यह एक अच्छी बात है और मुझे खुशी हुई कि यह बात हो गयी, इतने रोज़ से बातचीत की थी। यह एक निशानी है हमारी कोशिश की कि हम आजकल के नये विज्ञान की दुनिया में बढ़ रहे हैं, क्योंकि उसके बग़ैर कोई हमारे लिए या किसी देश के लिए चारा नहीं है। नई दुनिया में हम बढ़ रहे हैं, उसके माने नहीं हैं कि हम अपनी पुरानी दुनिया को बिल्कुल छोड़कर नक़ल करें जाकर अमेरिका की या रूस की या किसी और देश की, लेकिन एक बात आवश्यक है कि विज्ञान की हमें सेवा करनी है, विज्ञान से सीखना है, अपने पुराने आदर्श रखने हैं और विज्ञान की पोशाक उनको पहनानी है। यह हमने कोशिश की।

पंद्रह-सोलह बरस हुए और देश जहाँ कि सैकड़ों वर्ष से ग़रीबी थी, वह बढ़ती जाती थी, उससे लड़ाई हमने करने का इरादा किया, हमें किसी से लड़ाई नहीं लड़नी थी, लेकिन हाँ ग़रीबी से, दरिद्रता से लड़ाई लड़नी थी। अब वह लड़ाई कोई एक वीरता से, एक मैदान में जीत जाने से नहीं होती, वह लड़ाई अजीत थी जिसमें एक-एक घर में, एक-एक खेत में, एक-एक कारख़ाने में, एक-एक दुकान में, हर जगह वह लड़ाई थी कि हम अपने परिश्रम से, सारी जनता, देश की धन-दौलत अधिक पैदा करें, चाहे खेत से, चाहे कारख़ाने से, चाहे कहीं से और फिर उसका बाद में बंटवारा ठीक-ठीक हो, जिससे यह न हो कि देश की दौलत थोड़े से जेबों में रह जाये और अधिकतर लोग ग़रीब रहें, वह तो अन्याय है। यह कोशिश की गयी और बड़ा-बड़ा प्रश्न एक देश का रूप बदल देना, मेरा विचार है कि इस पंद्रह-सोलह वर्ष में भारत में बुनियाद, जड़ पड़ी है जिस पर हम इस नये भारत को एक नयी पोशाक पहनायेंगे, क्योंकि हमें नये भारत की बड़ी इमारत बनानी है, उसकी नींव डालनी है और एकदम से हम खड़ा नहीं कर सकते हैं, मज़बूती से। और करोड़ों आदमियों का प्रश्न है, यह कोई क़ानून बनाने का प्रश्न तो नहीं है, यह तो एक सब लोगों का जीवन बदलने का, आप, आप, आप और करोड़ों जो देश में हैं, कठिन है, काफ़ी, कोशिश की और काफ़ी तरक्की की। हाँ, अगर आप कहें कि इससे ज़्यादा उन्नति होनी चाहिए, तरक्की, तो मैं आपसे सहमत हूँ, मुझे खुद कुछ दुख होता है कि हम ज़्यादा तेज़ी से क्यों नहीं बढ़ते हैं, क्यों नहीं हमारी खेती से पैदा होता है, क्यों नहीं ज़्यादा होता? क्यों हमारे यहाँ ग़रीबी होती है? यह सब बातें सही हैं लेकिन जो बात हमने कोशिश की, वह यह कि ऊपर से कोई एक मरहम-पट्टी करने से भारत की बीमारी अच्छी नहीं होती, बीमारी बड़ी अन्दर की थी, दिल की थी, कमज़ोरी आ गयी थी, उसमें एक तरह का फ़ायदा हुआ। महात्मा जी के ज़माने में जिस ढंग से उन्होंने हमारी आज़ादी की जंग की उससे बहुत बड़ा लाभ हुआ, क्योंकि लोगों में हिम्मत आ गयी, आत्मविश्वास आ गया, वह इलाज किया और अब जो हमें दूसरे ढंग से इलाज करना है कि उस आत्मविश्वास को, हिम्मत को मोड़ना है

भारत में अधिक दौलत पैदा करने के लिए, काम करने के लिए, विज्ञान सीखने के लिए। यह सवाल हमारे और आपके लिये हुआ, वह होने पर यह तरक्की तेज़ी से हो सकती है।

अब हम जाके दुर्गापुर में या भिलाई में या राउरकेला में या बोकारो में, हम जाकर लोहे के कारखाने बड़े-बड़े बनायें, एकदम से लोहे के कारखाने से आपको कुछ लाभ नहीं होता, व्यक्तिगत रूप से कुछ लोग काम करने लगते हैं, मजदूरी मिलती है। लेकिन अगर भारत बड़े तो यह आवश्यक है कि लोहा हम पैदा करें, स्टील बनायें, उसके बगैर यह जो इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन है वह यहाँ चल नहीं सकता [अगर] हमारे पास काफ़ी लोहा न हो या हमारे पास काफ़ी इलेक्ट्रिक पावर, बिजली की शक्ति न हो तो असम्भव है हमारा बढ़ना, लेकिन लोहे के कारखाने बनाने से एकदम से आपको लाभ नहीं होता, वह दस-पंद्रह वर्ष बाद होगा, कुछ बरस बाद होता है। इसलिए यह प्रश्न सभों के सामने आता है कि कैसे, क्या पहला क़दम उठे, क्या दूसरा उठे, क्या तीसरा क़दम उठे। यह हो सकता है और हमारे प्रफ़ुल्ल बाबू यहाँ चीफ़ मिनिस्टर हैं, कोई बात करें जिससे थोड़े दिन के लिए, दस रोज़, बीस रोज़, महीना भर, छः महीने के लिए आपको खुश कर दें, कोई बात, जिससे आपके ऊपर कोई बोझा कम हो जाये, लेकिन उस दो-चार महीने बाद फिर बोझा आप पर बढ़ जाये। तो ठीक क़दम उठाने चाहियें न? हम टैक्स बन्द कर दें, बड़ी खुशी है साहब टैक्स बन्द हो जाये, बड़े अच्छे हैं और दो रोज़ बाद दिवाले हो जायें मुल्क के, तब हाय-हाय हो। तो यह तो अक्ल से चलना है न?

तो पहला क़दम इसलिए ऐसी चीज़ें बनाने का है कि बड़े-बड़े डैम्स [dams] बनें जिसमें बिजली की शक्ति निकले, जिसमें इरीगेशन [irrigation] हो, नहरें हों, बड़ा रुपया लगता है इसमें और लाभ बाद में होता है और ऐसे कारखाने हों, मशीन बनाने के कारखाने, मैंने आपसे कहा, लोहे की, स्टील के लिए स्टील मशीन बनाना, स्टील की मशीन बनाना, बड़ी भारी मशीन होती है, हमें उसको बनाना है ताकि जब हम स्टील की फैक्ट्री चाहे तो हमारी मशीन उसमें लगे, मशीन बनाना ज़रूरी है। यह सब बातें बुनियादी हैं, जिससे एकदम से देश को लाभ नहीं होता लेकिन कल की लाभ की तैयारी करते हैं। यह हमने कोशिश की करने की।

यह आसान था कि हम छोटी-छोटी बातें करते, जिससे जनता को कुछ आराम मिलता, लेकिन उसका नतीजा यह होता है कि कल की तरक्की बन्द हो जाती। हाँ, एक तरक्की आवश्यक है, वह यह, शिक्षा की तरक्की, क्योंकि बगैर शिक्षा के हम बढ़ ही नहीं सकते, शिक्षा की, स्वास्थ्य की, यह बातें आवश्यक हैं और उसको तेज़ी से, तेज़ी से फ़ैलना है क्योंकि नई दुनिया कोई हो नहीं सकती जब तक कि उसके पीछे एक शिक्षित समाज न हो और शिक्षा के माने ख़ाली पढ़ना-लिखना नहीं है लेकिन आजकल की दुनिया के काम सीखने हैं। यह सब हमारे विचार थे और इस तरह से हम चले हैं। बहुत लोग समझते हैं कि हमने, इस पंद्रह वर्ष में बहुत कछ सफलता हमें मिली है, मेरा ख़्याल है मिली है, उसी के साथ यह भी सही है कि जित्ता हम चाहते थे उतना नहीं हुआ है। आप कह दीजिए, आपको अधिकार है कि हमारा कुसूर है, हमारी दुर्बलता है, जो कुछ कहिए। अब मुझे दुख होता है यह सोचकर कि आजकल भी हमारे देश में काफ़ी ग़ल्ले वगैरा, खाने का सामान

नहीं पैदा हो और हमें जाके अमेरिका से या कहीं और से कुछ लाना पड़े, मुझे बहुत रंज होता है, बहुत बुरा लगता है। क्योंकि यह एक बुनियादी चीज़ है कि भारत में विशेषकर, और किसी देश में भी खाना पूरा अपना पैदा करें। मुझे यह भी अच्छा नहीं लगता कि इस समय, हमारी कठिनाई के समय हमें दूर-दूर देशों में जाना पड़े, उनसे सहायता माँगनी पड़े, हथियार माँगने पड़ें। क्योंकि देश को अपने ऊपर, अपनी शक्ति होनी चाहिए, अपने ऊपर भरोसा करना चाहिए, नहीं तो पूरीतौर से वह स्वतंत्र नहीं हुआ, उस पर दबाव पड़ते हैं, हज़ार दिक्कतें, लेकिन क्या किया जाये?

हम शुरू करते हैं सैकड़ों वर्षों की गुलामी के बाद, अब एकदम से बदल जाना कठिन है और बदल जाना ठीक तरीके से, ठीक रास्ते से, दिखावे की बात नहीं। तो आपको अधिकार है आप यह निश्चय करें कि पिछले वर्षों में जो भारत में काम हुआ है वह ग़लत हुआ या सही हुआ। हमारी आखिर एक डेमोक्रेटिक [democratic], प्रजातंत्र की समाज है, आखिर में आप ही कि मज़ी से, आपकी खुशी से जो बात निश्चय होगी वह होगी और कित्ते ही अब हम, कोई पत्थर की लकीर तो है नहीं, हमें विचार करना होता है कि क्या सही हुआ, क्या ग़लत हुआ, अपनी ग़लतियों से सीखना पड़ता है।

आजकल आप जानते हैं कि हमारे सामने एक माने में सबमें बड़ा प्रश्न है यह जो चीनी आक्रमण हुआ हमारे देश पर। आपको अधिकार है जैसे कि कल भी मुझे एक पत्र मिला, एक दल के लोगों ने दिया, मुझे उन्होंने गुनहगार और ज़िम्मेदार बनाया इस आक्रमण का, कहा कि तुम भारत की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते, आक्रमण हुआ है, इसलिए तुम्हें अधिकार नहीं है, तुम निकल जाओ। यह उनको अधिकार है अपनी राय का इज़हार करने का। हालांकि मेरी राय में, मेरी राय में मुझे भी अधिकार है [कि] जो उनकी राय है [वो] अक्लमंदी की नहीं है और अगर मैं कहूँ बहुत अदब से तो ज़रा बेवकूफी की भी है, लेकिन यह सब बातें आपके सोचने समझने की हैं [कि] चीनी आक्रमण कैसे हुआ? क्यों हुआ? क्या हम कर सकते थे उसके खिलाफ़ और क्या कुछ रह गया हमसे करने से? यह आसान बात नहीं है, राय देने की, काफ़ी पेचीदा सवाल है।

चीन एक महान देश है, बहुत बड़ा देश है और बहुत परिश्रमी देश है और पिछले पंद्रह वर्ष में उसने अपने को पूरीतौर से फ़ौजी शक्ति बढ़ाने की कोशिश की है। हमारे पीछे हम भी अपनी फ़ौजी शक्ति रखते हैं और अपने देश की रक्षा करना चाहते थे लेकिन फिर भी हमारे पीछे जो विचार थे, वह शांति और अमन के अधिक थे, दुनिया में हम प्रसिद्ध हो गये कि हम शांतिप्रिय देश हैं और इस देश के नेता शांतिप्रिय हैं। दुनिया में हम लड़ाई के खिलाफ़ अपनी आवाज़ उठाते थे और इन सब बातों का भी, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि हमारे दिमाग़ पर असर हुआ और हम और देशों से दोस्ती किया चाहते थे और चीन से भी किया चाहते थे। चीन से कुछ हमें थोड़ा सा अन्देशा था कि, लेकिन हम फिर भी समझते थे कि हमारा पड़ोसी देश है, उससे दोस्ती रखना अच्छा है, लड़ाई रहने से हमारी भी हानि होगी और चीन की भी। हो सकता है अब आप कहें कि हम धोखे में पड़ गये, हमें ज़्यादा तैयारी करनी थी लेकिन हमारे सामने हमेशा सवाल यह था कि जितना अधिक हम फ़ौजी सामान पे खर्चते हैं उतना ही हमें कम खर्चने को मिलता है, देश के उद्धार के

लिए, जनता के लाभ के लिए जो खर्चें वह कम हो जाता है। तो हमने सोचा कि हमारे देश की शक्ति बढ़ाने के लिए भी यह पहली बात है कि हम देश की हालत अच्छी करें, ख़ाली फ़ौज बढ़ा देने से शक्ति नहीं होती, फ़ौज के पीछे देश कैसा है, उसकी आर्थिक स्थिति कैसी है, उसकी एकता कैसी है, उसमें कितने सीखे हुए, पढ़े-लिखे लोग हैं, यह हज़ार बातें, कितने कारख़ाने हैं, यह सब बातें हैं। तो हमने सोचा कि इस पे हम ध्यान दें और उस पे हम ध्यान नहीं देते तो कभी भी हमारा देश मज़बूत नहीं होता।

ख़ैर, आसान है बाद में कहना कि एक बार हम से ग़लती हुई, भूल हुई, हो सकता है, यह आप निश्चय कर सकते हैं लेकिन यह आप देखें कि चीन जैसा देश अगर वह उतारु हो जाये लड़ाई के लिए और धमकी दे के अपना मतलब हासिल करने के लिए तो बिल्कुल नये प्रश्न पैदा हो जाते हैं और वह सारे देशों के चारों तरफ़, और देशों के भी और हमारी जो कुछ शक्ति हो वह, और बड़े-बड़े दुनिया के देश हैं उनके लिए पैदा हो जायें। ख़ैर, हमें शिकायत होती है कि एक ज़माने में बाज़ लोगों ने कहा, क्या? हिन्दी-चीनी भाई-भाई, इसका मज़ाक़ उड़ाते हैं, जो मज़ाक़ उड़ाते हैं मैं उनसे पूछूँगा फिर क्या एक-दूसरे को गाली देते, क्या करते? ज़रा अक्ल से भी कभी काम लें और फ़िक़रेबाज़ी में न पड़ें। बहुत ठीक किया अगर हमने चीन से दोस्ती करने की कोशिश की, माना कि हम असफल हुए, नाकामयाब हुए, ठीक है लेकिन हमारी शक्ति नहीं बढ़ जाती गाली देने से और गाली देना सभ्य बात नहीं है।

लेकिन असल में सवाल तो ये है कि अब जो चीन ने हमारे ऊपर हमला किया और जो उसका इरादा है हम पर आक्रमण करने का या जो कुछ है, उसका हम सामना कैसे करें? ज़ाहिर है हम उसका सामना, एक तो फ़ौजी ढंग है, आजकल के फ़ौजी ढंग हैं, कोई पुराना ढंग तो है नहीं कि हम मैदान में एक तलवार ले कूद जायें, आजकल के हथियारों का बनाना, आजकल के हवाई जहाज़ों का इस्तेमाल करना। हम नहीं चाहते लड़ाई हो चीन से या कहीं भी लेकिन यह हमारे चाहने या न चाहने की बात तो नहीं है, यह तो एक बात है उन्होंने हमारे ऊपर हमला किया और हमारी ज़मीन पर क़ब्ज़ा करते हैं, धमकी देते हैं, तो उसका सिर झुका लेना उसके सामने तो बिल्कुल हमारे लिए बेइज़्ज़ती की बात ही नहीं है, लेकिन एक माने में अपनी स्वतंत्रता को छोड़ देने की बात है, यह तो हो नहीं सकता। तो उसकी पूरी तैयारी करनी है। हुकुम दे देते हैं ऐसे कि आओ, निकाल दो उनको वहाँ से। मुझे हैरत होती है कि कुछ दल के लोग ऐसे हैं जो कुछ अक्ल से और पढ़ने-लिखने से कोई संबंध नहीं रखते हैं, अजीब तमाशा है, वो समझते हैं कि एक नारा उठा दें और कलकत्ते के शहर में एक प्रोसेशन [procession] निकाल दें तो बस दुनिया को पलट देंगे। यह बचपना कहाँ का आया। आजकल की दुनिया सख़्त दुनिया है, तगड़ी दुनिया है, मज़बूत दुनिया है, बेरहम दुनिया है और कलकत्ते में जुलूस निकाल देने से हल नहीं होते सवाल, वह तो कलकत्ते के भी नहीं होते, बंगाल के भी नहीं होते और भारत के और सारी दुनिया के कैसे हों?

तो ज़रा समझना चाहिए कि क्या बात है, क्या नहीं। हमें जो कुछ काम करें दुनिया के मैदान में उसके लिए तैयार होना है, मज़बूत होना है, तैयारी आसान नहीं है आजकल

की दुनिया में अलावा इसके कि बड़ा रुपया लगता है, बहुत लोगों को तैयार करना पड़ता है और हमारे सामने जो सवाल उठता है कि हम जो रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं अपने पंचवर्षीय योजना में, फ़ाइव इयर प्लान में, उसको हम रोक दें कि नहीं? हमने विचार किया और देखा कि भारत की शक्ति के लिए आवश्यक है कि पंचवर्षीय योजना चलायी जाये और सफल हो और अगर वह नहीं होती तो हम कितनी ही फ़ौजें अपनी बनायें, भारत को कुछ समय, दो-चार महीने, साल भर तक कोई सहायता कर दे, फिर नहीं चल सकती है। उन फ़ौजों को सामान कहाँ से मिलेगा? सब अमेरिका से आता जायेगा या अंग्रेज़ देते जायेंगे, इस तरह से कोई देश आज़ाद हुए हैं और बढ़े हैं कि दूसरे देशों के सामने हाथ फ़ैलाकर हर वक़्त खड़े रहें, वह मदद करें। ऐसे कब तक भारत आज़ाद रहेगा? हमने अमेरिका से, अंग्रेज़ों से, और देशों से सहायता माँगी और उन्होंने दी है, हमें उसकी खुशी है और हमने उनको धन्यवाद दिया है, यह ठीक है और जब ज़रूरत होगी हम माँगेंगे, लेकिन हम इस तरह का अपना देश बनायें जिसमें हमेशा बाहर की सहायता से देश खड़ा रहे, नहीं तो गिर जाये। तो देश स्वतंत्र कहाँ रहा? असम्भव है, इसलिए इस समय में हम जो कुछ भी सहायता लें, हमें ऐसा प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए कि हमारी खुद शक्ति बढ़े, हमारी शक्ति बढ़ती है देश में अधिक पैदा करने से लड़ाई का सामान, कारख़ानों से, खेती का सामान, सब बातें हम पैदा करें, उससे हमारी आर्थिक हालत भी अच्छी होती है, हमारी रोज़गार - बेरोज़गारी का भी ठीक होता है और शक्ति भी बढ़ती है। यह भी एक बात थी जो हमारे सामने कई वर्षों से थी कि हमें अपनी फ़ौजी शक्ति बढ़ाने के लिए भी हम अपने यहाँ सामान बनायें न कि...। आप जानते होंगे कि फ़ौजी सामान, हवाई जहाज़ का सामान, लड़ाई का सामान जो है यह सब एक तो बहुत महँगा होता है और महँगे होने के अलावा इसके बेचने में भी बड़ी चालबाज़ी होती है, यह कोई मामूली बाज़ारु चीज़ नहीं है, उससे जो चाहते हैं लेते हैं, यह समझ के कि यह फ़ौजी सामान की आवश्यकता है ही किसी देश को, तो उसका गला घोटकर उसके दाम ले लेते हैं। इसलिए हमने कोशिश की कि अपने देश में बनायें जहाँ तक बन पड़े, हम बाहर से न लें, न ख़रीदें, असल रास्ता यही है क्योंकि इससे देश की शक्ति बढ़ती है, लेकिन इसमें कुछ समय लगता है, बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने खड़े करने में। अब भी हमें यही करना पड़ रहा है, हम बाहर से भी ले रहे हैं और अपने यहाँ भी कारख़ाने बना रहे हैं क्योंकि यह बात कोई एक साल, दो साल की तो नहीं, मालूम नहीं कितने बरस ये मुसीबत हमारे सामने आये।

मैंने कहा कि हम शांतिप्रिय देश हैं और हम समझते हैं कि हमारी और चीन में लड़ाई हो तो न हमारे लिए अच्छा होगा, न चीन के लिए, न दुनिया के लिए, क्योंकि शायद वह सारी दुनिया की लड़ाई हो जाये, लेकिन कोई हमारे देश पर हमला करे, आक्रमण करे तो उसको हम बरदाश्त नहीं, कोई देश भी बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकता और इसलिए हमें तैयार रहना है। पिछले बरस जब चीन ने हमला हमारे ऊपर किया था, अक्टूबर में, उसके तीन दिन बाद मैंने रेडियो पर कुछ कहा था और मैंने कहा था कि हमें तैयार होना है, कई बरस के लिए, कम से कम पाँच बरस के लिए।²¹⁷ मेरा मतलब यह नहीं था कि हम पाँच

217. See SWJN/SS/79/item 259.

बरस तक लड़ाई हमारी चलती जायेगी, लेकिन ये कि हमारे सामने यह भय यह, मेनिस [menace], यह खतरा और रहेगा, उसका जवाब यही है कि हम अपनी ताकत को बढ़ावें और ताकत बढ़ाने से ही हम, अगर लड़ाई हो तो उसका सामना करें और अगर अमन हो तो अमन को हम कायम रख सकते हैं, जब हमारी शक्ति है और एकता है।

उस समय आपको याद होगा कि सारे देश में कैसे ज़ोरों का इसका जवाब मिला, कैसे हमारे छोटे-मोटे झगड़े दब गये, हम भूल गये और इस बड़े खतरे के सामने सब लोग तैयार हो गये। जो चीनी लोग समझते थे करेंगे हमारे देश में, उसमें वह नाकामयाब हुए, एक-आधा छोटी लड़ाई में वह जीत गये सरहद पर, वह कोई बात नहीं थी, ऊँच-नीच ऐसे होती है लेकिन जो असल बात उनके सामने थी वह यह थी कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को डरा देंगे, हिन्दुस्तान के लोग घबड़ा [घबरा] जायेंगे, हिन्दुस्तान के लोग, एक फ़ूट बहुत होती है, आपस में लड़ा करते हैं, बहुत दल हैं, एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ़ कोशिश करते हैं, वह सब भारत के टुकड़े-टुकड़े कर देंगे और हिन्दुस्तान बिल्कुल दुर्बल हो जायेगा और कमज़ोर, यह वह चाहते थे लेकिन उसका जवाब उल्टा हुआ। भारत भर में जो हमारी कमज़ोरियाँ थीं वह छिप गयीं, जो हमारे प्रश्न थे, लड़ाई थी आपस की वह सब रुक गयी और एकदम से भारत में सभी की एकता बहुत बढ़ गयी, ताकत बढ़ी। तो इस बड़ी बात में वो बहुत असफल हुए। और एक यह भी वजह थी, और भी बहुत वजह हैं कि उन्होंने थोड़े ही दिनों बाद अपने आक्रमण को रोका और बाद में निश्चय किया कि वापस जायेंगे, क्योंकि उन्होंने देख लिया कि इस बात को वह बढ़ाते हैं तो फिर एक ख़ाली छोटी फ़ौजी बात नहीं है, यह एक बड़े देश के करोड़ों की जनता से लड़ाई मोल लेनी होगी। और यह एकदम से नहीं ख़त्म होती क्योंकि बड़ा देश हार नहीं मानने वाला है, चाहे एक बरस लगे, चाहे दो बरस, चाहे दस बरस, चाहे कितने ही लगे, इससे यह भी एक वजह थी कि वह रुक गये, और भी वजूहात थीं।

बाज़ लोग कहते हैं कि हमारे ऊपर बड़ी कृपा करके उन्होंने रोक दिया, यह तो ज़रा अनजानपने की बात है। ऐसी उन्होंने, न शुरु में बहुत हमारे ऊपर उन्होंने रहम किया, न कृपा की, न अब कर रहे हैं और न उनकी जुबान जो है, जब हमें चिट्ठियाँ भेजते हैं या अपने जब समाचार पत्रों में लिखते हैं भारत की निस्वत, वो असभ्य हैं, निहायत असभ्य बातें कहते हैं, यह तो फ़िज़ूल बात है समझना कि एकदम से वह बदल गये हिन्दुस्तान से प्रेम और करुणा से। वाक़ियात की मजबूरी थी, उनको यह करना पड़ा कि वापस फ़ौजें ले गये और वह जो करेंगे वह वाक़ियात की मजबूरी से करेंगे, वह खुशामद से नहीं, न किसी और बात से।

तो ख़ैर यह अजीब बात है कि हमारा देश गांधी का देश जो माना जाता है जिसने दुनिया भर में शांति का झंडा उठाया, वह फ़्रांसे ऐसी लड़ाई में और ऐसे कठिन सवाल हमारे सामने आये हैं। ख़ैर, अगर आयें तो उसका सामना हमें करना है, कमज़ोरी से तो नहीं बल्कि शक्ति से और अगर हम ठीक करें तो शायद और भी हमारे सवाल जो हैं देश के, वह भी उसी के साथ-साथ हल हो जायें और इस इम्तिहान को पास करने से बहुत और इम्तिहान भी पास हो जायेंगे। यह सही बात है कि जो भी कुछ हम करें, सबमें पहले

हमारा सवाल है अपने देश की स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा करना, यह करना ही है, जिस वक्त हम इसको भूल जायेंगे हम निकम्मे हो जायेंगे, हम स्वतंत्र देश नहीं रहेंगे, सारे देश में इसका जवाब हमें बहुत माकूल मिला।

एक दल है हमारे यहाँ, साम्यवादी दल, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, उसने भी जवाब तो अच्छा दिया, पार्टी ने, लेकिन यह, हल्के-हल्के यह ज़ाहिर हुआ कि उसमें बाज़ लोग ऐसे हैं जो इस बात को स्वीकार नहीं करते हैं और विशेषकर आपके बंगाल में कुछ लोग पर्दे के पीछे बहुत ग़लत काम कर रहे हैं, वह थोड़े से लोग हैं, और हैं, लेकिन करते हैं वो और यह बात बहुत बेज़ा है, वह ऐसे मौक़े पर भारत के साथ ग़द्दारी करते हैं और जो भारत के दुश्मन हैं उनका साथ देते हैं। यह अजीब बात है कि कोई ऐसा हिन्दुस्तानी हो जो करे, लेकिन है यह बात, कुछ बंगाल में करें और कुछ इधर-उधर, और थोड़े से हैं लेकिन थोड़े से या अधिक यह बात ग़लत है क्योंकि जो आदमी अपने देश की ख़तरे के वक्त मदद न करे वह बिल्कुल बहका हुआ है, धोखे में है और वह हानि पहुँचा सकता है अपने देश को।

यह बात जैसे मैंने आपसे कही यह कुछ साम्यवादी लोगों ने की, अधिकतर साम्यवादियों ने उसका विरोध किया और अब भी कर रहे हैं, आपस में लड़ रहे हैं लेकिन देश के लिए यह पहला सवाल है कि देश की रक्षा हो, आज़ादी की। हम उसी के साथ में फिर कहा चाहता हूँ [कि] हम फिर भी शांति-पसंद हैं, हम नहीं चाहते कि लड़ाइयाँ हों और देश तबाह हो, हम नहीं चाहते कि दो महान देश जैसे भारत है और चीन है वह एक-दूसरे से लड़कर एक-दूसरे को तबाह करें या बढ़ के दुनिया की लड़ाई हो जाये। तो हम, हमारी कोशिश अमन की रहेगी, शांति की, दुनिया में और यहाँ। हमारी कोशिश अब भी रहेगी जो पहले रही है कि एटम बम्ब बनते हैं वह नहीं बनाये जायें और और जो बातें डिसआरमामेंट के नाम पर कहलायी जाती हैं, वह होनी चाहियें, यह सब बातें वही हैं लेकिन उसी के साथ अपने देश को हम ख़तरे में नहीं डालेंगे और उसकी रक्षा पूरीतौर से करेंगे। उसकी रक्षा करने में यह भी याद रखिए कोई ख़ाली एक कुछ एक फ़ौज के सिपाहियों का काम नहीं है, फ़ौज के सिपाहियों का तो काम है और बहुतों ने जान दी है हिम्मत से, लेकिन फ़ौज जभी लड़ती है जब फ़ौज के पीछे एक देश तैयार हो, देश उनकी सहायता करे, देश पैदा करे, चाहे खेत में पैदा करे सामान, चाहे कारख़ानों में करे या कहीं करे। तो यह इसलिए देश भर को उस काम को उठाना होता है और इस तरह से काम हमें करना होता है कि हमारी तैयारी रोज़-ब-रोज़ बढ़ती जाये, लोगों की तैयारी, लोगों की ट्रेनिंग और हमारे कारख़ानों की, हवाई जहाज़ की, फ़ौजी, सब बातें, वह कोशिश की जा रही है।

लेकिन यह भी याद रखिए कि सारी तैयारी के पीछे एक देश की आर्थिक स्थिति होती है, वही बात घूम के आ जाती है पंचवर्षीय योजना की, फ़ाइव इयर प्लान की, और बातों की, क्योंकि उसमें कमज़ोरी हो तो देश कमज़ोर हो जाता है, चल नहीं सकता है और उसी के साथ-साथ और बातें जो मैंने आपसे कहीं—देश कि शिक्षा बढ़े, शिक्षित देश की शक्ति होती है और आर्थिक स्थिति बढ़ती है, हमारा स्वास्थ्य बढ़े। यह सब बड़े-बड़े सवाल हैं, देश के हैं, इनको हम छोड़ नहीं सकते हैं यह कह के कि अब चीन के लिए तैयारी हुई,

इसलिए हम शिक्षा रोक दें, यह तो चीन की जीत इसमें हो जाये, क्योंकि हमारी उन्नति का रास्ता बन्द हो जाये।

हमारी नीति रही पिछले ज़माने में और अब भी है कि हम दुनिया में जो बड़े पावर ब्लॉक्स [power blocs] हैं उनमें शरीक न हों, सब देशों से दोस्ती रखें और सभी से मिलजुल के रहें, इस तरह से अपनी तरक्की करें याने हम—यह कहा जाता है अंग्रेज़ी में—नॉन-एलाइनमेंट की नीति रखें। अब अजीब बात है, चीन सबमें अधिक चाहता है कि हम नॉन-एलाइनमेंट की नीति नहीं रखें और रोज़ इस पर उनके समाचार पत्रों में लिखा जाता है कि भारत नहीं रखता है और नहीं रखना चाहिए और धोखा करता है। इस बारे में कुछ हमारे देश के दल हैं जो इतने अक्लमंद हैं कि वो कूद के, हालांकि वो चीन का बड़ा विरोध करते हैं, उसी बात को स्वीकार करते हैं जो चीन हमारे देश के लिए करना चाहता है। यह अजीब तमाशा है, अधिकतर यह स्वतंत्र पार्टी है लेकिन वो भी कहती है कि बड़ी ग़लती है कि हम नॉन-एलाइनमेंट की पोलिसी, इस नीति को मानते हैं, उनकी राय में हमें एक गिरोह में शरीक हो जाना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ और अब वो बड़े अक्लमंद आदमी हैं, उनसे मैं क्या कहूँ लेकिन इससे ज़्यादा ग़लती, ग़लत बात, मूर्खता की बात, नुक़सानदेह बात भारत के लिए कोई नहीं है कि हम अपनी इस नीति को छोड़ दें। इस नीति के छोड़ने के माने हैं कि हम दुनिया में लड़ाई के लिए, बड़ी लड़ाई के दरवाज़ा खोल देते हैं [और] जो हमारी कुछ थोड़ी बहुत शक्ति चलती है अमन की तरफ़, वह बन्द हो जाये। इसके माने यह हैं कि हमारा संबंध जो बहुत देशों से है, मित्रता का, वह टूट जाता है, इसके माने यह हैं कि हमारे मित्र बहुत जो नये देश हैं एशिया में, अफ़्रीका में विशेषकर, उनसे भी जो हमारा करीब का रिश्ता है वह टूट जाता है और इसके माने आख़िर में यह हैं कि भारत हल्के-हल्के दुर्बल होकर अपनी इज़्ज़त, अपनी स्वतंत्रता नहीं रख सके और गिरता जाये और फिर औरों का खेल हो जाये।

मैं हैरान होता हूँ कि आजकल की दुनिया का हाल देख के, ऐसी बात कोई हिन्दुस्तानी कैसे कह सकता है जो ज़रा भी इस बात पर विचार करे, सोचे और आजकल की दुनिया को समझे। हो सकता है कि हमसे, आजकल की गवर्नमेंट से पचास ग़लतियाँ हुई हैं, होंगी, होती हैं, लेकिन एक बात पर मुझे अटल विश्वास है कि जहाँ तक यह नॉन-एलाइनमेंट का प्रश्न है उसमें हम बिल्कुल सही रहे हैं और उस पर हमें क़ायम रहना चाहिए और ज़रा भी हिलना नहीं चाहिए। और यह कि जो लोग कहते हैं, जो दल या व्यक्ति कहते हैं इससे हटने के लिए वह अगर उनकी राय मानी जाये तो हिन्दुस्तान की तबाही है।

आप देखेंगे जो ऐसे लोग कहते हैं वह इस बात को भी बिल्कुल स्वीकार नहीं करते कि भारत की जो नीति है समाजवाद की तरफ़ जाने की, इसको नहीं स्वीकार करते। इसके माने ये हैं कि वो और हम किसी क़दर दो अलग-अलग दुनियाओं में रहते हैं। मेरा अटल विश्वास है और आज से नहीं है पचास वर्ष से मैं भी कुछ राजनीति के मैदान में पड़ा हूँ, फ़ंसा हूँ, मैंने भी कुछ पुस्तकें लिखी हैं, शायद आप में से कुछ लोगों ने देखी हों। पचास वर्ष से मुझे विश्वास है, अभ्यास, तजुर्बा है और उससे मैं नतीजे पर पहुँचा हूँ और वह यह कि आजकल की हालत को देखकर और विशेषकर भारत के लिए वह आवश्यक है कि

हम समाजवाद की तरफ़ जायें, लेकिन हमारा तरीका आप जानते हैं कि एक लड़ाई लड़ के, हुल्लड़बाज़ी से नहीं है।

हमने भारत में स्वराज लिया, गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में, शांति से, कमोबेश। हमने उसके बाद यहाँ के जो रजवाड़े थे, इंडियन स्टेट्स थे, उनका अन्त किया, वह भी शांति से, समझौते से। हमने ज़मींदारी, जागीदारी इत्यादि ख़त्म की, जिस पर और देशों में बड़ी-बड़ी लड़ाइयाँ हुई, उसको भी हमने शांति से किया। तो हम समझते हैं बहुत बड़े-बड़े सामाजिक परिवर्तन हम कर सकते हैं शांति से, कठिनाई होती है, समय लगता है लेकिन शांति से करने में कम हानि होती है बनिस्बत लड़ाई के। तो हम समझते हैं कि क़दम-ब-क़दम इस तरह से चल के हम समाजवाद को यहाँ फ़ैलायेंगे और मज़बूत करेंगे और इस तरह से अपने समाज का परिवर्तन करेंगे। सवाल कठिन है, कुछ समय लगेगा लेकिन और कोई रास्ता नहीं है हमारे देश के लिए। इस बात को बिल्कुल पसंद नहीं करते बाज़ लोग और वही लोग हैं जो इसको पसंद नहीं करते, जो कि चाहते हैं कि हम लोग नॉन-एलाइनमेंट की नीति को छोड़कर कूद पड़ें किसी फ़ौजी ब्लॉक की गोद में, कूद पड़ें, फिर हमारे साथ वहाँ क्या बर्ताव हो यह मालूम नहीं क्या हो? क्योंकि यह नहीं लोग जानते हैं वह कि जो शख्स पैरों पर गिरता है, गोद में आकर बैठता है उसकी क़दर दुनिया में नहीं होती है, जो अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होता है हिम्मत से और कितनी कठिनाई हो उसका सामना करता है उसकी इज़्ज़त लोग करते हैं। [तालियाँ] आप अगर देखें और ग़ौर करें तो आप देख लेंगे कि जो लोग ऐसी बातें करते हैं उनके दिल में डर है, उनके दिल में हिम्मत नहीं है, उनके दिल में भरोसा नहीं है हिन्दुस्तान का, भारत का, भारतवासियों का। इसलिए वो चाहते हैं कि किसी तरह अपने देश की लगाम किसी और को दे दें, वह बचायें हमें। जब आपका दिल टूट जाये, मेरा दिल टूट जाये तो हिन्दुस्तान को बचायेगा कौन? बाहर के लोग बचायेंगे आ के?

इतिहास को आपने पढ़ा है, इतिहास समझे हैं कि छोटे-छोटे देश लड़े हैं बड़े-बड़े देशों से और बग़ैर दिल टूटे और जीते हैं लेकिन बड़े से बड़ा देश अपनी हिम्मत हार के और औरों के सुपुर्द अपने को करके वह न जीता है और न जीतना चाहिए उसको। [तालियाँ] इसलिए हम दोस्ती करते हैं और देशों से, और करेंगे, हमें सहायता मिल रही है बहुत, दोनों बातों की सहायता, एक तो लड़ाई के सामान की और एक आर्थिक सहायता हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिए और हमें कई तरफ़ से मिल रही है, दोनों पावर ब्लॉक्स जो हैं, दोनों तरफ़ से मिल रही है। अभी आपने शायद अख़बार में देखा हो कि कुछ लोग, कुछ देश यूरोप के और उसमें कुछ शायद कुछ एशिया के भी हैं, एकाध उनका एक कन्सॉर्शियम [consortium] बना है, वह साल दो साल हुए बना था, वह रुपया हमें अधिकतर क़र्ज़ा देते हैं, कुछ सहायता के रूप से और कुछ क़र्ज़ा। अभी उन्होंने कुछ बताया है कि मुझे ठीक याद नहीं, शायद चार सौ अस्सी करोड़ रुपये बताये हैं कि देंगे इस साल। उसमें पहले के देश तो हैं ही जैसे अमेरिका, इंग्लैंड वग़ैरा और अब कुछ उसमें नये देश भी उसमें मिल गये हैं जैसे फ़्रांस, और कई देश, उनको हम बहुत धन्यवाद देते हैं। हाँ, यह बात सही है कि जो बात हम चाहते थे, हमें मिलना और अधिकतर यह क़र्ज़ा मिल रहा है, हमारे ऊपर क़र्ज़ का बोझा होगा, उसमें हमें कम मिला, हम छः सौ करोड़ चाहते थे इस स्थान [पर] लेकिन

जो कुछ भी वो हमें सहायता दें हम उनके मशकूर हैं और कृतार्थ हैं। और मैं आशा करता हूँ अभी और उस पे विचार हो रहा है, और कुछ भी दे सकेंगे, क्योंकि जितनी जल्दी हम अपने काम को बढ़ा सकें उतनी जल्दी हम अपने सवालों को हल करेंगे, लेकिन फिर भी यह कोई जो भी कुछ दें, वह उसके लिए हम बहुत उनकी [उनका] शुक्रिया अदा करते हैं।

अलावा कन्सॉर्शियम के, याद रखिए हमें सोवियत यूनियन से जो कि दूसरे [फ़्रीक] हैं उनकी भी सहायता मिल रही है यहाँ कारख़ाने बनाने में बड़े-बड़े और-और तरह से और अलावा इसके कि हमें उनकी सहायता से बहुत लाभ हो रहा है, यह अच्छी बात है। यह निशानी है हमारे नॉन-एलाइनमेंट पोलिसी की कि जो दो बड़े-बड़े गिरोह हैं दुनिया के, एक-दूसरे के खिलाफ़ हैं, वो दोनों हमारी सहायता कर रहे हैं और दोनों के हम मशकूर हैं।

अभी मैंने आपसे कहा था कि तारापुर एटोमिक एनर्जी के स्टेशन का, जो कि समझौता हुआ है, एक और बात है जो बहुत बड़े हमारे सामने एक तजवीज़ है, एक बड़ा स्टील का कारख़ाना बनाने की, बोकारो में, बिहार में, बहुत बड़ा बनाना चाहते हैं और हमारा इरादा है कि उसको हम सरकारी कारख़ाना बनायें, प्राइवेट कारख़ाना न हो, उस पे भी हम सहायता चाहते थे और मेरा विचार है कि वह मिल जायेगी। लेकिन एक बात सही है कि वह तो हम बनायेंगे हर सूरत में, वह आवश्यक है हमारे लिए, हमें अगर अपना पेट कित्ते ही काटना पड़े फिर भी हम बनायेंगे उसे और दूसरे हम उसे पब्लिक सेक्टर में रखेंगे, प्राइवेट सेक्टर में नहीं, ये दो बातें निश्चय हैं। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि यह तय हो जाये और औरों की सहायता से बने तो हमें आसानी होगी और शायद यह हो जाये।

तो आपके, हमारे सामने, देश के सामने बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हैं, हमारे सामने तो चीन के आक्रमण का प्रश्न है, हम फिर भी अपनी एक तरफ़ से शक्ति बढ़ायेंगे और फिर भी कोशिश करेंगे कि अगर शांति से यह बात निश्चय हो जाये तो करें, क्योंकि लड़ाई बुरी चीज़ है। और लड़ाई दो देशों में, ऐसे महान देशों में, दोनों देशों में तबाही लायेगी और हमारा काम देश की उन्नति का बिल्कुल बन्द हो जायेगा, लेकिन लड़ाई बुरी हो या अच्छी हो, अपने देश की रक्षा करनी है, चाहे जो कुछ हो और इसके लिए तैयारी करनी है।

उसमें भी आपको याद होगा वह चीनी प्रपोज़ल्स [proposals] थे, सिफ़ारिशें थीं, चीनी नहीं, कोलम्बो के प्रपोज़ल्स थे, वह हमने स्वीकार कर लिए, बहुत अधिक हमें पसंद नहीं आये लेकिन फिर भी हमने किया कि कोई रास्ता है शांति से इस बात को निश्चय करने का। अब तब हम उस रास्ते पर चलने को तैयार हैं, उनको इंकार किया है तो चीन वालों ने किया है और चीन रास्ते पर आ जाये तो हम उनसे और बातें करने को तैयार हैं और बाक़ी जो हमारा काम है वह हर तरह से अपने देश की शक्ति बढ़ाने का है, हर तरह से, पहली बात तो एकता है देश में। एकदम से पिछले अक्टूबर-नवम्बर में एक चित्र हमने देखा देश की बड़ी एकता का, उसके बाद से हल्के-हल्के कुछ लोग, कुछ दल बहकते गये हैं। उनको, मैं इस बात का नहीं उनसे कहता या किसी से कहता है कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट की निंदा न करें या क्रिटिसाइज़ [criticise] न करें, टीका न करें, गवर्नमेंट की, यह तो उनको अधिकार है, आपको, हरेक को अधिकार है लेकिन एक बात ज़रूर बहुत अदब से कहूँगा उनसे कि ज़रा समझ और अक़ल से करें, एकदम से हमारे मुल्क का दुनिया के सामने ये

चित्र न खींचें जिस चित्र ने चीनियों को पहले धोखा दिया था और वो लोग, चीनी समझते थे कि हमारे देश के टुकड़े-टुकड़े हो जायेंगे, ज़रा हमला करें वो।

तो ऐसी बात न करें और हमें चाहिए कि हम जिस बात की टीका करनी है करें और जिस बात में सहायता देनी है सहायता दें पूरीतौर से, कुछ तो एक जैसे कि एक प्रजातंत्रवादी देश शक्ति दिखाते हैं वो दिखायें, हमारा देश ऐसा तो है नहीं जैसे चीन है कि कोई आदमी आवाज़ नहीं उठा सके, उसे सज़ा हो जाये [जो] आवाज़ उठाये, जुलूस निकाले, सब कुछ करे लेकिन उसके पीछे अक्रल होनी चाहिए, महज़ हुल्लड़बाज़ी नहीं होनी चाहिए। महज़ हुल्लड़बाज़ी से देश उठते हैं या दूसरे देशों का मुक़ाबला करते हैं? मुझे हैरत होती है और शर्म आती है, वह समझते हैं, आये एक मालूम नहीं कितने, दो-चार सौ, कित्ते थे, अभी मैंने आपसे कहा, एक जुलूस निकाल के राज भवन की तरफ़ और मुझसे कहने, मुझसे कहा, पर्चा, खुली चिट्ठी निकाली है उन्होंने, आपने शायद देखी हो कि नहीं, कि बस मैं इस्तीफ़ा दे दूँ। ख़ैर, इस्तीफ़ा दूँ मैं न दूँ यह बात ग़ौरतलब हो सकती है, मैं ग़ौर करूँ, और करें, लेकिन एक बात तो निश्चय है कि उन दो-चार सौ आदमियों के हुल्लड़बाज़ी से नहीं इस्तीफ़े होते हैं, कोई मज़ाक़ समझा है उन्होंने? [तालियाँ] कोई तमाशा, क्या है, मैं क्यों दूँ? मैं आप लोगों के प्रेम से, आप लोगों के भरोसे से जो कुछ मैंने, यहाँ तक मैं पहुँचा और मुझे अगर कोई चीज़ ताक़त देती है तो वह प्राइम मिनिस्टरी नहीं बल्कि भारत की जनता का प्रेम, इससे मेरी शक्ति बढ़ती है। [तालियाँ] वह बात अगर नहीं होती मेरे पास और न हो, जब नहीं रहे तब मैं न तो मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टरी में कुछ कर सकता हूँ न किसी और काम में, वह तो ठीक है, लेकिन अगर वह है और अगर मुझ में शक्ति है कुछ काम करने की तो मैं काम करता जाऊँगा, किसी हैसियत से भी मैं करूँ। यह तो एक फ़िज़ूल सी बात है कि एक दल है जिसका भारत में कोई हैसियत नहीं है, वह अपनी शान दिखाने के लिए गुलशोर मचाये। ख़ाली हुल्लड़बाज़ी से हैसियत हो जाती है किसी दल की या किसी नीति की?

आजकल एक तमाशा है कि कोई दल अपने को समाजवादी कहते हैं, कोई कुछ कहते हैं, कोई समाजवाद के विरोध में हैं बिल्कुल, लेकिन जितने सिद्धांत हैं उन सभी को भूल जाते हैं, एक-दूसरे से मिलकर कांग्रेस का विरोध करने में। इस वक़्त भारत में कोई भी सिद्धांतवादी दल शायद हो, आपको कहीं नज़र आये, क्योंकि जिस सिद्धांत का कहते हैं उसके विरोध में जाके दूसरों से मिल जाते हैं, यह तो हालत है, यह ठीक बात नहीं है हमारी राजनीति के लिए। हाँ, अलग-अलग सिद्धांत होते हैं, अलग-अलग दलों की नीति होती है, वह ठीक है, रहे, लेकिन उसमें जमें तो, वहाँ तो कोई जानता ही नहीं, आजकल तो बस एक सिद्धांत लेते हैं कि कांग्रेस का विरोध करें। कांग्रेस का विरोध करके करें क्या? यह कोई साफ़ नहीं है कौन सिद्धांत रखेगा? और अगर कहीं मेरी राय में दुर्भाग्य से उनकी जीत हो तो दूसरे रोज़ एक-दूसरे का गला काटेंगे, एक-दूसरे से लड़ेंगे, न कोई एकता, न कोई शक्ति काम करने की, न कोई तजुर्बा, न कोई बहुत अक्रल से सवालों को समझने की, करना क्या चाहते हैं? मैं बहुत दावे से कहता हूँ [कि] हमसे हज़ार ग़लतियाँ हों लेकिन हमने एक ईमानदारी से कोशिश की है देश की सेवा करने की, छोटी-मोटी ग़लतियाँ हज़ार

हुई हैं, उनका सामना करना चाहिए और मैं बहुत दावे से कहता हूँ कि और जो दल इत्ता गुलशोर मचाते हैं, जुलूस वगैरा निकालते हैं उनके न हाथ में, न पैर में, न दिमाग में शक्ति है भारत के बोझ को उठाने की।

आपने सुना होगा कुछ दिन हुए, दो-चार, वह तीन चुनाव हुए थे उत्तर प्रदेश में²¹⁸ और राजकोट में, जो हम हारे। खैर हारे, हारे, उसका हम बोझा उठाये, उससे हम सबक सीखें, सब मैंने माना, लेकिन वो तीन चुनाव, कोई सत्ताईस चुनाव हुए हैं भारत में इस दो-चार महीने में, सत्ताईस में से बीस से अधिक कांग्रेस जीती है लेकिन वो तीन जो हार गये कांग्रेस खास वजह थी उसकी। उससे इतना नशा चढ़ा और दलों को कि फिर वह ठीक-ठीक कोई बात उन्हें दिखती नहीं है, नशे में झूम रहे हैं उसके, अजीब तमाशा है। अगर वह जीते हैं तो मुबारक हो उनको जीतना, कैसे जीते हैं यह दूसरा सवाल है? और बहुत अच्छे सवाल नहीं हैं देखा जाये, क्या तरीके उन्होंने अख्तियार किये हैं लेकिन जीते ठीक हैं, मानते हैं जीत उनकी, मानी। वह समझे कि बस अब भारत का एक इतिहास बदलने वाला है, सब कुछ बदलेगा तो बदलेगा, बदले, उसका हम सामना करेंगे जो कुछ भी हो, लेकिन एक नशे में झूमना और अजीब-अजीब बातें कहना यह तो कोई उचित नहीं है, कुछ ज़रा सभ्य तरीके भी होने चाहियें दलों के और व्यक्तियों के।

अभी आपने सुना होगा कि दो हमारे कैबिनेट के मंत्रियों ने इस्तीफ़ा दिया, एक बुजुर्ग थे हमारे हाफ़िज मुहम्मद इब्राहीम, बहुत पुराने कांग्रेसी, कांग्रेस के सिपाही, कांग्रेस के नेता और जिन्होंने ज़ोरों से मुक्राबला किया था पुराने ज़माने में मुस्लिम लीग का, जिन्ना साहब की मुस्लिम लीग का और उसको हराया, हर जगह, बड़ी उनकी क़दर है हमारे दिल में। हमारे बहुत बुजुर्ग आदमी जिनसे हमें बहुत प्रेम था और जिनके काम की इज़्ज़त करते थे लेकिन यह उचित समझा गया कि, क्योंकि वह अमरोहा में हारे वह इस्तीफ़ा दे दें। हालांकि कोई खास वजह नहीं थी लेकिन फिर भी चूंकि यह विचार हुआ, मैंने भी स्वीकार किया कि आप इस्तीफ़ा दे दीजिए, मुझे रंज है एक इत्ते पुराने साथी के अलग होने से।

दूसरे केशवदेव मालवीय थे, उन्होंने, उनके खिलाफ़ कुछ आपके कलकत्ते के किसी एक दुकान में, उनका नाम कहीं उनके बही-खाते में निकला, मैं उसमें नहीं जाता, यह एक जज ने, ऊँचे दर्जे के जज हैं, कुछ राय क्रायम की ह²¹⁹ और उस पर यह निश्चय किया गया, उन्होंने इस्तीफ़ा देना मुनासिब समझा और मैंने भी राष्ट्रपति जी से सिफ़ारिश की कि मान लीजिए। मैं इस बात में तो नहीं जाता, यह भी बात हल्के-हल्के साफ़ होगी, लेकिन एक बात मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो काम हमारी गवर्नमेंट में केशवदेव मालवीय ने किया, तेल के बारे में, वह बहुत प्रशंसनीय है और उसने हमारे देश को पहली बार एक मज़बूती से तेल के मैदान में जमाया है। उनकी, जो नीति उन्होंने चलायी इसमें और चलायी बावजूद इसके कि बड़ी उसकी मुख़ालिफ़त हुई, विरोध हुआ बहुत उसका, फिर भी हिम्मत से चलाते गये, उससे बहुत भारत को लाभ पहुँचा है। यही बिलफ़ेल भी हिसाब लगाइये

218. In Amroha and Farrukhabad.

219. See items 172-182.

तो आप देख सकते हैं कि करोड़ों रुपये का लाभ हुआ है लेकिन जो असल बात यह है कि वो उस नीति से ऑयल इंडस्ट्री इस देश में क्रायम हुई, उसने मज़बूती से जड़ पकड़ी और चलेगी। और मैं आपको साफ़ बता देना चाहता हूँ कि वह जो नीति, जिस नीति से उन्होंने उसको चलाया है वह नीति क्रायम रहेगी, हमारी गवर्नमेंट क्रायम रहेगी और इस तरह से ऑयल इंडस्ट्री को तेल के काम की बढ़ती जायेगी, उसमें कोई धोखा नहीं होना चाहिए क्योंकि उसमें बड़े दबाव पड़ते हैं बाहर वालों के, अन्दर वालों के कि उनके हाथ में हो जाये और जैसे तेल के ज़रिए से उन्होंने हमारे देश से बहुत बेशुमार रुपया बनाया है तो उन्हीं के हाथ में रहे।

एक बात और मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ, अभी कुछ दिन हुए, यहाँ एक हमारे देश के महापुरुष विनोबा भावे जी यहाँ रहे, कलकत्ते में। वह एक दस-बारह वर्ष से आप जानते हैं पैदल घूम रहे हैं, यात्रा कर रहे हैं और भारत के लाखों गाँवों में जा चुके हैं, ज़रा एक ग़ैर-मामूली बात थी उनका यहाँ आना, कलकत्ते महानगरी में अपने ग्रामों से यहाँ आना। मैं उनका बहुत आदर करता हूँ और हरेक को करना चाहिए, एक बहुत बड़े महापुरुष हैं और कोई महापुरुष भी होते हैं, बाज़-बाज़ कुछ खोये हुए होते हैं, वे अपने ढंग से चलते हैं और दुनिया को देखते नहीं। लेकिन विनोबा जी मैं समझता हूँ काफ़ी अपना, एक ढंग के आदमी हैं ही, एक सन्त हैं लेकिन काफ़ी इस दुनिया की बातों को समझते हैं, हमारी कठिनाइयाँ देश की समझते हैं और जो राय देते हैं, वह मेरी राय में सही होती है, हर छोटी-मोटी बात में। मैं उनकी बात कुछ न मानूँ तो यह और बात है लेकिन बड़ी बातों में मैं बहुत उनका आदर करता हूँ, उनकी बातों को मानता हूँ। दस-बारह वर्ष से यह घूम रहे हैं, ग्रामदान कर रहे हैं, अब लोग बैठके देखें [कि] ग्रामदान में दो लाख या कितने एकड़ उनको मिले। इस तरह से अन्दाज़ा नहीं होता, लेकिन वह भी काफ़ी बड़ी चीज़ है, लेकिन असल चीज़ जो है, जो हवा पैदा कर रहे हैं देश में, एक शांतिमय क्रांति की, ज़मीन के बारे में और उसी तरह से और बारों में भी, वो बड़ी बात है, और जगह लड़ाई-झगड़ों से बातें होती हैं, हमारे यहाँ क्रांति का नाम शांति के साथ बंध गया है, मैं उनका बहुत आदर करता हूँ। मुझे बहुत दुख हुआ यह सुनकर कि यहाँ कलकत्ते में एक या दो सभाओं में कुछ ऐसे नौजवान हमारे थे जिन्होंने उनका आदर से बर्ताव नहीं किया। इससे बेचारे विनोबा भावे जी की तो कोई हानि नहीं हुई, वो तो बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे के आदमी हैं लेकिन जिन्होंने यह किया है [उन्होंने] अपनी इज़्ज़त नहीं बढ़ायी [बल्कि] अपना नुक़सान किया।

खैर, मैंने आपका बहुत समय लिया और दो रोज़ मैं कलकत्ते में रहा, कल मैं जाता हूँ दिल्ली और वहाँ बहुत बड़े सवाल हैं, पेचीदा सवाल हैं, कठिन सवाल हैं, कोशिश करेंगे उसको हल करने की पूरी तौर से। और यह बात कि आप लोगों की उसमें आशीर्वाद है, हमदर्दी है, सहानुभूति है, उससे हमारी ताक़त बढ़ती है। क्योंकि आख़िर हम क्या चीज़ हैं? अदना लोग हम हैं, हम कुछ बड़े आदमियों की गिनती में आ गये हैं, किसलिए? इसलिए कि गांधी जी के चरणों में बैठकर कुछ हमने काम किया, कुछ सीखा। इसके बाद जितनी हमारी अक़ल थी उस पे हम चले, कोशिश की चलने की, ग़लती हुई, कभी ठोकर खाकर गिरे, फिर उठ के खड़े हुए, फिर चल पड़े, इसी तरह से आदमी चल सकते हैं। मैं आपसे

इक्रार तो कर नहीं सकता कि मुझसे कभी ग़लती नहीं होगी या किसी से नहीं होगी। एक बात कह सकता हूँ कि कोशिश हमेशा की जायेगी, सही रास्ते पर चलने की और जनता के लाभ के रास्ते पर और भारत की रक्षा के रास्ते पे और अगर कोई ठोकर खाके गिरे तो फिर उठकर खड़े होने का दम है, गिरे, गिरा करें, इसी तरह से देश बढ़े हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारा देश बढ़ेगा क्योंकि आखिर में मेरे मन में विश्वास है कि भारत का और भारत की जनता का और वही विश्वास मुझे ताक़त देता है और क़दम-ब-क़दम हम चलते हैं।

बस, अब मैं यहाँ आया हूँ आपके आशीर्वाद के लिए और उससे कुछ ताक़त लेके, यहाँ कलकत्ते से, इस महानगरी से जाऊँ वापिस कि इन कामों का फिर से सामना करूँ [तालियाँ]।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Governor,²²⁰ Chief Minister,²²¹ Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation,²²² Brothers and Sisters,

I went to the Birla Planetarium just before coming here and spent half an hour looking at this small and insignificant thing this earth is, a tiny globule of mud and earth orbiting in space. We who live on this earth and think we are so important are also insignificant. What is this earth and what are we, insignificant mortals? Yet we deceive ourselves into thinking that we are great. There have been great empires and rulers. But if you see all that in the larger context of the doors that science has opened, we seem very small and so does the earth. It would be better for us to think of this sometimes and not deceive ourselves either about the earth or us. So this is the lesson that I have learnt before coming here.

I heard that yesterday a procession was taken out to the Raj Bhavan where I am staying. An open letter in my name was sent to me by the members of one of the parties. It was printed and started by saying that it was very bad that I should accept a manpatra from the Calcutta Corporation. It showed that I was seeking publicity for myself. They advised me not to indulge in such things. In their opinion, it was about time that I left the post of the Prime Minister. Perhaps they hope that one of them will occupy the vacant seat. Anyhow, this was the gist of the letter. They have every right to write whatever they wish.²²³ But I would like to understand what it meant and wondered what mistakes I

220. See fn 213 in this section.

221. See fn 214 in this section.

222. See fn 215 in this section.

223. See fn 216 in this section.

had made. Mistakes have been made and India has suffered great shocks. In a sense, the responsibility rests with the Prime Minister of the country even if other people have made the mistakes and I accept that. But we live in a very complex, difficult world. If we could do just as we liked, we could change the world very quickly. There would have been no difficulty. But it is not possible for us to do whatever we like.

There are forty-five crores of people living in this country, each individual with a separate identity of his own. Once in London, I was asked how many problems we faced in India. This was a few years ago. I had replied them that we had thirty-five crores of problems because every individual is a problem. After all, India is made up of the people first and foremost. There are other things too, bricks and mortar, the Himalayas, the rivers like the Ganga and the Yamuna, and a thousand other things like our history, philosophy, which go into the making of India. But ultimately it is the people who make a country what it is. They are all individuals with separate identities of their own. So, each one of them constitutes a problem or sometimes more than one problem. That is why I said that we had thirty-five crores of problems, which amazed them. But that is the only way to look at it.

We shout Bharat Mata ki Jai or Vande Mataram. Once when I was touring Punjab by road, I reached a village towards evening and found a group of hefty young Jats assembled at the roadside. They shouted Bharat Mata ki Jai which sounded good. So I got down to talk to them. I asked who this Bharat Mata was to whom they shouted Jai. They were in a dilemma. I asked: Is she a woman who lives in a cave? Who is she and where does she live? The poor, hard-working Jat farmers were in a quandary. They said it was the soil. I asked, what soil, the soil of your village, district, province? Anyhow, this went on for a long time. Then they got impatient and said: Now you tell us who Bharat Mata is.

The fact is that it is not easy to describe what Bharat Mata is. It is a mixture of various things, not only of the present but going back to thousands of years of experience and thought and ideas, all the good and the bad that we have done, etc. But, I told the farmers, Bharat Mata is, above all, yourselves, the people of India. They were amazed to learn that Bharat Mata is themselves.

This is perfectly true. We talk about big things and get bogged down in political problems. But what is our ultimate goal? It is the welfare of the people of India, their progress and opening the doors of opportunity to every single man, woman and child in India. We want to reduce the disparities in society, the gap between the rich and the poor. One of the biggest drawbacks that we have had in India for centuries in our caste system. It is unique to India. It has divided and fragmented our society and prevented the people from being united, and closed the doors of opportunity to various sections of society which has caused

untold harm to India. You may remember that Mahatma Gandhi had laid great stress on equality among the people, and equal opportunity for progress to the downtrodden sections of society like the Harijans or so-called untouchables. He felt that we had no right to speak of independence for a handful of people. It would be wholly unjust.

What is the picture that we envisage for the future? Before independence, our only goal was to free the country of British rule. It was a simple, straightforward thing which everyone could understand. But at the same time, there was yet another picture in our minds, a picture of the kind of India that we wished to build. Gradually our attention was drawn towards social organisation. We wanted to build a society in which there would be equal opportunities for everyone. It is not possible for everyone to be exactly alike, either in physique or intellect. But everyone must be given equal opportunities by society so that each individual can progress as far as his ability and intellect take him. This is the kind of society that we wish to build. It was essential to abolish the social organisation which creates disparities and suppresses some sections of society like the land tenure system, the zamindari, jagirdari and talukdari system.

There are other ideologies and system of thought. People are acquiring new rights. There are advantages as well as problems in all this. Capitalism is dominant in many countries of the world today. It has done some good in the world. But the question is whether it is relevant in the modern age or should be changed. As you know, socialism and communism are being followed in other countries. So the battle of ideologies goes on and in a sense divides the world into warring camps. However, believe me, this is not so much a question of the conflict of ideologies but of the enormous military might and wealth which some nations have acquired. So it is more a question of national interests which are cloaked behind ideological debates. So the forces which have always divided the world in the past are becoming increasingly more dangerous and malevolent. There is constant talk of war between the great powers. The only difference is that modern weapons have become so lethal that they can destroy the whole world. As I mentioned just now, the constant tensions between the great powers arise not so much because of conflict of ideas but of national interest. Conflict of ideologies is secondary.

As you know, there is great tension between the two communist giants the Soviet Union and China. It is attributed to differences of opinion over ideology. But that cannot explain the bitterness and enmity which now exists between the two countries. There is a fundamental conflict of interests. I cannot go into all the details I am merely trying to show you how in spite of a common ideology, there are tensions among nations.

The fact is that due to the rapid strides the world has made in the field of science there has been unprecedented progress. We can reach Europe, America from Calcutta in a few hours in a jet plane. The world has been transformed and its frontiers have shrunk. We can get news from any part of the world instantly. If you take yourselves back just a couple of centuries, you will find that the world had continued on an even keel for thousands of years. The only mode of travel was on horseback or by coach. It was extremely slow and tedious. This was the state of affairs until a hundred and fifty years ago. The fastest means of communication was on horseback. Things have changed completely since then. Gradually we have reached the stage where astronauts and cosmonauts go into outer space and orbit there. It is believed that human beings will reach the Moon in a few years. I do not know what they will do when they reach there. But they are trying desperately to do so.

Well, anyhow, the world is in a state of flux and in this new and changing world, the old idea of a fragmented world divided into various nations-states is no longer relevant. Therefore it has become essential that we should change our thinking to suit the times. Human beings are making an effort to do so and confronting great difficulties in doing so because it is a question of changing the thinking which has prevailed for thousands of years. But unless it changes, there is grave danger that the world may be brought close to extinction in a nuclear war. It is a strange world, a ruthless world in which there is no place for the weak. It would be well for us to understand this. The weak have never prospered but particularly in this day and age, a nation has to be tough in order to be respected in the world. This is fairly well recognised fact. What does strength mean in the present context? It is not a question of making a noise. A nation's strength depends on the quality of the people and the advance made in the field of science, technology, military science, etc.

How did the British conquer India? Why did the European nations colonise the world in the nineteenth century. These events were preceded by the Industrial Revolution in Europe which was made possible by the rapid strides made in the field of science. It transformed the world and the nations which had undergone the industrial revolution acquired enormous wealth and military power. So they conquered the world. It is obvious that India must follow the path of scientific and technological advance. Science can teach us ways and means of producing greater national wealth and innumerable ways of increasing the prosperity of the country. There is no alternative. Europe took a couple of centuries to complete the revolution. But we do not have that much time. So as soon as India became independent, we decided to embark upon a new pilgrimage, towards the uplift of the people through science, technology and any means which were available to us. We set up the Planning Commission to go into these things. We set up

huge national science laboratories and have tried to lay stress on the teaching of science in the universities and colleges. We have taken up the production of atomic energy though we have repeatedly declared that we shall not make an atom bomb. But that is a different matter. Atomic energy is a great source of energy which must be understood and brought under control. We must take advantage of it, so we have made considerable progress in this field. You may have read about the atomic energy power station which is to be set up in Tarapur in Maharashtra. We had signed an agreement with the Government of the United States of America which had agreed to give us a loan and the scientific knowhow for it. I am happy that the matter has been finally settled. This is a symbol of our progress in the world of science. There is no alternative for India or any other country. But that does not mean that we should cut ourselves off completely from our traditional moorings and copy the United States or the Soviet Union. What we have to do is to learn and imbibe the lessons of modern science while retaining our ancient ideals and principles and clothe them in a new garb. This is what we have been trying to do.

Sixteen years ago, when India became independent, we decided to launch a battle against poverty in the country. Now that is not something which could be done by fighting on battlefields. It has to be fought in every house, farm, factory and shop. It is every man's battle and has to be fought by working hard and increasing production by every possible means, and then ensuring the equitable distribution of that wealth so that it does not remain in a few pockets while the rest of the people remain poor. We made an effort to do this and in my opinion, we have laid the foundations in the last fifteen to sixteen years of the edifice of the new India that we wish to build. It cannot be done in a hurry because it involves millions of people. It is not a question of passing laws but of changing the way of life of millions of people in India. It is an extremely difficult problem. But we have succeeded in making a dent in it by constant effort. I agree that we should progress at a great speed. In fact, I feel sorry that we are not moving as fast as we should or increasing agricultural production can be various opinions about it. It would be of no use to adopt superficial remedies for the malady has gone deep and requires drastic steps. Mahatma Gandhi's methods during our freedom struggle proved very beneficial and the people acquired courage and self-confidence. Now that courage and self-confidence have to be channelised into the task of increasing the wealth of the nation by stepping up production through scientific techniques. These are the problems that we have been talking.

We have set up huge steel plants in Durgapur, Bhilai, Rourkela and Bokaro which do not show any immediate returns though they provide employment to people. But we need to produce enormous quantities of steel in order to

bring about an industrial revolution in India. We need steel and power for it is impossible to progress without them. A steel plant does not yield any returns for the first ten or fifteen years. Therefore it is essential to decide what our priorities ought to be. Now it is possible, for instance, for your Chief Minister Prafulla Babu, to do something which may give you some short term benefit and reduce the burden upon you for a few months. But it will increase your burden in the long run. Therefore every step that we take has to be well considered. Everyone will be happy if we abolished all taxes but the country will soon go bankrupt, so one has to be circumspect.

The first step was to build dams on the larger rivers to supply water for irrigation and to generate power. They require very large investments of money and the benefit will not accrue until much later. Then we had to set up machine making industries. For instance, we need huge machines to set up a steel plant. These are basic requirements which do not yield immediate returns but are merely the foundations for future progress. This is what we have tried to do.

It would have been easier to take up small measures for the immediate benefit of the people. But that would have created serious obstacles in the way of future progress. We have to spread health care and education as far as we can because there can be no progress otherwise. We cannot usher in the modern age without the backing of an educated society. Education does not mean book learning alone but training in modern techniques and skills. These are the various factors which have influenced our thinking in the last fifteen years. A great many people are of the opinion that we have had great successes in this short time. That is true. But at the same time, it is also true that we have not succeeded to the extent that we wanted to. You are free to blame it on us, on our weakness. I feel sorry that even today we are not self-sufficient in food production. We have to import foodgrains from the United States and elsewhere. It is of fundamental importance to be self-sufficient in food. I do not like to have to go to other countries for monetary and military aid. India must become completely self-reliant. Otherwise her freedom will be curtailed and various kinds of pressure will operate. But we are helpless.

We have started on the path of progress after centuries of bondage. It is difficult to change things fundamentally overnight. You have the right to decide whether India has progressed along the right times or not during the last few years. After all, we are a democracy in India and the people's will shall prevail. Our plans are not rigid dogmas. We learn from our mistakes and experiences.

As you know, the problem that looms large before us at the moment is the Chinese aggression. I got a letter from one of the parties yesterday accusing me of being responsible for this debacle. I have proved myself incapable of defending the country and so I must resign and step down. They have the right

to their opinion though in my opinion, it is not an intelligent view. In fact, I would like to say humbly that it is somewhat foolish, the entire question of the Chinese aggression, why and how it happened and what we could have done to prevent it, is an extremely complex one.

China is a very large and hardworking nation, a great power which has pitted its entire energies into the task of acquiring military strength. In India, we too had an army for the defence of our country. But our leaning has been towards peace. We have become famous in the world as a peace-loving nation. We have raised our voice in the world forums against war. There is no doubt about it that these things have influenced our thinking. We have always followed a policy of friendship with all nations including China. We had some apprehensions about China's intentions. But since it is our neighbour we wanted to be friendly. A war between India and China would have been harmful to both. You may feel that we were too complacent and should have been better prepared. But the dilemma that we faced was in having to choose between stepping up expenditure on military hardware and development schemes for the welfare of the people. So we decided that it would be better to lay stress on improving the economic condition in the country. Having a large army does not make for real strength. It has to be backed by economic prosperity, unity, education and proficiency in technical skills, industrialisation, etc. So we wanted to lay stress on these things in order to make India strong.

Well, it is easy to apportion blame after the event. But when a big power like China is bent upon war and starts using threats to gain its own ends, new problems crop up, not only for us but for the countries all around. But I have a complaint against those who make fun of the once popular slogans of Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai. What would they have wanted us to do? Abuse the Chinese? If they use their commonsense a little instead of talking in clichés, they will realise that we had done the right thing by trying to make friends with China. I agree that we were unsuccessful but abusing does not increase your strength and it is not a civilized thing to do.

Now as far as the Chinese intent of attacking us is concerned, how are we to react to that? It is obvious that we have to be militarily strong enough to face it. We must produce modern weapons and aeroplanes, etc. We do not wish to go to war with anyone. But it is not so much a question of our wanting it. It is they who have attacked and captured our territory. To keep quiet and let them do what they want would be dishonourable to our country. It will also mean a curtailment of our freedom in a sense. That cannot be tolerated. Therefore we have to be fully prepared. But I am amazed at the stupidity and ignorance of some of our parties which demand that we should march to the borders and throw them out. They seem to think that they can turn the world upside down

by shouting slogans and taking out processions in the city of Calcutta. It is absolutely childish to think like this. We are living in a ruthless, merciless world and childish antics will not solve any problems, not even small local problems much less large national or international issues.

You must try to understand what is at stake. We must prepare ourselves to face the crisis by increasing our military and economic strength. It is not an easy matter and requires a great deal of money. Then the other dilemma that we are facing is whether we ought to carry on with the Five Year Plans or stop them. We decided that in order to make India economically strong, it was essential to go on with the Five Year Plans and succeed in them. Otherwise even if we recruit large armies or take short term military aid from others, we will not be really strong. If we have to depend on other countries for everything, our freedom will be in serious danger. We must become self-reliant. We asked the United States, England and a few other countries for help and got it, for which we are very grateful to them. We may have to ask for more help. But we cannot build a strong, independent nation if we have to constantly seek help from others. Therefore, apart from the temporary measures that we have taken, we must make arrangements to become self-reliant. That means stepping up production by every possible means, of arms and ammunition, food and other essential consumer goods. This will ensure economic betterment and generate more employment. We have faced the problems for years, of increasing the production of military hardware within the country as you know aeroplanes and modern weapons and equipment cost a great deal of money. Moreover there are all kinds of underhand dealings in the sale of arms. Those are not ordinary consumer goods which can be purchased at will. When it is plain that a country needs arms desperately, it is made to pay through its nose for them. That is why we have tried to produce whatever we need in the country and not import anything. This is the only way to become really strong. But it takes time to build huge industries. We are having to do this even now. We are getting aid from outside and setting up ordnance factories in the country too. Nobody knows how long this trouble will drag on.

As I said, we are a peace-loving nation and feel that a war between India and China does not augur well for either of us or the world. It could easily escalate into a world war and lead the world to ruin and disaster. But we cannot tolerate aggression upon our soil. No country will. Therefore we must be fully prepared. Last year in October when China attacked, I had made a radio broadcast three days later in which I had said that we should be prepared to face the situation at least for five years.²²⁴ I did not mean that fighting will continue for five years

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but that the danger and menace will be there for that long. The only way to face it was to increase our strength in every possible way and to fight if necessity arose. If there was peace, we could maintain it only by unity and strength.

You may remember how the entire nation came together in the days following the Chinese attack. We forgot our petty differences and relegated our disputes to the background in preparing to face the danger to India. The Chinese were unsuccessful in doing what they had set out to do in spite of their victories on the border. They could not force India into submission by creating panic in the hearts of the people and exploiting the disunity among them. India did not break apart or become weak as they had anticipated. On the contrary, the weaknesses of the nation were suppressed, our internal differences were set aside, and we presented a united front to the enemy. This was a great failure for the Chinese and was one of the reasons for their declaring a ceasefire. The Chinese realised that if they escalated the issue, it will no longer remain a minor military incident but involve the millions of people of a great nation. We would not have accepted defeat easily even if it meant fighting for years. This was one of the reasons for their calling off the whole thing.

Some people feel that the Chinese did us a favour by declaring a ceasefire. That is childish. The Chinese have done us no favour at any time. In all their letters, correspondence to us and articles in the newspapers, etc., their tone is extremely uncivilised. It is absurd to think that they were suddenly filled with love and pity for India. They took this step because of the force of circumstances and similarly, they declared a ceasefire too because they had to.

It is strange that the land of Gandhi which has raised the banner of peace in the world should have become involved in a war and face grave difficulties. Well, we shall do so with courage and perhaps in the process of dealing with this problem, the solution to some of our other problems may present itself. We may be able to pass out with flying colours in various ways by facing this crisis unflinchingly. It is true that whatever we do, the most important question is defence of the nation. The moment we forget it, we will become useless and lose our freedom.

The whole country has reacted very well. Even the Communist Party of India has given a fitting reply. But gradually it is becoming evident that some people do not accept it and are indulging in anti-national activities behind the scenes, particularly in Bengal. They may be a handful in number. But what they are doing is wrong. They are behaving treacherously towards India and siding with our enemies. It is extraordinary that any Indian should behave like this. Even if the number is small, the whole thing is wrong. A human being who does not help his country in times of peril is totally misguided and can do great harm.

I am referring to some communists. But by and large, they have opposed it and continue to do so. The most important problem before us is the defence of India's sovereignty and territorial integrity. At the same time, I would like to repeat that we are a peace-loving nation and do not want war to bring ruin upon everyone. We do not want that there should be war between two great powers like India and China or that it should escalate into a world war. So our efforts to maintain peace will continue. We will continue to raise our voice against the production of nuclear weapons and to demand that there should be disarmament between the great powers. All these things remain the same. At the same time, we shall not expose our country to danger and will defend it with all our might. You must bear in mind that that is not the task of the military alone. Our armed forces have fought well and many young men have sacrificed their lives. But they need to be reinforced by the efforts of the entire nation. Production must be stepped up all over the country. The people must work hard. So we are making an effort to increase our preparedness by every possible means.

However, you must bear in mind that our preparedness depends mainly on our economic condition. So we come round once again to Five Year Plans, etc. If we are economically weak, we cannot become strong in any other way. At the same time, education and healthcare must spread. These are some of the big problems which we face. We cannot call a halt to all our activities because we are preparing to face the Chinese. That would be the biggest victory for China because all progress in India will come to a halt.

India has followed a policy of non-alignment with the big power blocs in the world and friendship with all nations. It is strange that it is China who is wholly opposed to our policy. Articles are published daily in their newspapers that India is deceiving everyone by talking of non-alignment. There are some parties in India which in their stupidity are joining ranks with the Chinese by saying the same thing. The Swatantra Party says that the policy of non-alignment is absolutely wrong. They seem to feel that we should join one group or the other. The members of the Swatantra Party are supposed to be intelligent people. How can I tell them that there can be nothing more harmful or wrong and foolish than to say that we should give up our policy? It would mean opening the doors to a major war in the world. Our efforts at maintaining peace in the world would have to cease. It would mean cutting off our relations with many friendly countries. It would also mean breaking off relations with the various newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. Ultimately it would mean weakening of India and curtailment of our freedom. India will become a play thing of others.

I am amazed that taking into account the situation in the world today any thinking Indian can say such things. It is possible that the present government may have made mistakes. That is inevitable. But I am fully convinced that as far as non-alignment is concerned, we have been absolutely right. We must stick to it without any wavering or doubt. If we listen to what the other parties are saying, it will surely lead to ruin.

You will find that these same people are opposed to the goal of socialism also. It shows that to some extent we live in two different worlds. I have been in the political arena for the last fifty years. I have written some books too which some of you may have read. From my fifty years of experience and conviction I have reached the conclusion that looking to the present conditions particularly in India it is absolutely essential for us to establish socialism in India. But as you know, our method is not to fight or make a noise.

We fought for and won freedom under Gandhiji's leadership more or less peacefully. Then we merged the Indian states into the union peacefully. We abolished the zamindari and jagirdari systems, which has led to great bloodshed in other countries, entirely peacefully. So we feel that great social revolutions can be wrought peacefully. There may be difficulties and it takes time. But at least peaceful methods cause less harm than violent ones. Therefore we want to move step by step towards our goal of socialism and strengthen it. We will bring about social changes in this manner. It will take time. But there is no alternative open to us. Some people don't like this and they are the ones who are opposed to our policy of non-alignment and want us to join one of the military blocs, no matter what treatment we may get after that. They do not realise that we will lose our self-respect in the process. The individuals or nation which stand on their feet and face any crisis that arises earns the respect of others. [Applause] You will find that those who are in favour of joining some power bloc are motivated by fear. They lack faith and confidence in themselves and their countrymen. So they want to entrust the task of defending the nation to some other country. Once our backbone is broken, who can save us from outside?

Have you ever tried to read and understand history? You will find that small nations have taken on great powers and fought and won without losing heart. But a large country cannot hope to win by losing courage and entrusting its safety to others. [Applause] Such countries do not deserve to win. That is why we want friendship with all nations. We are getting a great deal of help from everyone, military aid as well as economic help from both the power blocs. You may have heard about the Consortium of European and a few Asian nations which was formed a few years ago. It is giving us loans as well as aid. They have declared that they will give us 480 crores of rupees this year. The United States and England were already in it, and now, I think, France and some others

have joined in. We thank them for their timely help. It is true that most of the aid is in the form of loans and therefore we shall have to carry a very heavy burden. In fact, we had asked for 600 crores. But we are grateful for any help that we can get. I hope that after further consideration they will be able to give us more because the faster we progress, the quicker we can solve our problems. But we are grateful for whatever they may give us.

Apart from the Consortium, you must remember that we are getting a great deal of aid from the Soviet Union too, which is in the other camp. It is a symbol of our non-alignment policy that the nations in both the power blocs into which the world is divided are giving us aid. We are grateful to both of them.

I mentioned the agreement on the Tarapur Atomic Energy station. There is a proposal for setting up another huge steel plant in Bokaro in Bihar. We want it to be in the public sector. We wanted some help in that and I think we will get it. We shall build it in any event because we need it, even if we have to tighten our belts further. Secondly, it shall be in the public sector. I hope that the matter will be finalised soon.

We are facing a grave problem today, the threat of Chinese aggression being the foremost. But we shall continue to increase our strength and at the same time try to solve the dispute by peaceful methods. War is bad, particularly a war between two great nations, for it brings ruin upon them. All our development work will come to a standstill. But national defence is our first priority and we have to be fully prepared for it.

You may remember that we had accepted the Colombo Proposals though we did not like them very much. We felt that it was one way of solving the dispute peacefully. If China also agrees, we are prepared to hold talks. Internally we have to strengthen the country in every way. The most important thing is unity. Last year we got a glimpse of a nation united against common danger. Then gradually things have been sliding back. I do not say that there must be no criticism of the government. You have every right to do so. But I would like to point out very humbly that criticism should be wise. We must not present a picture of a country torn apart by internal dissension which misled the Chinese into thinking that India can be broken up.

There should be criticism wherever it is necessary and complete cooperation in other matters. We must show how strong a democracy is. India is not like China where nobody can raise a voice of criticism against the government. You can take out processions or shout slogans. But it should not lapse into hooliganism. I am amazed and ashamed that we should behave so badly and think that you can achieve something by shouting slogans and sending an open letter in my name demanding my resignation. Well, whether I do so or not is a different matter. But it is quite certain that I shall not do so because of a few

hundred people making a noise. Is this some kind of a joke? [Applause] Why should I resign? You have put me here out of your love and affection for me. I derive my strength not from being the Prime Minister but from the people of India. If I did not enjoy the confidence of the people, I would not be here today. So long as I have that, I shall continue to work for the country as best as I can, in some capacity or the other. It is absurd that a party with no standing in the country should make a great deal of noise.

The strange thing is that all the opposition parties, irrespective of their principles and policies whether they are in favour of socialism or against it, are all united in criticising and opposing the Congress. You will be hard put to it to find a single party in the country with any definite platform for they are constantly aligning themselves with other parties with totally conflicting principles. This is not right. Every party must have a clear cut platform. But the only principle everybody seems to follow today is opposition to the Congress. In my view, if they succeed, they will be constantly at one another's throats. They have neither the strength, experience, unity nor the commonsense to understand the issues which are important. I can say categorically that that we may have made innumerable mistakes but at least we have tried to serve the nation with honesty and integrity. I can also confidently say that the parties which make a great deal of noise have neither the physical nor mental strength to carry the burden of the nation.

You may have heard about the recent by elections in Uttar Pradesh and Rajkot²²⁵ in which we lost. Well, we must learn from that. But there have been 27 other by-elections all over the country in the last few months of which the Congress has won more than twenty. The Congress lost in these three places for a particular reason. But it has filled the opposition parties with intoxication and joy. They are to be congratulated for winning. But the manner of their winning is open to question. They now seem to think that they are going to change India's history now. Such unseemly rejoicing is not right. People must be a little more civilised.

You must have heard that two of our cabinet ministers have resigned. One is Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim an old Congress worker and leader who had challenged Mr Jinnah's Muslim League and defeated it everywhere. We have great respect and affection for him. But since he lost from Amroha, it was considered proper that he should resign though there was no particular

225. See fn 218 in this section.

reason for it. However, I have accepted his resignation though I felt grieved to have to do so.

The other was Keshava Dev Malaviya. He was found to have been connected with some business house in Calcutta. I will not go into that. A high powered judge had given his verdict.²²⁶ So it was felt that he should resign. I have accepted the President's recommendation. The matter will gradually become clear. But I would like to mention that Keshava Dev Malaviya has done commendable work for the government in the matter of oil. For the first time, he has put India firmly on the oil map. He stuck to his policy in the face of great opposition. India has benefitted greatly by it and earned millions of rupees. But the more important thing is that the oil industry has been established in the country for the first time. I want to tell you quite clearly that we shall continue to follow his policy and the oil industry will be expanded. Let there be no mistake about that. There is great pressure internally and from outside interests to acquire a foothold in this because the profits involved are enormous.

I want to tell you that recently Vinoba Bhave spent a few days in Calcutta. As you know he has been touring the country on foot for the last ten or twelve years. So far he has visited millions of villages. It was a little out of ordinary for him to have come to this city. I have great respect for him. He is a great soul. There have been other great men but most of them are rather vague and pay no attention to the rest of the world. But I think Vinobaji is a great saint and at the same time an extremely practical man who understands the world. He understands our practical difficulties and his opinions are always sound. I may or may not agree with him in minor matters. But I have great respect for his views on important matters. He has been asking people for gramdan and got a couple of lakhs of land which is a big thing. But what is more important is that he is paving the way for a peaceful revolution in the matter of land. These issues have led to great violence and chaos in other countries. In India, revolution has become synonymous with non-violence. I was sorry to hear that some of our youth misbehaved with him in some meetings here in Calcutta. Not that that will do any harm to Vinobaji for he is a great soul. But those who were responsible for the misbehaviour have not done themselves any good.

I have taken up a great deal of your time. I have spent two days in Calcutta and will return to Delhi tomorrow. Complex problems are waiting there and we shall do our best to solve them. We need your blessings and sympathy. We are insignificant people who grew in stature because we could sit at Gandhiji's feet and learn something. After that we have tried to do our best. We have made mistakes but have tried to rectify them and go on. That is the way of human

226. See fn 219 in this section.

beings. I cannot promise that I shall never make mistakes. I can only say that we shall always try to follow the right path and to work for the betterment of the people. I have complete faith that India will progress because I have great confidence in the people of India. I derive my strength from that faith. We are forging ahead step by step.

All right, I came here for your blessings and shall to back from Calcutta with renewed vigour and strength to face the tasks that lie ahead. [Applause]
Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

59. In Barrackpur: To the Barrackpur Chest Clinic²²⁷

राज्यपाल जी,²²⁸ मुख्यमंत्री,²²⁹ श्री शम्भू मुखर्जी²³⁰ और बहिनो, भाइयो, कई वर्ष से मैं इस संस्था का, जो मैं देख रहा हूँ आज, मैं इसका नाम सुन रहा हूँ, कई बार मेरे पास अजय घोषाल जी आये दिल्ली में और इसका मुझे बताया और मुझको निमंत्रण दिया यहाँ आने का। मैंने डॉ. बिधान चंद्र राय²³¹ से भी पूछा था इसके बारे में और उन्होंने भी मुझे कहा कि यह अच्छी संस्था है और इसकी सहायता करनी चाहिए। तो आज इतने वर्ष बाद जो मैं आया हूँ, तो पुराना प्रण पूरा होता है, इससे मुझे खुशी है।

श्री शम्भू मुखर्जी के बारे में तो मैंने बहुत कुछ सुना है, कित्ता वो त्याग से और दिल लगाकर इसकी सेवा उन्होंने की है और करते जाते हैं। ऐसी संस्था जिसके पीछे ऐसे लोग हैं, यह अवश्य सफल होगी और हो रही है हल्के-हल्के, उन्होंने अपने परिश्रम से इसको बनाया।

तो मैं अपनी शुभकामनाएँ इसको देता हूँ और मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि यह तरक्की करेगी, उन्नति करेगी, बढ़ती जायेगी और आम जनता की सेवा करेगी, यहाँ की बैरकपुर के। और मैं आपसे इस समय क्या कहूँ सिवाए इसके कि हमारे यहाँ बहुत सारे काम करने वाले होते हैं और दुनिया काम से चलती है, काम से कुछ थोड़ा बहुत जो भी कहा, अफ़सरी काम से, लेकिन कहीं ज़्यादा, अधिकतर ऐसे लोगों के कार्य से, सेवा से, जो

227. Speech, 2 July 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10610, NM No. 1858 Cut I.

Nehru declared open the Barrackpore Chest Clinic and laid the foundation stone of the Tuberculosis Hospital in the Clinic compound. See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 3 July 1963, p. 6 col. 6.

228. Padmaja Naidu.

229. Prafulla Chandra Sen.

230. Sambhu Chandra Mukherjee was described as the “main-spring behind the Chest Clinic.” See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 3 July 1963, p. 6 col. 6.

231. The late Chief Minister of West Bengal.

कि कोई अफसर नहीं होते, जो कि खुद अपना त्याग देते हैं, अपना समय देते हैं उनकी श्रद्धा से और उनकी सेवा से चलती है।

जिस-जिस संस्था में, जिस समाज में ऐसे लोग अधिक होते हैं उस समाज की उन्नति होती है। यहाँ मैंने इसलिए कहा यह कि आपके यहाँ इसके जो चलाने वाले हैं, विशेषकर वह उनकी सेवा से बना है, उनके परिश्रम से। तो जब ऐसा कोई आदमी पीछे हो तो बहुत मज़बूत उसकी बुनियाद होती है, वो है यहाँ और मुझे विश्वास है कि यहाँ के, बैरकपुर के रहने वाले या कलकत्ते के रहने वाले इसकी सहायता करेंगे और इसको पूरा मौक़ा देंगे कि वह सेवा कर सके जनता की।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Governor,²³² Chief Minister,²³³ Shri Sambhu Mukherjee,²³⁴ Brothers and Sisters, I have been hearing about this institution for years. Ajay Ghoshalji has come many times to tell me about it and to invite me to come here. I had asked Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy²³⁵ about it who had assured me that it was a very good institution and deserving of help. So I am fulfilling an old promise by coming here.

I have heard a great deal about Shri Shambhu Mukherji, his spirit of sacrifice and devotion and service. The institution which has such individuals is bound to succeed as this one has. He has built it gradually with hard work and determination.

All my good wishes to this institution. I have complete faith that it will progress and grow and continue to serve the common people of Barrackpur. What more can I say except that innumerable tasks are waiting to be done. The world moves by hard work, to some extent of officials, but mostly by the work, devotion and service of people who are not officers but give of their time and dedication. The institution or society which has a large number of such selfless dedicated individuals is bound to progress. I am saying this because this institution has grown out of the labour and service of the men who run it. Such selfless devotion to a cause strengthens the foundations of the institution. I hope that the people of Barrackpur or even Calcutta will give whatever help they can and provide the opportunity for the institution to continue to serve the people.

Jai Hind !

Translation ends]

232. See fn 228 in this section.

233. See fn 229 in this section.

234. See fn 230 in this section.

235. See fn 231 in this section.

Punjab Tour

60. In Chandigarh: At the Panchayat Bhavan²³⁶

राज्यपाल जी,²³⁷ मुख्यमंत्री जी,²³⁸ सरदार दरबारा सिंह²³⁹ और ज़िला परिषदों के चेयरमैन और पंचायत समितियों के चेयरमैन और वाइस चेयरमैन, भाइयो और बहिनो, सत्रह-सोलह बरस हुए जब हमको, आज़ादी हासिल हमने की थी इस मुल्क की, एक हमारा सफ़र ख़तम हुआ था लेकिन जैसे ही वो ख़तम हुआ दूसरी यात्रा हमें शुरू करनी पड़ी, हम खुद भी करना चाहते थे लेकिन वक़्त की मजबूरी ने और भी हमें मजबूर कर दिया कि हम करें। हमें आज़ादी मिली थी और आज़ादी के साथ एक ज़बरदस्त धक्का लगा था, वह आप जानते हैं वह मुल्क के दो टुकड़े हो जाने का, पंजाब के, बंगाल के टुकड़े हो जाने से। इसका रंज हुआ लेकिन हालत ऐसी थी कि हमने उसे मंज़ूर किया, मंज़ूर करने के बाद फिर उसी की वजह से कितनी मुसीबतें आई हैं और आप सब जानते हैं कि कितनी हौलनाक बातें हुईं। तो इन सब बातों का असर यह हुआ कि किसी तरह से हम इस मुसीबत से निकले और मुसीबत से ही कुछ सीखे, और ज़्यादा तेज़ी से चले मुल्क को बदलने के लिए, यह सबक़ सारे हिन्दुस्तान का था लेकिन खासकर पंजाब का।

अब इस सोलह बरस में हमने क्या-क्या किया हिन्दुस्तान भर में और पंजाब में कुछ आप थोड़ा बहुत जानते हैं, हमारी यात्रा जारी रही, कभी मुश्किलें हुईं, खाई-ख़ंदक हुए, उसमें गिर गये, गिर के फिर उठे, फिर चले। और हिन्दुस्तान भर में नमूने हैं इस वक़्त हमारे इस सफ़र के, हमारी तरक्क़ी के, क्योंकि हमारे सामने जो मक़सद था, जो लक्ष्य था वो तो यह था कि मुल्क के आम लोगों को, जनता को उठाये, उठाये हर तरह से, ग़रीबी मुल्क से निकालें, बेरोज़गारी निकालें और एक-एक आदमी और एक-एक औरत को एक अपने ऊपर भरोसा हो, सीखे, सीखा हुआ हो, पढ़ा हो और अपने ऊपर भरोसा हो काम करने का। हम ऐसा मुल्क बनाना चाहते थे, महज़ एक जिसकी फ़ौजी ताक़त हो, वो नहीं, फ़ौजी ताक़त की तो ज़रूरत थी लेकिन फ़ौजी ताक़त में हमें ख़ाली भरोसा नहीं था, हम ऐसा मुल्क बनाना चाहते थे और चाहते हैं कि जिसमें एक-एक आदमी, एक-एक औरत एक ज़िम्मेदार शख्स हो, एक सीखा हुआ हो, अपना काम करने का, बड़े काम करने का, मुल्क की ख़िदमत करने का और मुल्क की तरक्क़ी करने में अपनी भी तरक्क़ी करने का, क्योंकि असल तरक्क़ी वही होती है जो कि मुल्क की तरक्क़ी के साथ हो।

236. Speech, 7 July 1963, on inaugurating Panchayat Bhavan. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 11173, NM No.1928.

Tape incomplete; however, a summary of this speech, with excerpts, along with a report on his speech at the Post-Graduate Institute of Medicine, may be found in item 21.

237. Pattom A. Thanu Pillai.

238. Partap Singh Kairon.

239. Minister of Community Development, Panchayats and Panchayati Raj in Punjab.

मैं आपके सामने बैठा हूँ और एक बड़ा ओहदा है मेरा, मैं प्रधानमंत्री हूँ हिन्दुस्तान का, एक बड़े मुल्क का। मैं कैसे हुआ प्रधानमंत्री इस ऊँचे ओहदे पर? कोई मैं राजा-महाराजा का लड़का नहीं हूँ कि विरासतन मुझे मिल जाये, लेकिन मैंने जैसे कि और लाखों आदमियों ने इस मुल्क में, एक हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी की लड़ाई में हम भी सिपाही बने, हम हिन्दुस्तान के पहाड़ पर खड़े हुए, जैसे-जैसे वो पहाड़ उठा हम भी उठते गये, हम भी लम्बे मालूम होने लगे। असल में हम लम्बे नहीं हुए, वो तो हिन्दुस्तान ऊँचा होता गया और उस पे जो थे वो लोग कुछ ऊँचे दिखने लगे, हम लोग, बाज़ लोग नेता गिने जाने लगे, बड़े नेता गिने जाने लगे, बड़ी-बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी की जगह हुए, लेकिन असल बात यह है कि हमारी ऊँचाई या बड़ापन हिन्दुस्तान की ऊँचाई और बड़ेपन से हुआ। हम में क्या बात थी कि हम कुछ हो जाते अलग? हाँ, कुछ बात थी कि हमें मौक़ा मिला, महात्मा गांधी जी की ख़िदमत करने का, उनसे कुछ सीखने का और यह एक बड़ा मौक़ा था, जिस दर्जे हमने उससे फ़ायदा उठाया, हमारी ताक़त बढ़ी, काम करने की कुव्वत बढ़ी, और तो हम में कुछ नहीं था।

तो इस तरह से हम आज़ाद हुए और आज़ादी के बाद फिर नई यात्रा, नये सफ़र को हमने शुरू किया। वो नया सफ़र हिन्दुस्तान जो सैकड़ों बरस से ग़रीब मुल्कों में है दुनिया के, उसको ख़ुशहाल करें, उसको ऊँचे दर्जे का करें, हमारी ख़्वाहिश नहीं थी न है कि हम किसी और मुल्क पर हमला करें, किसी और पर ज़बरदस्ती करें, हाँ हम चाहते थे कि अपने मुल्क को आज़ाद रखें और अपने मुल्क की तरक्क़ी हो, और मुल्कों की भी तरक्क़ी हो। हमें कोई ज़रा भी ख़्वाहिश नहीं थी बल्कि ख़्वाहिश नहीं, क्या [क्योंकि] हम इसके ख़िलाफ़ थे कि हम किसी और मुल्क की आज़ादी पर दख़ल दें, कुछ हम अपने मुल्क की ज़मीन को बढ़ायें, काफ़ी हमारा मुल्क है, हम अपने मुल्क की तरक्क़ी चाहते हैं, दूसरे के मुल्कों को दबाना नहीं चाहते। यह ख़्याल पुराने ज़माने का है कि एक मुल्क और मुल्कों पर हमला करके अपनी इज़्ज़त बढ़ाता है, अपनी शान बढ़ाता है, यह आप ग़ौर करें, यह आजकल की दुनिया का सवाल नहीं रहा है, यह पुराने ज़माने में, एक फ़्यूडल [feudal] ज़माना जिसे अंग्रेज़ी में कहते हैं, एक जागीरदारी ज़माना, एक वो बड़े-बड़े ज़मींदारों का ज़माना, जैसे वो समझते थे कि अपनी ज़मींदारी बढ़ जाये तो हमारी आमदनी बढ़ती है, हमारी हैसियत बढ़ती है, वैसे पुराने ज़माने में मुल्क वाले समझते थे, हम फ़तह कर लें तो हम बादशाह हैं, हमें बादशाह समझने वाले लोग ज़्यादा हो जाते हैं, हमारी हैसियत बढ़ जाती है, वो ज़माना ख़त्म हो गया, वो बादशाही का ज़माना, जागीरदारी का ताल्लुक़ेदारी का, ज़मींदारी का, उस माने में ज़माना ख़त्म हो गया। तो अब तो कोई मतलब भी नहीं रहा है कि हमले करके औरों को दबायें और यह हमारा पक्का है।

हाँ, एक बात थी कि जब हम आज़ाद हुए थे, दो-तीन छोटे-छोटे हिस्से हिन्दुस्तान के, बहुत छोटे, वो आज़ाद नहीं हुए थे, वह और मुल्कों के क़ब्ज़े में थे। जहाँ तक अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत के क़ब्ज़े में हिन्दुस्तान था और सबमें ज़्यादा वही था, उसको हमने आज़ाद किया। कुछ फ़्रेंच [French] के क़ब्ज़े में छोटा सा हिस्सा हिन्दुस्तान का था, कुछ पोर्चुगल [Portugal] के, वह आज़ाद हमने नहीं किया, हम समझते थे वह अपने आप से हो जायेगा, जब सारा हिन्दुस्तान हो गया तो ज़रा सा वह इलाक़ा है, वह कैसे रह सकता है, उसमें कुछ दिक्क़तें

हुई, वह भी हो गया। तो अब ग़रज़ कि पूरा हिन्दुस्तान हमारा एक हुकूमत में आके आज़ाद हुआ। तो अब यह काम हमारा पूरा हो गया, सियासी आज़ादी का हासिल करना वह रहा नहीं, अब दूसरा काम रह गया कि हम सियासी आज़ादी के बाद इक्त्तसादी [इक्त्तिसादी], आर्थिक आज़ादी हमारा मुल्क हासिल करे, मुल्क के रहने वाले और एक ख़ुशहाल मुल्क हो, ग़रीबी निकल जाये। यह हमारे सामने बड़ा सवाल था, जब हम आज़ाद हुए, इस पर बहुत सोचा, समझा, किया, कोशिश की, बड़े-बड़े कमेटियाँ बनाई, कमीशन बनाये, योजना कमीशन, प्लानिंग कमीशन बनाया इस पर ग़ौर करने के लिए कि कैसे हम जल्दी तरक्क़ी करें और हम बाज़ नतीजों पर पहुँचे कि तरक्क़ी ऐसे मौक़े पर सब तरफ़ से हमें होनी है।

हमें खेती में तरक्क़ी करनी है, बुनियाद बात है, हमारा मुल्क खेतिहर मुल्क है, अगर उसमें नहीं तरक्क़ी होती तो और कहाँ होगी, वह बहुत ज़रूरी है। तरक्क़ी के माने हैं हम मुल्क में पहले से बहुत ज़्यादा पैदा करें, उत्पादन हो, क्योंकि जब दौलत मुल्क में पैदा होगी और दौलत वही है जो आप अपनी मेहनत से पैदा करते हैं ज़मीन से, कारख़ाने में, जहाँ कहीं करें उतना ही हम ग़रीबी से दूर होंगे। तो खेती बढ़ायें, कारख़ाने बनायें, कारख़ाने भी दौलत पैदा करने को, सामान पैदा करने को, जो हमारे लिए ज़रूरी है, कारख़ाने बनायें। यों तो लाखों कारख़ाने हमें बनाने हैं लेकिन एक माने में ज़ोर दिया जाये उन कारख़ानों पर जो कि कारख़ाने की मशीन तैयार करते हैं, क्योंकि अगर वह हो गया, बुनियाद हो गयी तो ज़्यादा कारख़ाने बन सकते हैं। और ज़ोर दिया जाये जो लोहा पैदा करते हैं, स्टील बनाते हैं, कारख़ाने के लिए ज़रूरी है, ज़ोर दिया जाये बिजली पैदा करने के लिए, वह ज़रूरी है, ताक़त है जिससे होता है, नहरें बनाने की, यह सब बातों की तरफ़ गया। और और भी बुनियादी चीज़—ज़ोर दिया जाये लोगों की तालीम का, शिक्षा का, क्योंकि आख़िर में मुल्क की बढ़ाई होती है, मुल्क की ताक़त होती है सीखे हुए, शिक्षित लोग, आप देख लें दुनिया में जिस मुल्क ने तरक्क़ी की है, जो ख़ुशहाल हुआ है वहाँ सबमें पहले उनको करना पड़ा तालीम का इंतिज़ाम, सब एक-एक लड़का-लड़की, तालीम हो, मामूली तालीम हरेक को हो, फिर ख़ास तालीम हो, जिससे वह ख़ास-ख़ास काम करना सीख सकें। क्योंकि आजकल काम बहुत हैं, आप जानते हैं, यही ले लीजिए इंजीनियर लोग हैं, आजकल कितने ज़रूरी हैं, तो हमें लाखों चाहियें। तो उसके लिए ख़ास है, डॉक्टरी है, और ऐसे कितने काम हैं जो सीखने होते हैं, इससे मुल्क बढ़ता है।

तो यह सब करने का इंतिज़ाम किया गया, काम बहुत बड़ा था क्योंकि हमारा मुल्क बड़ा है, चवालीस करोड़ से ऊपर का मुल्क हो गया है, बढ़ता जाता है आबादी में और बहुत इसमें लोग, बिल्कुल बहुत हिस्से में हिन्दुस्तान के ग़रीबी में फ़ंसे हैं और ग़रीबी में फ़ंसने के अलावा सैकड़ों बरस से दबे हुए रहे हैं और दबे हुए रहने से एक जान कम हो जाती है, काम करने का माद़ा कम हो जाता है। आप फ़र्क़ देख सकते हैं कि पंजाब के लोगों का और ऐसे सूबों का जैसा मेरा सूबा है, जहाँ कि बड़े-बड़े ताल्लुकेदार और जागीरदार और बड़े-बड़े ज़मींदार रहते हैं, थे, वहाँ के लोग दब गये थे। अब ताल्लुकेदार लोग तो हट गये बिल्कुल लेकिन फिर भी पुराने दबने का असर अब तक उन पर है, हल्के-हल्के उठ रहे हैं, यह सब हमें सामना करना था, बड़ा काम था। और चवालीस करोड़ आदमियों को बढ़ाना,

जहाँ कि बहुत हमारे खुद—औरों को छोड़ दीजिए, औरों ने हमें दबाया—हमारे खुद बहुत बातें ऐसी हैं, हमारे पुराने दस्तूर हैं जो कि बुरे हैं, जिन्होंने दबाया लोगों को, जिनको हम हरिजन कहते हैं उनको दबाया, क्रौमों को दबाया, हिन्दुस्तान की बड़ी आबादी को, हमारे सामाजिक क्रायदों ने दबाया, ग़लत बात थी। ख़ैर, यह बड़ा सवाल उठा और हमने उसको बुनियाद ही से, उसकी जड़ मज़बूत करने की कोशिश की, नये हिन्दुस्तान की। और ज़ाहिर है जो बातें हम पूरी चाहते थे, जिस तेज़ी से हम बढ़ना चाहते थे उसमें तो हम कामयाब नहीं हुए, क्योंकि हमारी उमंगें थीं, हम चाहते थे जल्दी से जल्दी हम पहुँच जायें, अक्सर ना-उम्मीद हुए हम, क्यों नहीं हुआ? अक्सर हमारी कमज़ोरियाँ थीं, अक्सर हमारा आपस में लड़ाई-झगड़ा था, यह सब कमज़ोर कर देता था हमें, लेकिन फिर भी बावजूद इन सब बातों के क़दम-ब-क़दम हम बढ़ते गये, उसमें हज़ार रुकावटें पड़ीं।

अभी पार साल तो बड़ी रुकावट यही कि चीनी लोगों ने हम पर हमला किया, बड़ा धक्का लगा हमें और सबमें बड़ा धक्का यह कि हमारी ताक़त ज़ाहिर है मुल्क की हिफ़ाज़त की तरफ़ गयी, हमारी ताक़त, पैसा वग़ैरा, जो पैसा हम खर्चते हैं हम अपने मुल्क की तरक्की के लिए, वह दूसरी तरफ़ चला गया, सब बातें हुईं। मुमकिन है कि आखिर में उससे भी फ़ायदे ही हमें हों, क्योंकि मुक़ाबले में फ़ायदा होता है, आप अपने जिस्म को मज़बूत किया चाहते तो आप कुश्ती लड़ते हैं, आप वरज़िश करते हैं, उससे जिस्म मज़बूत होती है। इसी तरह से मुल्क भी कुश्ती लड़ के, वरज़िश करके, काम करके, मुश्किल कामों का सामना करके मज़बूत होते हैं, जो लोग ढीले होते हैं, कुछ करना नहीं चाहते, ख़ाली आराम-तलब होते हैं वह क्रौम, न क्रौम बढ़ती है, न मुल्क बढ़ता है, न आदमी बढ़ता है। हो सकता है हमारे सामने यह जो बड़े-बड़े सवाल हुए हैं, बड़े-बड़े हादसे हुए हैं, हमला हुआ हमारे मुल्क पर, यह भी आखिर में मुल्क को मज़बूत करे, बिलफ़ेल हमें उसको भी, हमें सामना करना है और अपने जो हमारे मुल्क में पाँच वर्ष की योजनाएँ हैं उनको पूरा करना है।

अब सोलह बरस हुए और इस सोलह बरस में जब शुरू हुई थी आज़ादी हमारे यहाँ, आपके सामने शुरू हुई एक मुसीबत के साथ, एक हौलनाक बातें हुई, जो आज़ादी के बाद टुकड़े हुए हिन्दुस्तान के और पंजाब के, कित्ते लोग भागे हुए आये यहाँ पाकिस्तान से, उनको बसाना, उनको सम्भालना, उनका खपना बड़ी बात थी, हल्के-हल्के हमने देखा इस काम को चलते हुए। यह जहाँ आप बैठे हैं, चंडीगढ़, यह क्या, पंद्रह बरस हुए क्या जगह थी? मैदान था, कोई शहर तो नहीं था यह, मैदान था, शायद एक-आध छोटे गाँव हों और खेत वग़ैरा थे यहाँ। यह तय किया कि इस नये पंजाब की नयी राजधानी होनी चाहिए और वह यहाँ होनी चाहिए। मैंने इसको देखा, जब यहाँ कोई भी इमारत नहीं थी, हल्के-हल्के इमारतें खड़ी हुई, बढ़ते देखा, अब एक काफ़ी बड़ा शहर सा बन गया है, एक अपने ढंग का शहर, ख़ास ढंग का, पुराने शहरों की तरह नहीं, नये ढंग का और दुनिया में इसकी शोहरत है। अक्सर आपके पुराने शहरों का नाम भी कोई न जानता हो दुनिया [में] लेकिन चंडीगढ़ की शोहरत दुनिया में है, इसलिए कि एक नये ढंग से यह बना, नये तरीक़े से और बड़े-बड़े इंजीनियर लोगों ने इसमें सलाह दी, बाहर के, यहाँ के, उनकी मदद से बना। इसको बढ़ते देखा, पहले मुझे याद है सबमें बड़ी इमारत जिसको मैंने देखा था

यहाँ और उसके उद्घाटन के लिए शायद आया था, वह जो बड़ी सी एक हाईकोर्ट बना। खैर, हाईकोर्ट एक ज़रूरी चीज़ है, बना, ठीक बना। फिर इसी तरह से वह बड़ी सेक्रेटेरियेट [Secretariat] है, यहाँ सरकारी दफ़्तर हैं, वह बने, और बनते गये कई तरह से, और सब जगह मुझे आने का इतिफ़ाक़ हुआ या तो खोलने का या बाद में उसके देखने का। पहले इरादा था एक बड़ा भारी गवर्नर के लिए मकान बने, वह एक कहीं ऊँची जगह पर, वह इरादा छोड़ दिया गया, क्योंकि कुछ ज़रा दिमाग़ में ख़्याल दूसरे तरह के आने लगे कि बजाए गवर्नर के लिए, बड़ा मकान बनाने के लिए [अब] तवज्जोह देनी चाहिए ऐसी बातों में जिसमें आम लोगों का हिस्सा ज़्यादा हो। इस तरह से तरह-तरह की इमारतें बनीं, तरह-तरह के दफ़्तर बने, बड़े-बड़े कॉलेज बने, यूनिवर्सिटी बनी, आज ही सुबह मैं एक डॉक्टरी बड़ी इंस्टीट्यूट खोलने गया था, उसको खोला,²⁴⁰ सब हल्के-हल्के तरक्की होती गयी।

अब इस वक़्त मैं आया हूँ आपके पंचायत घर को, का उद्घाटन करने। यह पंचायत घर एक अच्छी इमारत है, खूबसूरत इमारत है और आप लोग जिन्होंने बनाया अपने खर्चे से, आप लोगों को मुबारिक हो, यह तो आपकी चीज़ है, मुबारिक हो आपको। [तालियाँ] लेकिन इसके पीछे क्या ख़्याल है? मैंने आपसे कहा, पहले यहाँ बड़ी इमारत हाईकोर्ट बना, ठीक है, हाईकोर्ट ज़रूरी चीज़ है, कोई ऐसी अदालतों का कोई मज़बूत इतिज़ाम हो, निशानी एक अच्छे मुल्क की, फिर बड़े दफ़्तर बने, सेक्रेटेरियेट, वह अब भी हैं। अब क्या चीज़ बनी? अब पंचायती घर बना जो कि एक निशानी है, यहाँ कोई पंचायती घर में कोई हुकूमत नहीं करेगा लेकिन वह निशानी है जो पंचायती राज है, जो आपके यहाँ पंचायत समितियाँ हैं, ज़िला परिषदें हैं उसकी निशानी है यानी जो पंचायत समितियों में और ज़िला परिषद में गवर्नमेंट का इतिज़ाम होगा उसकी निशानी है। एक माने में यह ज़्यादा अहमियत रखता है, ज़्यादा ज़रूरी है और नये हिन्दुस्तान का ज़्यादा अच्छा नमूना है बनिस्बत वह जो बड़ा सेक्रेटेरियेट की इमारत खड़ी है छः मंज़िली, क्योंकि इससे हुकूमत को फ़ैलाया है, हुकूमत को लाखों आदमियों में, लाखों पंचों में फ़ैला दिया है, हुकूमत के बाज़ हिस्सों को। सारे हिस्से का तो फ़ैलाना मुश्किल होता है लेकिन जो बुनियादी हिस्से हैं हुकूमत के, जिससे आम लोगों को फ़ायदा होता है, आम लोगों के रोज़मर्रा के काम में असर होता है वह फ़ैलाये गये और आप सब लोग हुकूमत के इतिज़ाम में एक हिस्सेदार हो गये। और आपके ऊपर यह मुनहसिर है कि आप उस काम को अच्छा करें या बुरे करें, यह नहीं रहा कि कोई बड़े हाकिम पे मुनहसिर है, बड़े अफ़सर पर या बड़े मंत्री पर, मंत्री और हाकिम अपना-अपना काम करें, लेकिन उनका दायरा कुछ हो गया, क्योंकि आप सब अपनी जगह पर हाकिम हो गये और मंत्री हो गये, अपने दायरे में। तो यह एक बड़ी बात है।

जब पंचायती राज का सिलसिला शुरू किया था, तो यह तस्वीर आँखों के सामने आई कि हिन्दुस्तान में लाखों नहीं करोड़ों आदमी इसमें हिस्सेदार होंगे हुकूमत के, अपने-अपने गाँवों में, अपने-अपने हल्के में, तब कुछ जो बात जो हम चाहते थे करना वह तस्वीर क़रीब आयेगी। क्योंकि हुकूमत करने के बहुत दस्तूर होते हैं, पुराने दस्तूर थे, एक बादशाह थे,

240. See item 61.

बादशाह अच्छे भी होते थे, बुरे भी होते थे, अच्छे बादशाह कुछ भला काम कर जाते थे, बुरे बादशाह नुक़सान पहुँचाते थे, वह ढंग बदला, हल्के-हल्के बदला, तरह-तरह से। अब ढंग है प्रजातंत्र का, डेमोक्रेसी का, हम में ख़राबियाँ भी हैं, अच्छाइयाँ भी हैं, ख़राबियाँ उसमें यह हैं कि जैसे लोग होंगे, अगर अच्छे होंगे लोग, सीखे हुए होंगे तब अच्छा काम चलेगा, नहीं अच्छे हैं तो ख़ाली प्रजातंत्र कह देने से, जमहूरियत कह देने से तो अच्छे नहीं हो जाते, उनका अच्छा होना है जमहूरियत में, प्रजातंत्र में। तो वहाँ की एक तस्वीर सी होती है, आईने में आप देखिए, जैसे लोग हैं वैसा इतिज़ाम होगा, ख़राब लोग हैं, लड़ाकू हैं, सीखे हुए नहीं हैं, मेहनती नहीं हैं तो मुल्क निकम्मा हो जायेगा, अच्छे हैं, सीखे हुए हैं, ठीक तरह चलते हैं तो अच्छा हो जायेगा।

तो राजा-महाराजा का ज़माना तो गुज़रा, दुनिया में करीब-करीब गुज़र गया, कहीं-कहीं है, वह भी नाम के लिए है, अब ज़माना यह आया। दूसरा ज़माना था अंग्रेज़ी राज्य का ज़माना, जो कि दफ़्तरी हुकूमत कहिए, बड़े-बड़े अफ़सर आते थे और उस ज़माने में जो लाट साहब भी थे वह भी एक बड़े अफ़सर थे, वह हुकूमत करते थे और उनके नीचे बड़े अफ़सर, छोटे अफ़सर, तरह-तरह के आके, डिप्टी कमिशनर और उनके नीचे और, इस तरह हो गये। अब काम यह था कि कोई अच्छे अफ़सर हुए तो ज़रा अच्छा काम करते थे लेकिन बुनियाद उसकी दोनों की यह थी कि हुकूमत एक आदमी के हाथ में हो या एक छोटे गिरोह के हाथ में हो। अब दूसरी तस्वीर हो गयी, हुकूमत फ़ैल जाये, हुकूमत राजा और प्रजा का सवाल उठता था पुराने ज़माने में, अब यह उठा यह ख़्याल ही बदल गया, अब राजा प्रजा हो गयी और प्रजा राजा हो गयी, हरेक आदमी कुछ राजेपन में हिस्सा लेता है [तालियाँ] यानी हुकूमत फ़ैल गयी, फ़ैल रही है और हरेक को कुछ न कुछ छोटे हिस्से में और बड़े हिस्से में अधिकार हो गया। पहला, उनकी निशानी पहली तो यह थी कि हमारे यहाँ जो हुकूमत की बड़ी संस्थाएँ हैं जैसे दिल्ली में पार्लियामेंट है, लोकसभा है, राज्यसभा है, जो कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए क़ानून बनाते हैं, जो कि आख़िर में चुनते हैं हिन्दुस्तान के जो सदर हैं, राष्ट्रपति हैं, उनको चुनते हैं, जिनकी राय से प्रधानमंत्री चुने जाते हैं और मंत्री सभी चुने जाते हैं। हमारे हिन्दुस्तान की आख़िरी हुकूमत पार्लियामेंट है, लोकसभा और राज्यसभा और हर सूबों में अलग विधान सभाएँ हैं जो कि चुनी जाती हैं। वो राज्यसभा, लोकसभा सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लोग अलग-अलग मिलके चुनते हैं और आपकी विधान सभा, आप लोग पंजाब में अलग-अलग मिलके चुनते हैं और वह फिर जो आपके मुख्यमंत्री हों और मंत्री हों उनको मुक़र्रर करती है। तो यह एक बड़ा क़दम था शहनशाहियत के ज़माने से, बड़ा क़दम था, बहुत बड़ा क़दम था क्योंकि आख़िर में विधानसभा या पार्लियामेंट का बनना लोगों के हाथ में आ गया। हाँ, यह सही है कि लोगों के हाथ में तो आ गया लेकिन और जो बीच के ओहदेदार हैं, अफ़सर हैं, वह लोग फिर भी कुछ पुराने ज़माने के रहे, वे अच्छे हों, अच्छे-बुरे की बात नहीं है, मैं ढंग आपसे कहता हूँ। अब यह बहुत बड़ा और दूसरा क़दम उठाया गया है, यह ऊपर तो पार्लियामेंट है या विधान सभा आपकी है और मंत्री लोग हैं वग़ैरा, लेकिन अब हुकूमत, रोज़मर्रा की हुकूमत में दख़ल, राय देना, दख़ल देना वह आप लोगों के हाथ में आया यानी जो बहुत कुछ बातें

जो पहले ऊपर की, सूबे की हुकूमत करती थी या बड़े अफसर करते थे वह आपके हाथ में आ गयी। सूबे की हुकूमत तो है और बहुत ज़रूरी काम करेगी, क्योंकि और बहुत सारे काम हैं, उसको करने हैं और आपको सलाह देनी और आपकी मदद करनी। अफसर लोग भी हैं, और हमें चाहियें, अच्छे अफसर हों क्योंकि हर इंतिज़ाम में कुछ न कुछ अफसर मुक़र्रर करने पड़ते हैं जैसे फ़ौज में करने पड़ते हैं कहीं, लेकिन उन अफसरों का भी ढंग बदल गया था, बदल जायेगा, उनका ढंग हो गया। आप जो पंचायत समितियों के चेयरमैन वगैरा हैं, ज़िला परिषद के, आपको सलाह देना, आपकी मदद करना, लेकिन असल शक्ति आपके हाथ में आ गयी, असल हुकूमत उस इलाक़े की, यह बड़ी बात है। क्यों बड़ी बात है? क्योंकि हम इस मुल्क को मज़बूत किया [करना] चाहते हैं, ऊपर दो-एक बड़े लायक़ आदमी रखके नहीं, लायक़ आदमी तो हमेशा अच्छे होते हैं, जो सेवा कर सकें, लेकिन हम इसकी ताक़त फ़ैलाना चाहते हैं एक-एक व्यक्ति में, उसमें क़ाबिलियत हो मुल्क को चलाने की और कोई जो ज़िम्मेदारी हो उसको ओढ़ने की, तब मुल्क मज़बूत हो जायेगा, तब कोई उसे तोड़ नहीं सके।

पुराने ज़माने में आपको याद होगा दिल्ली की बादशाहत कैसे बदलती थी, एक बड़े मुल्क की बादशाहत, कोई दुश्मन आया, दुश्मन ने हमला किया, पानीपत में या आसपास कहीं लड़ाई जीत गया तो सारी शहनशाहियत बदल गयी, सारे हिन्दुस्तान की हुकूमत बदल गयी, अजीब तमाशा यह होता था या आपस में कोई लड़ाई हुई, एक लड़ाई में कोई जीत गया, एक सुबह से शाम तक में सारे मुल्क की हुकूमत बदल गयी। यह इसलिए कि सारी ताक़त जमा थी एक शख्स में, जो शहनशाह था, वह गिर गया तो सब गिर गये, यह कमज़ोरी है। ताक़त मुल्क की होनी चाहिए फ़ैली हुई करोड़ों आदमियों में, उसको कोई गिरा नहीं सकता, एक चीज़ नहीं उसको गिरा सकती। तो ऐसी ताक़त हम चाहते हैं कि चाहे कोई हो या न हो, मुल्क की ताक़त जारी रहे और उसको, एक-आध आदमी को हरा दे लेकिन मुल्क भर को तो कोई नहीं इस तरह से हरा सकता।

तो मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें, यह जो पंचायती राज है यह कोई महज़ एक यह नहीं है कि एक, नये तरह की पंचायतें पहले भी होती थी, नयी बना दी, उसको ज़्यादा अधिकार दिये। यह बुनियादी तौर से दूसरी चीज़ है, यह बुनियादी तौर पर हम हुकूमत को फ़ैलाते हैं और हिस्सेदार बनाते हैं लाखों-करोड़ों आदमियों को। आप सोचें आपके यहाँ कितनी? तेरह हज़ार पंचायत समितियाँ हैं, तेरह हज़ार से ज़्यादा हैं और एक-एक पंचायत समिति में कितने पंच होंगे? ख़ैर, मेरा मतलब यह है कि इन पंचायत समितियों में कितने आपके लोग शरीक हो जाते हैं पंच की हैसियत से, और तरह से, बढ़ता जाता है, बड़ी तादाद उनकी हो जाती है, आपको मौक़ा मिलता है कुछ सीखने का, कुछ सेवा करने का। उसमें ख़तरे भी हैं, ख़तरे यह हैं कि अगर आप, ख़तरे होते हैं कोई भी, किसी जगह, ज़िम्मेदार जगह हो तो वह ग़लती कर सकता है, वह नुक़सान पहुँचा सकता है ग़लत रास्ते पर चल के, आपस में लोग झगड़ सकते हैं और यह सब बातें होती हैं। और ख़ासकर इसके ख़तरे हो जाते हैं जब लालच होती है लोगों को कुछ ताक़त की जगह होने की, जिससे कुछ फ़ायदा उठा सकें, खुद उठा सकें या महज़ उस जगह पर होना, कुछ आदमियों को लालच होता

है, चाहे वह ऊपर की लालच हो कि आपके यहाँ कौन मंत्री हो, कौन मिनिस्टर हो या कौन ज़िला परिषद में चेयरमैन हो या मेम्बर हो या पंचायत समिति में, कुछ न कुछ लालच उधर खींचता है। ऐसी लालच, ख्वाहिश होना तो बुरी बात नहीं है लेकिन ख्वाहिश से ज़्यादा होना और ग़लत बातें करना पहुँचने के लिए वहाँ, यह ख़तरनाक बात है। दुनिया में बहुत सारे ख़तरे हैं, एक बड़ा ख़तरा यह है, ख़तरे का, हुकूमत में क़ब्ज़ा करना या उसमें कुछ ख़ुद हो जाना हुकूमत की जगह, काफ़ी ख़तरनाक है। मैं प्राहम मिनिस्टर हूँ, प्रधानमंत्री हूँ, बहुत बड़ी जगह है और मैं अक्सर सोचता हूँ [कि] कहाँ तक मुझ में लालच है इस जगह पे चिपके रहने की [का], बड़ी जगह है, शानदार जगह है, मुझे ख़्याल आता है, ज़ाहिर है मैं उसका जवाब ख़ुद तो दे नहीं सकता, क्योंकि कोई शख्स आसानी से अपने ऐब नहीं देख सकता, अपनी तरफ़ जवाब नहीं दे सकता लेकिन मैंने मिसाल इसलिए दी कि यह ख़तरा सभी के सामने होता है चाहे आप हिन्दुस्तान के मिनिस्टर हों, प्राइम मिनिस्टर हों या मिनिस्टर हों या पंजाब के या बम्बई, बंगाल के या आप बीच के जो ओहदे हैं या ज़िला परिषद के हों या कहीं और के हों।

[तकनीकी ख़राबी के कारण भाषण अपूर्ण प्राप्त हुआ।]

[Translation begins:

Governor,²⁴¹ Chief Minister,²⁴² Sardar Darbara Singh,²⁴³ Chairmen of the Zila Parishads and the Panchayat Samitis, Vice Chairman, Brothers and Sisters, India became independent sixteen years ago. We had reached one major goal. But immediately we had to embark upon yet another journey. We had wanted to do so anyhow and circumstances compelled us to hasten it. As you know, the hour of freedom was marred by the trauma of Partition and the division of the Punjab and Bengal into two. This caused us great grief but we were compelled by circumstances to accept it. Then followed a period of terrible bloodbath and riots all over North India and Pakistan. The result of all this was that we wanted somehow to start the task of rebuilding India into a strong nation. This was the lesson that all of us learnt particularly in the Punjab.

Now all of you are aware of what we have achieved all over India and in the Punjab. We had forged ahead in spite of innumerable difficulties and pitfalls. You can see signs of progress all over the country. We have set before ourselves the goal of uplift of the masses in India, eradication of poverty and unemployment, education and training of every single man, woman and child in the country. We want to build a strong India, not in the military sense though

241. See fn 237 in this section.

242. See fn 238 in this section.

243. See fn 239 in this section.

that is also essential, but of self-reliance and in which every single man and woman in the country is well trained and capable of serving the nation. The progress of a nation depends on the ability of the people.

I am sitting here today, the Prime Minister of India. It is a very high honour. How did I come to be elected to this high post? I have not inherited it as part of my patrimony. We fought as soldiers in the cause of freedom along with millions of people. We grew in stature because we were engaged in a great task. Some of us began to be regarded as leaders and chosen for positions of responsibility. But the fact of the matter is that we owed our enhanced stature entirely to India's greatness. We could not have grown on our own. It is true that some of us had the opportunity and we grew in strength and ability to the extent that we took advantage of it. Otherwise we did not possess any special qualities.

So we became independent and embarked upon a new journey towards prosperity of India. India had been poor for centuries. We wanted to build a strong and prosperous India, not to wage war against other countries or coerce them. We wanted to hold on to our freedom and work for India's progress. We had no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. In fact, we were completely opposed to it. We want India to prosper, not to get a stranglehold on other countries. The idea of enhancing one's country's prestige and stature by occupying other countries is an outdated one. It is no longer relevant in today's world. It belongs to the days of feudalism when the zamindars and jagirdars felt that their wealth and prestige would be enhanced by adding more and more land to their property. Similarly, kings and emperors set out to conquer other lands to enhance their status. Those days are gone and concepts like this are completely meaningless now.

When India became free, there were some small pockets which were still under colonial rule. The largest part of India was under British rule which was freed. Some pockets of territory were under the French and the Portuguese. We thought that they will also go once the rest of India had become free. After some difficulties, those pockets were also freed. So our task of achieving political freedom is at last over. The next task was to work for economic freedom for the people of India. We wanted to raise the standard of living of the people and eradicate poverty. This was the major problem that we were faced with immediately after we became free. We set up committees and the Planning Commission to go into this, and to find the means of quick progress. We arrived at the conclusion that there ought to be all round development.

India is a predominantly agricultural country and therefore improvement in agriculture was the first priority. Progress implies greater production of wealth in the country by increasing the production of goods from land and industries,

etc. We have to set up millions of industries. But we had to lay stress on heavy industries, machine-building industries because they are fundamental to all types of industrialisation. We had to produce steel as well as power in large quantities. We paid attention to all these aspects. Then arrangements had to be made for educating the people because educated and trained people constitute the strength of the nation. You will find that in all the affluent, advanced countries of the world, the first thing that was done was to educate the people. Every single boy and girl in the country must get some basic education. Then comes higher education and training in special areas. As you know, we need millions/lakhs of doctors and engineers in India today.

So we made arrangements for all these things. It is a gigantic task because our population is more than forty-four crores and continues to grow. Millions of people are living below the poverty line and have been suppressed for centuries which dims their vitality and diminishes their capacity to work. You can see the difference between the people of the Punjab and those living in provinces like Uttar Pradesh where the zamindari system has been abolished, the impact of those centuries continues to be felt even now. They are gradually emerging out of the mire of poverty. It is a very big task to uplift forty-four crores of people specially since so many of our customs and traditions like the caste system have suppressed the people. Our social customs had kept a very large part of our population in a state of degradation and suppression which is very wrong. We have been trying to lay the foundations of a new India. It is obvious that we have not succeeded in progressing as fast as we wished to. Our hopes have often been frustrated. Our own internal disunity and weakness have weakened us. But in spite of all this, we have been progressing gradually, step by step though we faced innumerable obstacles.

Just last year we sustained a big shock when the Chinese attacked us. Naturally our first priority was the defence of our country. We have had to divert a great deal of money from development activities towards military expenditure. It is possible that ultimately that may prove to be a good thing because a crisis always gives strength. Just as one does exercises to strengthen one's body, nations also become strong by facing and overcoming difficulties. The people or nations which are slack and ease-loving cannot go very far. It is possible that the recent events may ultimately make India strong though we have to carry a very heavy burden at the moment. We are gearing up our military preparedness and carrying on with the Five Year Plans as well.

Sixteen years have gone by since independence. Immediately after independence, we had to face grave difficulties. In the aftermath of Partition, terrible things happened, and millions of refugees poured in from Pakistan. We had to take care of them and rehabilitate them. Gradually we saw the situation

coming under control. Fifteen years ago, Chandigarh was nothing but barren land with perhaps a small village or two and fields. It was decided to build a new capital for the new Punjab here. I have seen this city grow out of nothing. Buildings came up and in no time at all, a whole new city had sprung up, a unique city with a modern design. It has become well known in the world whereas the older cities have not been heard of. It is because there is a new concept behind this city. Engineers were called in from outside to advise. I remember that I had come here to inaugurate the biggest building in the city, the High Court. It was proper that it should be built. Then the Secretariat came up and so it went on. I have had the opportunity of coming here again and again. Initially there was a proposal to build a huge mansion on a hill top for the Governor's residence. But that was given up because other ideas took its place. Instead of building a large Raj Bhawan, it seemed more proper to pay attention to buildings where the people would benefit. So, different kinds of buildings for offices, colleges, universities and hospitals came up. Only this morning I inaugurated the Post-Graduate Institute of Medicine here.²⁴⁴ So it has all grown gradually.

Now I am here to inaugurate the Panchayat Bhavan. It is a beautiful building and those who have had it built at their expense ought to be congratulated. It belongs to the people. [Applause] But what does it stand for? The High Court building came up first because it is very important and stands for justice. Then the Secretariat came up. The Panchayat Bhavan is a symbol of the Panchayati Raj, of the role of the people in the task of governance through the panchayat samitis and the zila parishad, etc. In a sense it has far more significance than the huge six-storied secretariat building, because it is a symbol of a new India. We have tried to delegate authority to millions of people by the Panchayati Raj. It is difficult to delegate everything but the day to day aspects of administration which concern the common man have been given to the panchayats. In this way, all of you have become participants in administration, and it is up to you to do a good job or not. The responsibility no longer rests with the officials or ministers. They will continue to do their work but their powers have been curtailed. Now all of you have important roles to play within your own areas. This is a very big step.

When we began the system of Panchayati Raj, we envisaged that millions of people in their own villages and towns should become shareholders in the task of administration. That is the only way to realise our hopes. In the olden days, kings and emperors ruled. Some were good, others bad; the good kings did something worthwhile and others caused harm. Gradually the system has changed in various ways. Now we have democracy. There are good points as

244. See fn 240 in this section.

well as weaknesses in this system. It depends on the people. If the people are educated and well trained, the work will go on well. Otherwise democracy by itself is not necessarily good. If the people are not educated or fight among themselves, and are lazy, the country will suffer. Democracy reflects the kind of people who live in a country.

The days of kings and emperors are almost gone. Monarchy exists in name in some places. Then we were under British rule in which administration was left to officials and bureaucrats who functioned under the Governor-General. There was a long hierarchy of officers under him. The good officers governed well. But on principle, it entailed concentrating all the powers in the hands of one individual or a group of them. Now the picture has changed. Administration has to be decentralised. The old ideas of king and his subjects have vanished. Now it is the subjects who are the rulers. Every individual plays a part in governing. [Applause] Power is becoming decentralised and everyone has a share in it. The first symbol of this was institutions like Parliament, the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha in Delhi and the Vidhan Sabhas in the States. The Prime Ministers and Council of Ministers at the Centre and the government in the states are elected by the representatives of the people. This is a far cry from the days of kings and emperors. The election of representatives to the Vidhan Sabha and Parliament is in the hands of the people. But the old system of bureaucracy had come down to us. I am not saying the officers are all good or bad. I am talking about the system. We have taken a very major step by giving greater autonomy to the panchayats and delegating powers to take decision in the day to day affairs to the people. The powers which were in the hands of officials have now been delegated to the people. The officers will of course continue to do their work and guide and advise you. We need good officers to do the various tasks of administration. But the system has changed gradually. The Chairman of the zila parishad and the panchayat samitis will guide and advise you. But the real power will rest with you. We want to make India strong, not by having a few good people at the top though good and able people are always needed, but by making every individual in the country capable of shouldering responsibilities and serving the nation. No power on earth can break up such an organisation.

In the olden days, you may remember, empires used to change hands by one decisive battle, as the empire of Delhi was lost at the battle of Panipat. Regimes would change in the course of a day. That is because power was concentrated in the hands of one individual, the emperor. Once he fell, nothing was left. This is a very great weakness in the monarchical system. Power should be spread over the millions of people in a country. Nobody can then break it up easily. We want India to become strong so that individuals may come and go but the nation would carry on.

I want you to understand that the Panchayati Raj is not a continuation of the old system or that we have merely given them greater powers. This is fundamentally different because we are delegating power to millions of people and making them shareholders in administration. You can imagine that with 13,000 panchayat samitis, how many panches there would be. You can gauge from that the number of people who will participate in the capacity of a panch and other ways in the task of administration. The number grows and everyone gets the opportunity to learn something and to serve the country. There are dangers in it too in the sense that any responsibility involves the possibility of making mistakes. The responsibility involves the possibility of making mistakes. There may be disputes, people may be led astray. The greatest danger is greed and the desire for personal aggrandizement in positions of responsibility. People may be drawn by the lure of high office. Not that these things are necessarily bad. But limitless ambition and following the wrong means to achieve one's ends is dangerous. The most dangerous thing in the world is to acquire power or high office. I am the Prime Minister of India which is a very big post. I often wonder how keen I am to stick on to this post of honour and power. It is obvious that I cannot give an objective answer to that because an individual cannot see his faults easily. I have tried to point out the danger which is inherent in such situations, whether you are the Prime Minister, a minister at the centre or in the state government, or hold a position of power in between or belong to the zila parishad or something else.

Translation ends]

61. In Chandigarh: Public Meeting, PGI, Panchayat Bhavan²⁴⁵

Nehru to Stick to Post of Duty
“Nation Needs My Services Yet”
Non-Alignment Policy Not to be Given Up

From our special correspondent

Chandigarh, July 7 – Prime Minister Nehru reaffirmed here this afternoon that he did not intend to resign simply because some people had raised some noise.

245. Report of speeches at public meeting, inauguration of hospitals at PGI, and Panchayat Bhavan, 7 July 1963, reproduced from *The Tribune*, p. 1 cols 2 & 3 and p. 8 cols 4, 5, 6.

He would resign, he said, only when he felt like doing so or when the people of the country so demanded.

Speaking in a reflective mood, Mr Nehru said heavy responsibilities rested on the Prime Minister of India. Left to himself, he would perhaps like to take rest or relinquish some of the responsibilities.

“But at the same time”, he added, “I also feel that perhaps the country needs my services for some time more and it would not be proper for me to leave the post of duty for rest.”

Mr Nehru said that sometimes he felt that possibly he could work better from outside the office. Even if he left the office he did not propose to go into seclusion. But these were only personal feelings.

The Prime Minister who was addressing a huge public meeting in connection with the inauguration of the decision to adhere to the policy of non-alignment and not to listen to those who wanted India “to sell her independence” to fight the Chinese aggression.

He declared that he had full faith in the people of this country, in their ability to work hard and remain united. He was confident that whatever the present difficulties, India would prosper.

Mr Nehru’s visit to the State Capital was primarily to inaugurate the hospitals attached to the Institute of Post-Graduate Medical Education and Research and the Panchayat Bhavan.

He arrived here at 9 a.m. by plane from Delhi and was received at the aerodrome by the Governor, Mr Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, the Chief Minister, Mr Kairon and other Ministers and high officers of the State Government.

Despite a shower of rain, before his arrival, large crowds turned up at the aerodrome and lined the 12-mile route to Raj Bhavan.

Inaugurating the hospitals shortly after his arrival, Mr Nehru said that the Third Plan allocations for education and health service should not be curtailed, the national emergency created by the Chinese aggression notwithstanding.

Mr Nehru explained that shortly after the Chinese attack, there were demands for curtailment of the Third Plan. But deep thinking proved that such a step would be against the basic policy of India because the Plans were formulated to strengthen the nation.

Mr Nehru welcomed the establishment of the Medical Institute for Post Graduate Teaching and Research. There should be many more of them he said, and added that he intended to have one such Institute in every State.

But, he warned that before drawing all the specialists to man these institutes, it would be necessary to keep in view the requirements of the primary health centers which catered to the medical needs of the rural population. Ultimately,

these big institutes were set up for the welfare of the people and unless the health services were carried to the people the work would remain unfinished.

Mr Nehru appreciated the decision of the Institute that its teachers should learn at least one foreign language besides English. He said Russian should be learnt because the USSR had made tremendous progress in medical as well as other branches of science and technology.

In this connection he made a brief reference to the language controversy in Punjab and said that he was surprised to see some people campaigning against the learning of a new language. This restriction on learning was improper.

Dr Sushila Nayar, Union Minister for Health, who accompanied the Prime Minister, addressing the gathering said the Centre would give all possible help if the State Government decided to upgrade the Arya Medical School, Ludhiana, into a full-fledged medical college.²⁴⁶

She disapproved of the Punjab Government's decision to separate the administration of the post-graduate medical education from the Directorate of Health Services. Medical services should be integrated because the primary task was adequately to look after the primary health units. These units formed the basic structure of the health services.

The Chandigarh Institute of Post-Graduate Medical Education, she said, was a matter of pride for the people in the medical profession. But she advised that the Institute should not act in competition with the two other all-India institutes, one in Delhi and the other in Calcutta, in recruiting staff.

Earlier, welcoming the Prime Minister, Mr Partap Singh Kairon said that facilities for medical education in Punjab were inadequate and he proposed to open two more medical colleges in the State. He sought the Centre's assistance in this regard.

Dr Tulsi Dass, Director of the Institute, explained the origin, development, characteristics and the problems of the Institute.

He disclosed that with the completion of 250-bed modern hospital on the institute's campus there would be a 400-bed hospital for the purposes of teaching research and medical care.

The special feature of this Institute would be to invite visiting professors and eminent scholars not only from the Indian universities but also from abroad.

Dr Gopichand Bhargava, Finance Minister, said that the Government had decided to establish an institute of hygiene also.

Mr Nehru, inaugurating the hospital said, "I gladly inaugurate this as an institute of learning and service to the people."

Rounding off his day's activities, Mr Nehru inaugurated in the afternoon the Panchayat Bhavan and addressed a public meeting in this connection.

246. As Dayanand Medical College & Hospital in 1964.

The Panchayat Bhavan is a multi-purpose project for training various categories of personal connected with the administration of the Panchayati Raj. Besides, it will also serve as recreational and cultural centre and as a rest house for the rural people visiting the capital.

The cost of the Bhavan, estimated at Rs 12.36 lakhs has been provided by the Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads.

The Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of Zila Parishads and Panchayat Samitis were introduced to the Prime Minister, on his arrival at the Bhavan.

Explaining the significance of Panchayati Raj, Mr Nehru told the public meeting that the Panchayat Bhavan was in a way more important than the Secretariat building because it symbolised the panchayati system of administration which spread power to the general public.

After the attainment of freedom, Mr Nehru said, establishment of Panchayati Raj was a big stride because it was a part of the fight for economic independence of the country.

After Independence, he said, our entire energy was devoted to the creation of a powerful nation, not necessarily in the military sense although military strength was essential. India, he said, never aimed at territorial aggrandizement but only wanted to defend its own economic development.

It was because of this desire that various plans were formulated and in the Third Plan emphasis was laid on establishing basic industries which would foster other industries.

Equal emphasis was also laid on education because the real strength of a country and a nation depended on the education and skill of its people. Besides, it was also necessary to lift the people from the morass of inaction caused by age-long slavery and subjugation.

It was in this field, Mr Nehru said, that the panchayats had an important role to play. With the sharing of power, the panchayats should devote all attention to the uplift of the villages and people.

Continuing Mr Nehru warned the panches of the dangers inherent in democracy. He said the democratic procedure could be used for both good and bad purposes—if the people were educated, intelligent, hard working and constructive in thinking, democracy would work wonders.

Another danger, he said, was the desire to seize power and stick to it. There was a general tendency to retain power and stick to a position once secured. It was difficult to remove this feeling.

But everyone must remember that in utilising the power, the ideals for which the power was meant to be used should not be forgotten. After all, no man was essential. Men would come and go only the basic decisions would remain.

In addition, Mr Nehru said, power had a tendency to corrupt. Due care should be taken against this corrupting tendency and none in power should do a wrong thing.

Even democracy was not free from this greed for power. Every panch should take special care to shun this evil.

Great Step forward

The pachayati system of administration as established two years ago, he said, was a great step forward. It was something different from the old panchayats and it had great responsibility in creating unity among the people in removing the feeling of high and low and in making them think in a big way.

The future of India would depend on how its people behaved, on their courage, confidence and ability.

Punjab being the border State had a special responsibility and it had redeemed itself honourably, the Prime Minister said amidst applause.

The Chinese attack, he said, had given a rude shock to India but “we have not been shaken off our feet, we are firm on our basic policy,” he said, and added “we shall fight for our basic principles which were based on the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. It will be weakness to sell our freedom to fight the Chinese.”

Before concluding, Mr Nehru said that India in the present context was living in a revolutionary world. It should keep abreast of the tremendous scientific achievements all the world over. In such conditions it was essential to keep to its basic policy of non-alignment. It would be weakness to give up this policy.

Earlier, welcoming the Prime Minister, Mr Kairon said that the primary duty of the panchayats was to improve sanitation, education and unity in villages so as to produce strong people to defend the country.

Sardar Darbara Singh, State Planning and Community Development Minister, earlier, inviting the Prime Minister to inaugurate the Bhavan narrated in brief the history of the establishment of Panchayati Raj in Punjab.

Presenting an address of welcome to the Prime Minister on behalf of 13, 480 Gram Panchayats, 228 Panchayat Samitis and 18 Zila Parishads, Chaudhri Maharaj Singh, Chairman of the Ambala Zila Parishad, claimed that Gandhiji’s dream of Ram Rajya or Panchayati Raj to carry freedom, justice and fairplay to every doorstep had been realised in Punjab.

He said that this successful experiment in democratic decentralisation of authority had proved that these institutions were not only capable of discharging the duties entrusted to them but were also in a position to shoulder more responsibilities.

“Panchayati Raj indeed constituted a mile-stone in the achievement of a socio-economic revolution in the countryside,” he said.

The Prime Minister leaves for Ludhiana tomorrow morning where he will inaugurate the Punjab Agricultural University. On the way he will visit a Fauji Mela at a village. He will fly to Delhi from Ludhiana tomorrow afternoon.

62. In Chandigarh: Amtus Salam’s Work in NEFA²⁴⁷

PM Presents Rs 20,000 to Kasturba Mandir
Welfare Work in NEFA Praised

Chandigarh, July 8, 1963

The Prime Minister, Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, has presented a sum of Rs 20,000 to the Kasturba Sewa Mandir, Tezpur (Assam), for relief and welfare work undertaken by the Kasturba Rural Institute, Rajpura (Punjab) in the NEFA forward area under the supervision of Mr Sushil Kumar, Director of the Institute.

About 150 men and women volunteers of this Institute have been working for the last six months in NEFA in response to the request of the Government of India “to rehabilitate the minds of the local tribal population and to wash out the effects on them of the Chinese indoctrination.”

Bibi Amtus Salam, the septuagenarian Muslim disciple of Gandhiji, is the Working Chairman of the Institute, and has been in NEFA since November last.

Mr Nehru, addressing a gathering of Sarvodaya workers and others at the State Guest House at Chandigarh yesterday, paid glowing tributes to the valuable services rendered by Bibi Amtus Salam and her associate workers in the NEFA area, when, he said, no other non-official organisation came forward to handle the most difficult situation relating to the rehabilitation of the tribals and for the welfare of the Jawans. “Bibi Amtus Salam”, he added, “had worked in NEFA like any brave Soldier.”

The Prime Minister said: “Bibi Amtus Salam and Mr Sushil Kumar had gone to NEFA at the time of national urgency and they successfully overcome difficulties with fortitude. They have set an example of unprecedented selfless work. I want this work to be continued by them”.

In an appraisal of the activities of the Institute given to Mr Nehru it was mentioned that the Kasturba Sewa Mandir had already set up 20 centres all over the NEFA, especially in the Kameng Frontier Division, to provide gainful

247. Report of speech, 7 July 1963, reproduced from *The Tribune*, 9 July 1963, p. 3 cols 4 & 5.

employment and to cater to immediate needs of the local people. Thousand of poultry birds and 70 merino (Australian) sheep and rams donated by the Punjab and Himachal Governments, were distributed in Tawang area. The Institute also rendered service to the serving Jawans wives of the soldiers declared as missing in operations and the repatriated prisoners of war.

63. In Ludhiana: At the Agricultural University²⁴⁸

चांसलर साहब, मुख्यमंत्री जी,²⁴⁹ सरदार गुरबंता सिंह²⁵⁰ और हज़रात, आपने शायद मेरी आज यहाँ आने की दावत की इसलिए कि मैं प्रधानमंत्री हूँ, कोई ख़ास मुझे तजुर्बा खेती का नहीं है, आपकी तरह से जो यहाँ बहुत सारे प्रोफ़ेसर और नौजवान हों, मुझे मौक़ा नहीं मिला कुछ सीखने का, न करने का, ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा मेरा ताल्लुक हुआ तो कुछ बाग़ के सिलसिले में या हॉर्टीकल्चर के। इसलिए मैं अनाड़ी हूँ इस जगह इस मौक़े पर, लेकिन दिलचस्पी कहना तो काफ़ी नहीं है, एक बहुत फ़िक्र मुझे एक ज़माने से है, हमारे खेती की मुल्क में बढ़ने की, और वह बढ़ती गयी है और यह महसूस मैं करता गया हूँ कि बग़ैर खेती की तरक्क़ी के, और बातों की तरक्क़ी हमें दूर नहीं ले जायेगी बल्कि और बातों की तरक्क़ी भी रुक जायेगी या हल्के चलेगी।

खेती से, मेरा तजुर्बा खेती से तो नहीं है लेकिन खेत में काम वालों से बहुत ज़माना हुआ, हुआ था बल्कि एक माने में मेरा सियासत के मैदान में ज़ोरों से आने की वजह उसी तजुर्बे की थी, मेरे सूबे में, उत्तर प्रदेश में इत्तिफ़ाक़ हुआ मुझे, वहाँ बड़े-बड़े ताल्लुक़ेदार रहते थे, उनके ताल्लुक़ों [तअल्लुक़ों] में जाने का और वहाँ जो किसान काम करते थे उनको देखने का। और उनकी हालत देखकर कैसे वह दबाये जाते थे, कैसे बेहद मेहनत करते थे और बावजूद इसके उस मेहनत का फ़ल उन्हें नहीं मिलता था और ग़रीब थे और ज़्यादातर जो फ़ायदा उसका होता था, वह चन्द थोड़े से बड़े-बड़े ताल्लुक़ेदारों को जाता था। इसका मेरे दिल पर बड़ा ज़बरदस्त असर उस वक़्त हुआ था और वह जारी रहा और अब तक मुझे याद है। आप यहाँ पंजाब के रहने वाले शायद पूरीतौर से अंदाज़ा न कर सकें कि इन ताल्लुक़ेदारों [के] इलाक़ों में किसानों का क्या हाल था? वह ऐसा ज़बरदस्त दबाव था उन पर कि, हालांकि ताल्लुक़ेदार लोग हट गये, ताल्लुक़े [तअल्लुक़े] ख़त्म हो गये और वहाँ भी किसान अपनी ज़मीन का मालिक हो गया, उत्तर प्रदेश में, फिर भी आजकल भी उसकी याद जारी है और उनके दबाव का असर उन लोगों पर जारी है, आसान नहीं है यह निकालना उनके दिल से। ख़ैर, यह मैंने आपसे कहा कि मेरा ताल्लुक़ देहात से और

248. Speech, 8 July 1963, at the inauguration of Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 11223, NM No. 1948.

Tape incomplete; however, a report on this speech may be found in item 64.

249. Partap Singh Kairon.

250. Minister of Agriculture including Horticulture in Punjab.

देहात में रहने वालों से, उन उत्तर प्रदेश के ज़िलों के किसानों से हुआ है और उसने एक महज़, किताबी पढ़ी हुई, लिखी बात नहीं थी लेकिन एक चीज़ जिसका दिल पर ज़बरदस्त असर हुआ, उसने मुझे हिला दिया था और वह बात रही।

ख़ैर, वह तो एक बात थी, अब जब हिन्दुस्तान आज़ाद हुआ तो पहला काम हमारा यह हुआ, पहले भी हमने इसका सोचा था कि यह जो मुसीबत में वहाँ के किसान पड़े हैं, हिन्दुस्तान के जहाँ-जहाँ हैं, उस ढंग के, उस मुसीबत को [जो] उनके ऊपर है हटायें और लैन्ड रिफ़ॉर्म करें, अग्रेरियन [agrarian] रिफ़ॉर्म करें, यह पहला सवाल था। इस पर हमने बरसों पहले आज़ादी के सोचा था, जब कहें, जब देखें, जब जी चाहे ताल्लुक़ेदार का या ज़मींदार वह बेदख़ल कर दें, कोई बहस नहीं, कोई उसमें जिरह नहीं, हज़ारों आदमी बेदख़ल होते थे, मुसीबत में पड़ते थे। चुनांचे हमने कोशिश की और करीब-करीब सब सूबों में क़ानून बने, इस ज़्यादती और जुल्म को रोकने के लिए लैन्ड रिफ़ॉर्म हुआ, आपके यहाँ भी हुआ, हालांकि आपके सवाल ज़रा दूसरे थे और यकीनन पहले से बहुत ज़्यादा अच्छी हालात [हालत] हो गयी।

हालांकि मेरा ख़्याल है कि अब भी कुछ गुंजाइश है उसमें तरक्क़ी करने की, हिन्दुस्तान के अक्सर सूबों में वो होनी चाहिए, क्योंकि कितने ही हम चाहें, जैसे कि हम चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक इंक़लाब हो, इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन आये और उद्योग-धंधे बढ़ें, उसके बग़ैर मुल्क तरक्क़ी नहीं कर सकता, खुशहाली की तरफ़ लेकिन रोज़-ब-रोज़ यह बात सामने आती गयी कि उसकी भी बुनियाद खेती की तरक्क़ी है। अगर खेती में तरक्क़ी नहीं होती तो एक आसानी से मज़बूत बुनियाद आप नहीं डालते हैं मुल्क की तरक्क़ी की। ज़ाहिर है कि जब सत्तर-अस्सी फ़ीसदी लोग खेती पे रहते हैं, खेती से उनका ताल्लुक़ हो तो उनको आप न उठाइये तो और बीस-पच्चीस फ़ीसदी को कैसे उठायेंगे और अगर खेती से आपको आमदनी काफ़ी न हो, जिसमें से कुछ बचा के आप इंडस्ट्री में लगायें तो इंडस्ट्री के लिए कैसे पैसा आयेगा।

अगर खेती में भी यह मुसीबत हमारे ऊपर हो जैसे कि कुछ रही है कि हमें अपने खाने-पीने का सामान भी कुछ बाहर से मंगाना पड़े, तब तो अजीब हाल है। क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान एक खेतिहर मुल्क है, वह भी अपने को न खिला सके तो फिर लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें क्या करें और सिलसिलों में, यह बुनियादी बात है और हमें समझ लेनी चाहिए। और मुझे कुछ शर्म आती है और परेशानी भी होती है कि आज़ादी के पंद्रह बरस बाद तक हमें बाहर से ग़ल्ला वग़ैरा, खाने का सामान मंगाना पड़े। माना कि हमारी आबादी तेज़ी से बढ़ रही है और परेशानी की बात है यह, लेकिन फिर भी इतने हम मोहताज हों बाहर से खाने का सामान मंगाने के लिए, यह अच्छी बात नहीं है, तकलीफ़-देह बात है। तो, क्योंकि उसमें बजाए इसके आप देखें, बाज़ इसको कि हम खेती से जो पैदा हो उससे कुछ फ़ायदा उठाएँ, उससे जो हमारी आमदनी हो वो कुछ हम इंडस्ट्री में लगायें, आमदनी के बजाए उसी में खुद जब कमी हो जाती है तब हम इंडस्ट्री में क्या लगायें? हम इंडस्ट्री के लिए रुपये-पैसे और जगह से लायें और एग्रीकल्चर के लिए भी लायें, तो हर चीज़ में लेना ही हुआ, देना क्या हुआ? वह तो फ़ाक़ेमस्ती की तरफ़ ले जाना है। इत्तिफ़ाक़ है कि हमारी मदद हुई

इसमें, अमेरिका की तरफ़ से मदद हुई है हमारी, ग़ल्ले वग़ैरा के आने की और उससे बहुत कुछ हमें फ़ायदा हुआ। वह तो ठीक है लेकिन बुनियादी बात तो यह है कि हमारे मुल्क में ज़रूरत नहीं होनी चाहिए बाहर से ग़ल्ले की, चीज़ कोई माँगने की। यह हो सकता है कि कभी एक बड़ी मुल्क में क्लैमिटी [calamity] हो, आफ़त आये, उस वक़्त मदद की ज़रूरत हो लेकिन यह सिलसिला हर साल का, बड़ा मुल्क है, कहीं न कहीं यहाँ होता ही है, कहीं बाढ़ आती है, सैलाब आता है, बारिश नहीं होती, कुछ न कुछ हर साल होता है, इसका इतिज़ाम हमारे मुल्क में खुद होना चाहिए।

तो यह सवाल बहुत ही बुनियादी है और बड़ा है, मैं शुरु से इस पर बहुत ज़ोर दे रहा हूँ कि यहाँ यह इंडस्ट्रियल क्रांति आये और हिन्दुस्तान भर का एक नया नक्शा बदले, साइंस, विज्ञान पर हम चलें, वो आये, इसका असर हो खेती पर, उसका असर हो इंडस्ट्रीज़ पर, उसका असर हो सबसे ज़्यादा हमारे सोचने पर, हमारे काम करने पर, हमारे रहन-सहन पर। जिस तरह से यूरोप, अमेरिका वग़ैरा में आख़िर में खुशहाली आई साइंस की और टेक्नोलोजी के ऊपर चलके और कुछ दिमाग़ बदल के और शिक्षा, तालीम भी ऐसी होकर, कुछ न कुछ उस रास्ते पर हमें चलना है। इसके यह माने नहीं कि हम उनकी नक़ल करें क्योंकि हमारी हालत कुछ दूसरी है लेकिन बुनियादी तौर से बहुत बातें हमें उनसे सीखनी हैं और उसी रास्ते पर चलना है अपने ढंग से।

लेकिन उसी रास्ते पर शुरु से हमारे सामने यह तस्वीर थी और हमने आज़ादी के पहले ही साल-दो साल में बहुत सारी साइंस की लेबोरेट्रीज़ खोलीं, नेशनल लेबोरेट्रीज़ मुल्क भर में बड़ी-बड़ी खोलीं, क्योंकि वही एक रास्ता था साइंस का, जिस पर हम चलना चाहते थे, चाहे खेती में, चाहे उद्योग-धंधे, चाहे किसी और में और उन्होंने अच्छा काम किया और वह कर रही हैं। फिर भी मैं जब सोचता हूँ कि बावजूद सब कोशिश के जहाँ तक खेती का सवाल है हम कब तक मजबूर हों, बाहर से कुछ मंगाने के लिए ग़ल्ला वग़ैरा, यह चीज़ मुझे इतिहा दर्जे परेशान करती है। कहाँ कमी है हम में? क्यों कमी है? क्या वजह है कि हमें, इतने बरस बाद भी यह हमें करना पड़ता है? ख़ैर, इसके बहुत जवाब हो सकते हैं और मैं एकाएक जवाब आपको नहीं देता, लेकिन इन जवाबों को ढूँढना है और उन जवाबों पर अमल करना है ताकि यह बात न हो। क्योंकि इस तरह से हमारी ज़िन्दगी बसर करना, क़ौमी ज़िन्दगी कि औरों के मोहताज हों, खाने तक के लिए, यह आज़ादी की निशानी नहीं है, न इससे आज़ादी बढ़ती है, न तरक्की होती है। इसलिए मेरी राय में सबमें बड़ा सवाल हमारे सामने है खेती से अपनी पैदावार को बढ़ाना और बढ़ाना इतना ख़ाली नहीं कि हमें जितनी ज़रूरी है अपने कामों के लिए बल्कि उससे ज़्यादा ताकि उसके एवज़ में हम और चीज़ें बाहर से मंगा सकें, अपने इंडस्ट्रीज़ की तरक्की के लिए, यह बिल्कुल ज़रूरी है।

अब आप देखिए आजकल एक चीज़ जो किसी क्रूर लोगों को परेशान कर रही है वो है चीज़ों की क़ीमतें बढ़ जाना, प्राइसेज़ [prices] बढ़ जाना। उसको आप ग़ौर से देखें शायद पिछले डेढ़ बरस में, अठारह महीने में सात फ़ीसदी बढ़े हैं, सात में से और ग़ौर से आप देखें तो छः फ़ीसदी बढ़े हैं खाने के सामान में और एक फ़ीसदी और चीज़ों में। तो इसके माने हुए कि सबसे ज़्यादा असर ग़ल्ले वग़ैरा का है, खाने की चीज़ों का, क़ीमतों के

बढ़ने का, और चीजें कमोबेश क़ाबू में हैं और खाने का असर होके और चीजें भी कुछ बढ़ जाती हैं। चुनांचे घूमघाम के आप आ जाते हैं खेती की पैदावार पर, उसको काफ़ी पैदा करना, एक तो पहले लोगों के लिए काफ़ी हो, हमारे लिए पेट भर के खाना, सभी को मिले और दूसरे हम उसको बाहर भेज सकें ताकि उसके एवज़ में हम और चीजें, कलें वगैरा मंगा सकें।

उसमें एक और बात और भी है जो हमें याद रखनी है, हमारी पैदावार बढ़ी है इसमें कोई शक नहीं है, पैदावार भी बढ़ी है और इसका कन्ज़म्पशन [consumption] भी बहुत बढ़ा है। मुझे यकीन है कि आजकल आम लोग हमारे यहाँ पहले के मुक़ाबले में ज़्यादा खाते हैं, ज़्यादा अच्छा खाते हैं और एक यह बड़ी वजह है कि कमोबेश उनकी सेहत पहले के मुक़ाबले में अच्छी है। सेहत कई बातों से अच्छी होती है और हुई है, जैसे कुछ बीमारियों को कम कर देने से, क़ाबू में लाने से, मलेरिया को हम बिल्कुल क़ाबू में लाये हैं, टाइफ़ाइड को क़ाबू में ले आये या स्मॉल पॉक्स [small pox] वगैरा को क़रीब-क़रीब लाये, बहुत उससे असर हुआ। नतीजा यह हुआ कि जो उम्र समझी जाती है, जिसको कहते हैं “एक्सपेक्टेड ऑफ़ लाइफ़”, किसी की हमारे यहाँ जो पहले, आज़ादी से कुछ बरस पहले बत्तीस थी अब पचास हो गयी है, अब बत्तीस से पचास उम्र हो जाना “एक्सपेक्टेड ऑफ़ लाइफ़” काफ़ी बड़ी छलांग है, क्यों हुई? मैं समझता हूँ दो बातें—एक तो सेहत के मैदान में, यह जो बीमारियाँ कम की गयीं, ज़्यादा इन्तिज़ाम किये गये देखभाल के और दूसरे खाना-पीना ज़्यादा मिला लोगों को, बड़ी बात है और इसी वजह से एक बुनियादी तरक्की हमारे लोगों में हुई और होती जाती है। यह सब सही है, यह अच्छा हुआ लेकिन फिर भी घूमघाम के बात आ जाती है कि अब तक हम पूरा क़ाबू में नहीं लाये हैं, इस बात को, खेती की पैदावार को और इसको बहुत ज़रूरी है और बहुत ज़रूरी नहीं बल्कि इन्तिहा दर्जे और अव्वल ज़रूरी है इसको क़ाबू में लाने के लिए।

आपका यह एग्रीकल्चर यूनिवर्सिटी है, और जगह भी कोशिश हो रही है और होती जायेगी, यह सब ठीक है लेकिन फिर भी मेरे दिमाग़ में यह दिक्कत होती है कि क्यों हम इसमें इतने कामयाब नहीं हुए जित्ते कि हम चाहते थे। यह शिकायत मुझे ख़ासतौर से पंजाब से नहीं है क्योंकि पंजाब में कमोबेश तरक्की काफ़ी हुई है, सारे हिन्दुस्तान से मुझे शिकायत है, अपने सूबे से, जहाँ के तगड़े किसान हैं, काम करते हैं लेकिन फिर भी उसका नतीजा उतना नहीं नज़र आया, क्या बात है? कुछ शायद यह हो कि हमारा काम दफ़्तरी होता है, दफ़्तर में सिखाते हैं, दफ़्तर में हुकुम देते हैं यानी जो कि कड़ी होनी चाहिए दफ़्तरी काम की, मामूली किसान के काम से वह नहीं है, वह कड़ी एक ज़ोरों की आपकी यूनिवर्सिटी पैदा करेगी और आपके यहाँ शायद हों और कड़ियाँ। मैं आमतौर से हिन्दुस्तान का कहता हूँ, वह कड़ी नहीं है। हमारे यहाँ कुछ अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने से या शायद उससे पहले भी यह जो एक दिमाग़ में लोगों के आ गया कि हाथ-पैर से काम करना यह शरीफ़ों के काम नहीं हैं, शरीफ़ों का काम हाथ-पैर धरना और कान पर क़लम या पेंसिल रखके बैठना मेज़ पर। यह अजीब ख़याल आ गया जो कि निहायत निकम्मा ख़याल है और पूरीतौर से यह ख़याल आ जाये तो मुल्क तबाह हो जाये। क्योंकि दुनिया चलती है हाथ के काम से, बावजूद मशीन

वगैरा के और मशीन भी हाथ से चलती है, वह अपने आप को तो नहीं चलाती। यह जो बाबू लोगों का एक फ़लसफ़ा है, यह, उसने हिन्दुस्तान को काफ़ी नुक़सान पहुँचाया है, बाबूगिरी सब करना चाहें और हाथ-पैर नहीं चलाना चाहें। और अगर आप मुझसे पूछें कि क्या वजह है कि पंजाब ने तरक्क़ी की बहुत बातों में ज़्यादा और सूबों से, तो इसी वजह से कि पंजाब में बा-मुक़ाबले और जगहों के यह बाबूगिरी कम है, यहाँ हाथ-पैर चलाने से शर्माते नहीं हैं लोग, न झेंपते हैं, वह चलाते हैं

[भाषण अपूर्ण प्राप्त हुआ]

[Translation begins:

Mr Chancellor, Chief Minister,²⁵¹ Sardar Gurbanta Singh,²⁵² and Gentlemen, I think you have invited me here today because I am the Prime Minister. I have no special experience of agriculture. I have not had the opportunity like all of you professors and young men here of learning about it. The maximum contact that I have had is in regard to gardens or horticulture. So I am a misfit on such an occasion. But for a long time now, I have been extremely keen that agricultural production in India must improve, which it has done. I have realised that without improvement in agriculture we cannot go very far in other fields. On the contrary, progress in other fields too will come to a halt or slow down.

I may not have much experience of agriculture. But I have been in touch with farmers for a long, long time. In fact, in a sense, one of the main causes of my entry into politics was my experience with the farmers of Uttar Pradesh. There used to be big landholders in my province and I had the opportunity of visiting the farmers who worked for them, of seeing how hard they worked, and yet got very little in return. They were extremely poor and downtrodden, and the profits went into the pockets of a few big landholders. This made a very powerful impact on me at that time and to this day. Those impressions are clearly etched in my memory, the conditions of the farmers who lived in the talukadari areas at that time. They had such a powerful hold on the peasants that though the talukadari system has been abolished and the tiller owns the land in Uttar Pradesh to this day, the searing experience of the past is visible. It is not easy to erase that memory. Well, as I said, I came into contact with the farmers and peasants of the districts of Uttar Pradesh. It was not something that I learnt about through books but a searing emotional experience which shook me up profoundly.

251. See fn in this section.

252. See fn in this section.

Since before independence, we had given thought to the need for agrarian and land reforms, and as soon as India became independent, that became our first priority. We had seen the big landholders ruthlessly dispossessing thousands of peasants before independence. Therefore we framed laws in practically all the states to put an end to these atrocities. The problems in this state were slightly different. The land reforms have undoubtedly improved the condition of the farmers even here.

I feel that there is great scope for improvement in agriculture in all the provinces of India. Though we want to bring about an industrial revolution in India because there can be no progress or prosperity without industrialisation, day by day it has become increasingly clear that the basis for that is agriculture. Unless there is improvement in agricultural production, we cannot easily lay the firm foundations of progress in the country. It is obvious that when seventy to eighty per cent of the population depends on land, there can be no progress for the rest unless their condition improves. Unless we have a surplus from agricultural production to invest in industries, we will not have the resources for industrialisation.

If we have food shortages in the country, as there have been in the past, and we had to import foodgrains, then the situation will be really serious. India is basically an agricultural country. If we do not produce enough for our own needs, how can we do anything in any other field? This is something fundamental which we should understand. I am a little ashamed and perturbed that even fifteen years after independence, we are having to import foodgrains from outside. It is true that the population is growing very fast which is worrying. But it is extremely painful that we have to depend on others for food. Instead of becoming self-sufficient in food and investing the surplus in industries, if there are shortages, how can we invest anything in industries? How can we do both by borrowing more and more? That will only lead to bankruptcy. Fortunately the United States have helped us with foodgrains and the situation has improved. But the basic thing is that India should not have to import foodgrains. If there is a great calamity or crisis, we may need help. But in such a large country like India, where floods and droughts are annual events, we should be fully prepared for emergencies by becoming self-sufficient.

This is a very basic question. I have been laying stress on this right from the beginning. We must bring about an industrial revolution in India and transform the country through science and technology. We must improve agricultural production by scientific techniques and lay the foundations for industrialisation. We must cultivate a scientific temper and thinking which will have an impact on our way of working and life style, etc. We too must follow the path which has brought great prosperity to Europe and the United States where science and

technology and education have transformed the people's way of life. That does not mean that we must copy others because conditions in India are different. But there is a great deal that we have to learn.

This is the picture that we had before us right from the beginning. In the first two years after independence, we opened a number of national science laboratories all over the country. That was the only way for us to progress whether it was agriculture, industries or education. Good work is being done in these laboratories. Yet I feel extremely perturbed that in spite of our best efforts we are still constrained to import food grains. Where have they gone wrong? Why is it that after all these years, we are forced to do this? There can be many factors and I cannot give you an answer outright. But we must find the answers to these questions and try to rectify the mistakes. To be constantly facing food shortages and to be dependent on others is not a sign of independence. Therefore in my opinion the most urgent priority before us today is to increase agricultural production not only sufficient for our needs but to have a surplus. We can use it to import other things for industrialisation.

You will find that people are greatly upset over inflation and the rise in prices. If you look carefully, I think in the last eighteen months, they have increased by nearly seven per cent of which six per cent is in foodgrains and only one per cent is accounted for by other goods. So it means that the worst affected are prices of food grains. The other things are under control. But an increase in the price of food grains has an impact on other things too. So we come round once again to the need to increase agricultural production. For one thing, there must be enough food grains in the country to feed everyone, and secondly there must be a surplus which can be utilised for buying other essential goods and machines.

We have to bear in mind one thing more. There is no doubt about it that production in India has increased. But so has consumption. I am convinced that the common man today eats more and better than before which is one reason for better health. Good health depends on many factors like eradication of debilitating disease like malaria and typhoid, control of small pox, etc. Once this happened, life expectancy has gone up from 32 before independence to 50 which is a big leap. So I feel that control of diseases as well as better arrangements for healthcare and more nutritious food intake have been responsible for improvement in the people's health. This has led to a betterment in their condition. This is a good thing. But we come round again to the fact that we have been unable to come fully to grip with the problem of self-sufficiency in food. It is extremely important and the most urgent priority to bring this problem under control.

The Agricultural University here and elsewhere will make all effort and the situation will improve. But I am extremely perturbed as to why we have not succeeded to the extent that we wanted it to. I do not have any complaints in this regard with the Punjab because there has been considerable progress here in this direction. But I have a complaint with the whole of India including my province where the farmers are tough and hardworking and yet the result is not what we expected. Perhaps part of the reason is that most of our work is bureaucratic, with officials giving directions and orders. The link between bureaucratic working and that of the ordinary farmer is missing. Perhaps your university will be able to supply that link. I am speaking in general about the conditions in India. Right from the times of British rule, or even before that, the thinking prevalent among the people that it is *infra dig* for gentlemen to do manual work has been responsible for this state of affairs. It is a completely useless way of thinking which can ruin the country. In spite of machines, even today the world cannot move without manual labour. The philosophy of white collared workers and clerks of looking down upon manual labour has done great harm to India. If you ask me why the Punjab is so far ahead of the other state, it is because there is far less of this mentality here than elsewhere. People are not ashamed of manual labour.

[Recording incomplete]

64. In Ludhiana: At the Punjab Agricultural University²⁵³

Nehru Calls for More Farm Output
Food Imports Must Stop
Punjab Agriculture Varsity Inaugurated

From Our Own Correspondent

Ludhiana, July 8, 1963 – Prime Minister Nehru said here today that the major problem before the country was how to increase its agricultural production not only for meeting the internal demand but also for exporting to other countries.

Inaugurating the Punjab Agriculture University,²⁵⁴ Mr Nehru said although agricultural production had increased yet it disturbed him most that even after 15 years of independence the country had to import food.

253. Report of speech, 8 July 1963, reproduced from *The Tribune*, 9 July 1963, p. 1 cols 1, 2, & 3 and p. 8 cols 3 & 4.

254. See also item 63.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Mr Nehru said that for progress India needed an industrial revolution and all efforts were being made towards that end as without such a revolution, India could not progress.

The basis of such industrial revolution lay in the progress of agriculture. If 80 per cent of the population engaged in agricultural did not advance, then how could the remaining 20 per cent progress? he asked.

India had received food supplies from the USA. But the basic thing was that the country should be free from the need of importing foodgrains, He said.

PTI adds:

The Prime Minister said that the people of India must get rid of “babu mentality” if the country was to advance rapidly in the spheres of agriculture and industry.

Mr Nehru said that unless the people believed in the dignity of labour they would not be able to produce more. It was hard labour alone that could take the country forward.

He said: “We are an agricultural country yet we do not produce enough for our own consumption. I must tell you frankly that I feel ashamed when I have to ask other countries to give us food”.

Mr Nehru, who earlier arrived here by road from Chandigarh accompanied by the Chief Minister, Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, was given a tumultuous welcome by the citizens of Ludhiana and adjoining areas.

More than 50,000 people turned out on the roads of the city to greet him.

Although Mr Nehru reached Ludhiana an hour behind schedule, people waited for him in scorching heat. At places they had put up shamianas by the roadside to provide shade to children and women.

As Mr Nehru’s car entered the industrial area of Miller Gunj workers in thousands came out of their factories and cheered him. Mr Nehru acknowledged their greetings by waving at them.

At the Agriculture University, Mr Nehru was given a standing ovation as he entered the hall in which the function was held.

He told the students and teachers of the university: “Agriculture is one sphere in which we do not seem to be making much headway. I wonder where the paralysis lies. Perhaps it lies in our white collar mentality. We think every thing can be achieved on the tables in offices. It is not so”.

Another reason why the kisan in India could not increase his production, he said, was that he was not machine minded. “We must discard our old methods of working. We must learn to employ new instruments of agriculture. We

should also take advantage of the new finds of science and technology. There is no other way.”

The Prime Minister asked those in charge of the University to throw open the gates of their institution to kisans unreservedly. “I am not referring to those who wish to come here and join the university as students. I am referring to the average kisan who wishes to come here and see for himself your techniques of working and profit by it.”

The Prime Minister stated that the professors in the University should spare some time every day to explain to kisans the better methods of cultivation which they employed. “I want every cultivator in this area to feel that this university is his home”.

Mr Nehru said that peasantry in India had been suppressed for long. Their story was a sad one. “In fact one of the reasons for my being drawn to the political movement was the plight of the kisans. They have been exploited for long. After independence we introduced many agrarian reforms. But I feel that there is more to be done in this direction.”

The Prime Minister said that many people stressed the need for developing industry in the country. There could be no two opinions on that. But every one did not seem to realise that the growth of industry also was very much dependent on the development of agriculture. The Prime Minister thanked the United States for the help given to the University. America, he said, had given significant assistance to India in many spheres. “But you must use this aid with intelligence. You should keep in mind the particular requirements of the country and not try to copy blindly. The best aid is the one which helps you stand on your own feet.”

Mr Nehru said that it was true that food production in India had increased than before but so had the number of mouths to be fed. Moreover, the average consumption of food in the country also had gone up. The answer to this problem lay only in increased production.

He stated that the students in the Agriculture University must keep the entire country in view. After passing out they should not think only in terms of their province. They must consider all provinces as their own and be prepared to go where their services were needed for most.

Mr Nehru said that the people of Punjab believed in the gospel of dirty hands and that was the reason why they had been able to step up production both in agriculture and industry.

“Every time I come here,” he said, “I go back with added strength. I am moved by the expression of love which people here display for me. By now I am somewhat used to welcomes. Yet I cannot help being touched by it.”

He said: "You have converted a State deficit in food into a surplus one. Industry also is expanding here fast. I congratulate you on your achievements."

About the Chief Minister, he said: "He is taking Punjab forward with determination and courage".

Speaking earlier, the Registrar, Mr S.K. Misra, said that the University which was being developed on the pattern of the Land Grant universities in the United States aimed at integrating research, teaching and extension activities. He said that the University had a campus of about 1100 acres and the total number of students on its rolls today was 1000.

Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister, who also spoke on the occasion asked the teachers to go to the villages and try to understand the problems of the cultivators.

He said it was wrong to say that mechanised farming was costly. There were at least 2.5 lakh kisans in Punjab on a conservative estimate. Even if one kisan had two bullocks, the total number of bullocks would be about five lakhs. On the basis of these figures it had been estimated that about Rs. 25 cores was spent on the maintenance of bullocks every year. No agricultural machinery could be costlier he added.

Mr Pattom Thanu Pillai, Governor of Punjab, earlier welcomed the guests.

65. In Ludhiana District: At the Guru Nanaksar Colony²⁵⁵

भाइयो और बहिनो और बच्चो,
कुछ दिन हुए मेरे पास सूबेदार नगेन्द्र सिंह आये थे, दिल्ली में और उनसे मालूम हुआ था यहाँ क्या-क्या उन्होंने किया है, उन्होंने और उनके साथियों ने और कैसे अपने परिश्रम से और मेहनत से उन्होंने बड़े-बड़े काम अदा किये। मुझे यह बात सुनकर खुशी हुई थी और जब उन्होंने कहा, मेरी दावत की यहाँ आने की, तो मैंने उस दावत को खुशी से मंजूर किया था। वक्त मैं नहीं कह सकता था, मैं ठीक वक्त नहीं बता सकता था लेकिन

255. Speech inaugurating the colony, 8 July 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 11223, NM No. 1948.

On 13 July 1963, Nehru wrote a letter of appreciation to Naginder Singh, at the address: Guru Nanaksar Colony, Majri, District Ludhiana (PMS, File No. 8/253/63-PMP (Public Section).

According to press reports, the colony was in Majri village in Ludhiana district, where Naginder Singh had set it up with a school, dispensary, veterinary hospital, library, rifle club, seed store, and gurdwara. There is no mention anywhere of Raipur, which however appears on the typescript of the speech. See *National Herald*, 9 July 1963, *The Hindu*, 10 July 1963, p. 10.

मैंने कहा कि मैं कोशिश जरूर करूँगा आने की, उसमें कुछ अरसा हो गया। चुनावों आज जो मैं यहाँ आया हूँ, पहुँचा हूँ और अपने पुराने वायदे को पूरा किया है, तो मुझे ख़ास इत्मीनान है और ख़ुशी है। एक तो यों भी एक वायदा पूरा करना और दूसरे यहाँ आकर ख़ुद अपनी आँखों से देखना कि एक आदमी की ज़ुरत और हिम्मत क्या कर सकती है। तीसरे, इस इलाक़े में जैसे कि अभी आपने सुना और आप जानते हैं एक इलाक़ा है जहाँ, जिसका संबंध हमारी फ़ौज से बहुत काफ़ी है, बहुत सिपाही गये हैं, बहुत हैं वहाँ इस वक़्त। इसलिए भी मुझे यहाँ आने में मुझे ख़ुशी होती है। [तालियाँ]

तो आप ग़ौर करें कि अगर जो सूबेदार नगेन्द्र सिंह जी ने यहाँ अपने हाथों से और औरों से मिल के कुछ काम किया, अगर एक-एक आदमी वैसा काम करे अपने-अपने गाँवों में तो कितनी जल्दी सारा सूबा या सारा हिन्दुस्तान बदल जाये। हम लोग ज़्यादातर सोचते हैं कि सरकार, गवर्नमेंट की तरफ़ से कुछ हो जाये, लोग आयें, स्कूल बन जायें, और चीज़ें बन जायें। ख़ैर, गवर्नमेंट का तो फ़र्ज़ है करना, ऐसा करना लेकिन दूसरा तरीक़ा यह है कि लोग अपने आप से, अपनी-अपनी जगह कुछ न कुछ करें, कुछ न कुछ करना चाहें, एक आदमी का बहुत ज़्यादा न हो, लेकिन जब लाखों आदमी ऐसा करते हैं तो बहुत हो जाता है और अच्छा होता है। यह महज़ सरकार के ऊपर, गवर्नमेंट के ऊपर भरोसा करना कि सब वह कर देगी, कितनी ही अच्छी गवर्नमेंट हो, वह सब कर नहीं सकती, वक़्त लगता है, हल्के-हल्के, लेकिन अगर लोग ख़ुद करते हैं तो काम बहुत जल्दी हो जाता है। और अगर लोग और गवर्नमेंट मिलकर करें कोई बात, तब बहुत ही अच्छी है, तेज़ी से हो सकता है।

अब आप जानते हैं कि एक नया सिलसिला [यहाँ] पंजाब में क्या, और हिन्दुस्तान में भी शुरू हुआ है, चुनाव-वुनाव आपके यहाँ हुए, यह ज़िला परिषद और पंचायत समिति वगैरा के और उसमें बहुत कुछ हुकूमत के इख़्तियारात चुने हुए पंचायतों को दिये गये, यह एक बहुत ज़रूरी चीज़ है। कल ही वहाँ चंडीगढ़ में पंचायत घर एक बना है, बहुत अच्छा और शानदार, उसका मैंने उद्घाटन किया, वह एक नमूना है कि पंजाब भर में पंचायतों की हैसियत पहले से बहुत ज़्यादा हो गयी, है, उनको अधिकार मिले, इख़्तियार मिले, बहुत कुछ बातें जो बड़े अफ़सर करते थे अब वह करेंगे। क्या माने हैं इसके? यानी एक तो हमें आज़ादी सोलह-सत्रह बरस हुए मिली थी और जो कुछ हुकूमत यहाँ होती है वह चुने हुए लोगों के हाथ में हो गयी, चाहे यह दिल्ली में लोकसभा में हो, वहाँ के वज़ीर हों या यहाँ चंडीगढ़ में पंजाब के हों, वह तो हो गयी। लेकिन हम इसको हम फ़ैलाना चाहते थे और हम चाहते थे कि हमारे मुल्क के लोग लाखों और करोड़ों की तादाद में शरीक हो जायें इसमें, इस काम में, मुल्क के उठाने के, बढ़ाने के, इतिज़ाम के, ख़ाली वह कुछ अफ़सरी काम न रहे, अफ़सरी का अफ़सर काम करते हैं, अच्छा काम करते हैं। और अफ़सर तो रहेंगे ही, लेकिन वह ढंग जो अफ़सरी काम का था अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत में और अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत के पहले भी, उसको हम बदल रहे हैं, आम जनता को उसमें ला रहे हैं, कि आम जनता की ज़िम्मेदारी है और आम जनता ख़ुद करे, तब वह काम भी जल्दी अच्छा होता है और हमारे लाखों लोग सीखते हैं उससे ज़िम्मेदारी से। इस तरह से मुल्क की जड़ें मज़बूत हो जाती हैं। एक अफ़सर अच्छा हो तो अच्छी बात होती है, अच्छा काम करता है लेकिन जब

सारी जनता अच्छी हो तो उससे बहुत बड़ी बात हो जाती है, अफ़सर भी अच्छा हो, जनता भी हो तब बहुत जल्दी मुल्क तरक्की करता है और उसकी जड़ें इतनी दूर तक हो जाती हैं कि उसको कोई उखाड़ नहीं सकता है। ऐसा हमें हिन्दुस्तान को बनाना है।

पुराने ज़माने में, हमारे देश की तारीख़ आप पढ़िए, इतिहास पढ़िए, ऊँच-नीच है, बड़े ऊँचे ज़माने हैं, फिर नीच ज़माने भी हैं, एक कोई लड़ाई होती थी, उस लड़ाई में तख़्त हुकूमत का बदल जाता था, कोई पानीपत में लड़ाई हो, उसकी हार-जीत पर सारी दिल्ली की शहनशाहियत रहती थी या ख़त्म हो जाती थी, यह पुराने ज़माने में होता था। लेकिन अब जब हम आज़ाद हुए तो हमें ऐसा मज़बूत करना है कि एक दिल्ली तो केन्द्र रहे हमारा, लेकिन हमारे आज़ादी और स्वराज के केन्द्र एक घर में हों, एक-एक किसान के घर में, एक-एक, हरेक के ऐसी, जब आज़ादी जम जाती है तब उसको कोई हटा नहीं सकता। तो यह हमारी कोशिश रही। और यही जो हमने पंचायती राज किया है उसके माने हैं और उसकी वजह से हमारा ख़्याल है, दूसरा जो हमारा बड़ा काम है यानी हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की तरक्की हो, हिन्दुस्तान से ग़रीबी निकल जाये, बेरोज़गारी निकल जाये, इसको भी, बहुत बड़ा काम है, करना है, इसमें भी अगर हमें सब लोगों की शिरकत हो, मदद मिले तो वह बहुत तेज़ी से वो होगा। इन सब बातों की मिसाल एक है जो कि सूबेदार नगेन्द्र सिंह ने यहाँ किया है। इसलिए ख़ास मैं यहाँ आया हूँ, उनको मुबारिकबाद देने और आप सब लोगों को इधर के, इस इलाक़े के रहने वालों को और उनकी मिसाल औरों के सामने रखने को कि वह भी जो कुछ हो सकता है अपने हाथ-पैर से, मेहनत से, अपने साथियों की मेहनत से करें, ख़ाली इंतिज़ार न करें [कि] कोई और कर देगा।

तो मुझे ख़ुशी है कि मैं यहाँ आया, ख़ुद मैंने देखा कैसे उन्होंने अपनी ज़ुरत से, हिम्मत से यहाँ इस जगह को बढ़ाया है और एक नमूना बना दिया है और मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ अभी तो जवान हैं सूबेदार साहब, बहुत कुछ करेंगे और और लोग भी इनकी देखा-देखी करेंगे।

हमारे सामने बड़े भारी सवाल हैं हिन्दुस्तान में, दुनिया में, अजीब-अजीब बातें हो रही हैं, दुनिया बदल रही है, हिन्दुस्तान भी बदल रहा है। तो हमें उसका सामना करना है अलावा इसके कि हमारी सरहद पर हमला हुआ, चीन वालों ने किया, बहुत बेज़ा था, उससे हिफ़ाज़त करनी है लेकिन उससे बड़ा एक पुराना हमला है ग़रीबी का, हमें उसका मुक़ाबला करना है, हम, उसको हमें निकालना है। [तालियाँ] क्योंकि आख़िर में आपकी, हमारी फ़ौज अच्छी हो और अच्छी है, वह ख़ुशी की बात है लेकिन एक ग़रीब मुल्क की बहुत ताक़त बढ़ नहीं सकती, इंसानों की ताक़त बढ़ जाती है, लेकिन मुल्क की ताक़त होती है ख़ुशहाली से, होती है और आजकल की दुनिया की बातें समझ के। जो फ़ौज को भी लीजिए, फ़ौज की ताक़त होती है, आदमी की तो होती ही है लेकिन उसको, उसको सामान क्या मिलता है, सामान कहाँ से आये? सामान को हम पैदा करें तो ठीक है, बाहर से मंगाये तो हमारे दिवाले निकल जायें, पैसा हम दें।

तो इसके माने हैं कि हमें बढ़ाना है यहाँ की इंडस्ट्री, उद्योग-धंधे बढ़ाने हैं, जो चीज़ हमें चाहिए, चाहे वह हवाई जहाज़ हो, चाहे और सामान हो, फ़ौज का, उसको ख़ुद पैदा करें तब तो रुपया भी यहाँ रहता है, लोग भी नये-नये काम सीखते हैं और इस तरह से

तरक्की होती है। तो हमारे सामने बड़ा भारी सवाल है, चाहे खेती में, चाहे इंडस्ट्री में, ऐसे उद्योग-धंधों में तरक्की करना और इस तरह से हल्के-हल्के मुल्क खुशहाल हो जाये। उसके पीछे यह ज़रूरी है नई दुनिया में आके कि हम तालीम को बहुत बढ़ायें, कोई लड़का-लड़की, छोटा-बड़ा हिन्दुस्तान भर में नहीं रहे जिसको तालीम का मौक़ा न मिले पूरीतौर से, क्योंकि तालीम ही से बढ़ते हैं लोग, सीखते हैं, नये काम, इस दुनिया को समझते हैं, स्वास्थ्य का, सेहत का प्रबन्ध ठीक हो, यह बातें तो हरेक को होनी चाहियें। तो यह सब हमें करने हैं, करने बड़े काम हैं और खासकर इसलिए कि हमारा देश बहुत बड़ा है, चवालीस करोड़ आदमी यहाँ रहते हैं, और बढ़ते जाते हैं। इसलिए यह बड़े कामों को हमें बड़े दिल से, बड़ी मेहनत से, बड़े परिश्रम से इनको उठाना है और कामयाब होना है क्योंकि मुझे इत्मीनान है कि हम लोगों में मादूदा है, हमारी जनता में मादूदा है, हमारी जनता को भरोसा है कि हर किस्म के काम को कर सकती है, अगर मौक़ा मिले। तो हमें मौक़े ढूँढने हैं उसको देने के, यह सब बातें करनी हैं और पंजाब [ने] इन सब बातों में, बहुत बातों में एक अव्वल हिस्सा लिया भी है, ले सकता भी है और मुझे उम्मीद है लेना भी।

तो फिर से मैं आप सभों को मुबारिकबाद देता हूँ और उम्मीद करता हूँ कि आप, जो पंजाब [ने] नाम हासिल किया है उसको आप और चमकता रखिएगा और पंजाब की ख़ाली नहीं, सारे मुल्क की ख़िदमत जारी रखिएगा।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Brothers, Sisters, and Children,

A few days ago, Subedar Naginder Singh had come to me in Delhi and I learnt from him what he and his colleagues had done here and the tasks that they had tackled with devotion and effort. I was very happy to hear about it. When he invited me to come here, I accepted willingly. I could not give him a definite time but I promised definitely to try to come here. Some time has passed since then and in coming here today, I have fulfilled an old promise. I am always happy to fulfill a promise and especially so to see for myself what the daring and courage of one man can accomplish. Thirdly, as you heard just now, this is an area which has close connections with the armed forces. Soldiers in large numbers have been recruited from here. So I am happy to be here for that reason too. [Applause]

As you can see, if every individual were to work as Subedar Naginder Singhji and his colleagues have done in their own village, the face of India would be completely transformed. Most of us wait for the government to do things for them, to build schools, etc. Well, it is certainly the duty of the government to do so. But the other method is for everyone to do something for themselves. If millions of people were to contribute their mite, it can add up to a great deal.

It is no use depending on the government for everything. No matter how good the government is, it cannot do everything. It takes times. But if the people were to help themselves the work can get done very quickly. If they cooperate with the government in some things, we can progress really fast.

You may have heard about the new scheme which is being taken up in the Punjab and all over India. You have had elections to the zila parishad and the panchayats now which is an important step. I inaugurated the beautiful new panchayat building in Chandigarh only yesterday. It is a symbol of the new stature given to the panchayats all over the Punjab. Many powers enjoyed so far by officials have been given to them. What does it mean? We became a free nation about 17 years ago and ever since then we have had people's rule in the country. People elect their representatives to the Lok Sabha in Delhi and the assemblies in the Punjab and elsewhere. But we want to delegate this authority further and decentralise power. We want that millions of people in the country must participate in the task of governance and the uplift of the nation. It should not be left to the officials alone though they are good, trained people who discharge their duties well. But officialdom is a legacy of the British and we want to change the manner of its functioning. We want greater people's participation in the task of government. The people must take on more responsibilities, for they will learn in the process. This is the only way to strengthen the roots of a nation. It is a good thing to have efficient officers. But when the people themselves learn to be responsible and efficient, a nation can progress very quickly and firmly. Progress then puts down roots which no one can harm. This is the India that we must build.

If you read the history of ancient India, you will find that there were periods of great glory followed by downfall. Thrones and empires would change hands with one battle. But now that we are free, we should build a nation which is so strong and stable that every home in the country is a centre of our freedom and democracy. [Applause] When freedom is consolidated nobody can shake it. This is what we are trying to do through the Panchayati Raj system and other schemes. Secondly, if the people participate in the urgent task of removing poverty and unemployment from the country, we can succeed more quickly. What Subedar Naginder Singh has accomplished here is a symbol of all this. That is why I have come here specially to congratulate him and all the residents of this region. I would like to hold him up as an example to others as a proof of what an individual can accomplish by sheer effort, cooperation and dedication without waiting for others to come and do it for them.

I am happy to be here and see for myself how, with singular courage and daring he has made this place into a shining example. Subedar Saheb is still

young and I hope he will be able to do a great deal more and inspire others too to follow his example.

There are great problems before us in India and the world. The world is in a strange flux and great changes are taking place everywhere. We have to face these challenges squarely. We have had to face external aggression on our borders. The Chinese launched an unwanted attack on our country. We had to defend our borders. But we have been waging another battle for even longer, the battle against poverty. [Applause] It is a good thing if our armed forces are efficient and strong. But a poor nation cannot become very powerful. A nation's strength comes from prosperity and affluence and an understanding of modern science and technology. An army needs good soldiers as well as good equipment and supplies, weapons, etc., we must be in a position to produce everything in the country. Otherwise, if we have to import them, we will go bankrupt.

That means that we should spread industries to produce aeroplanes and weapons and military hardware in India. In that way we will retain the money in our own country and the people are trained in new avenues of work. So there is progress. The biggest problem before us is one of progress, in the field of agriculture, industries and by every possible means. For this it is crucial for us to move mentally into the modern age and spread knowledge and education in the country. There must be not a single boy or girl in the country without full opportunity for education. It is only through education that people can learn new methods of working and to fit into the modern world. There must be proper arrangements for healthcare and the basic necessities of life must be available to everyone in the country.

There are big tasks and the difficulty is compounded by the large size of the population. There are forty-four crores of human beings in India and the number continues to increase. Therefore we have to gird ourselves up to greater effort and make a bid to succeed. I am convinced that we, the people of India, have the ability to overcome great difficulties. Given the opportunity, we have in us the capacity to do anything we wish to. We must seize the opportunity. The Punjab has always played leading role in many things and I hope it will continue to do so.

I would like to congratulate all of you once again and hope that you will keep the reputation earned by the Punjab untarnished and continue to serve not only the Punjab but the whole country.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

66. In Chandigarh: Cottage Industry²⁵⁶

Development of Industry Prime Minister's emphasis
Modern Techniques must be adopted

Chandigarh, July 9 – The Prime Minister, Mr Nehru, yesterday advocated the development of heavy industry side by side with village and cottage industries for the prosperity of the nation.

He said there was no conflict between the two. Village industry should adopt most modern techniques and improved and scientific methods for the benefit of the majority of the people living in the countryside.

“If we do not do so, we cannot derive full benefit from nature”, he added.

Mr Nehru was addressing the first convocation of the Kasturba Rural Institute, Rajpura. To suit the convenience of the Prime Minister the function was held at Chandigarh.

The Institute, which was established four years ago, imparts higher rural education on the pattern of basic education enunciated by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

The Prime Minister awarded diplomas to 69 graduates in rural service with home science, cooperation, public administration and small industries as their major subjects.

Mr Nehru recognised the place of the machine so long as it helped humanity and did not come in conflict with man. In the event of a clash between the two, the result would be very dangerous.

Mr Nehru underlined the pivotal role of the Gramodyog (village industries) as a means to provide gainful occupation to the villagers and as an instrument for mass contact. He said that the basic recognition was the welfare of them all.

The village population must be educated and trained in new scientific methods to bring about a silent socio-economic revolution. A change of outlook was absolutely necessary for the progress of the nation.

He said that the Garmodyog had vast potentialities to help the masses, and could open up new avenues of employment. PTI.

256. Report of speech, 8 July 1963, reproduced from *The Hindu* 11 July 1963.

Andhra Pradesh Tour

67. In Hyderabad: At the Central Institute of English²⁵⁷

Dr Dastoor,²⁵⁸ Professor Gokak,²⁵⁹ Chief Minister²⁶⁰ and Friends,
 I confess that I did not know very much till I heard the Director telling me about this Institute, about the various aspects of the work done here. Generally, I knew of course that this was meant to train people, teachers and others in the English language so that they could themselves train others. It obvious that if we have to learn English, it is desirable to learn, learn it fairly well. As it is we have come to, we have arrived at, a stage that people talk about Punjabi English, Bengali English, Madras English and so forth—every part of India has its own brand of English—the way of pronunciation, etc. and it is undoubtedly so. And I have met people coming from England or America being totally unable to understand the flow of eloquence in English by some Indians who speak it with greater rapidity than any Englishman can do it.

Now, Dr Dastoor said something about this teaching of English above the dust and turmoil of politics. Well, that it is exactly what it is not in this country. It should be so. It should not have anything to do with politics as such, but unfortunately the whole language question has got entangled in political issues. If you analyse it, going a little deeper into this controversy, those who object to English have reacted strongly to the domination of English in India for the last many generations. The fact that people knew English, many of them learnt English, not that, but it was a kind of fixation that English was a symbol of status that a man who knew very indifferent English was somehow better than scholars in our own languages. That was the fixation which was obviously most improper and most objectionable. And it had to be got rid of. I am not quite sure if you have got rid of it even yet.

That has nothing to do with our liking English, considering it a very desirable language to learn and for use etc., and our studying it and all that. It is a mental attitude which is objectionable, this fixation which was connected politically by the political domination of England over India. That is objectionable and it is that which has brought about these reactions in the minds of people who say that you have not quite got rid of that fixation or that kind of complex which we acquired in British times in India. If we get rid of that idea of fixation and

257. Speech, 22 July 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10804, NM No. 1900.

258. P.E. Dastoor, Chairman of the Institute.

259. V.K. Gokak, Director of the Institute.

260. N. Sanjiva Reddy.

all that load from it, and consider the English language as other languages on the merits, then our study of it becomes objective and the reactions to it are not coloured by resentment as to some extent they were. I suppose that will come gradually because if people say, as some people do that English should remain dominant instead of our regional languages or mother tongue, that has an irritating effect and from which English itself suffers more than anything else.

We produced a relatively small, though in numbers fairly large class of English knowing people who formed a kind of English-knowing caste in India—in this land of castes, everything turns to caste and the persons who know English, even though they might have known it not very well, considered themselves superiors to those who did not. And that kind of thing to some extent, though progressively less, continues now. It is clear that as we have done away with the caste system, or trying to do away rather with the caste system in India, we have to do away with this English caste idea too; and however widely English might spread, it is hardly conceivable that it can spread to the vast masses of our people, hundreds of millions.

We do not want English to become a barrier, the knowledge of English to become a barrier separating the hundreds of millions of our people those who know English. We have to acknowledge that any kind of real progress has to be, especially to begin with, has to be in the language of the mother tongue, that is, in the regional languages of India. To that we add English for various reasons, just as we want to add Hindi, but essentially the question is of the medium of instruction being in the regional language.

I am not an educator as such. If I educate, try to educate people at all, well, I educate them in vast public meetings, not classes, and to some extent I do try deliberately to talk to them even in public meetings, as perhaps teaching, especially in the school stages, has to be in the regional tongue. Thereby you may perhaps lose something, but you gain the enormous advantage of finding the child's mind open to their tongue and not having to labour to learn another tongue, in order to learn something else. That is a tremendous handicap. And it is not a desirable thing at all.

Now, if you have the medium of instruction as the regional language, that is all right. The first question that arises is how can you extend it to the late stages of education, higher stages. I have no doubt you can, even though there might be some difficulty at the present moment in scientific and technical terms, and I should leave that rather to develop gradually by experience and not force anything down, the ideal being that the education, that the medium of education, has to be one's mother tongue. But that can be added and helped by other languages, English for instance. In specialised subjects, in higher studies to begin with possibly, and then give place to the mother tongue. I do not see

any great difficulty provided one decides to proceed in a not too theoretical an approach or too passionate an approach to the problem. Gradually it will solve itself.

English is a very widespread language, a very important language. The other languages, foreign languages, which are very important—take French or German or Italian or Spanish or Russian—these are all very important and in spite probably numerically English being the most, having the widest spread. It is a good deal that other foreign languages have to teach us which no one language can teach like English. If science and technology are important, practically no really high class student of these languages can get on without learning at least two or three languages. German was very important for them. Russian is becoming even more important now. The amount of literature that is coming out in Russian in science and technology is increasing rapidly and is very great even now, and the least that one can do now—any student of science or technology—in the higher stages is to either learn several languages or have a very efficient arrangement for reading the translations of all that appears in the other languages, which is a complicated business.

But obviously without going into the merits of various foreign languages, English is more convenient for us than French, German or Russian or Spanish. We want as a matter of fact to encourage the teaching and the learning of French in Pondicherry. We have a Centre there where Pondicherry has been existing for a long time. We want to take advantage of that and keep Pondicherry as a window to French and French culture. But just as Pondicherry has been connected with French, the vast and the greater part of India has been connected with English, and it is obviously desirable for us to take advantage of that and keep it up. Now, apart from the obvious reason that English has a background in India which should be nourished and the fact that English is a very important language, very great language, very widespread language, and in spite of the other thing against it somewhat, that is the fixation that English brought to our minds which was bad and that fixation still continues, to some extent. And we have to get rid of it. It is clear that if we want a foreign language, English in the circumstance is the most convenient language for us.

Why do we want a foreign language? Well for many reasons, more especially in India. India in the past has had many virtues, it had risen to great heights and thoughts in other ways. But it has had a tendency to be cut off from the rest of the world, not always but certainly in the last 1000 years or so, or more. We have lived in a shell of our own. It is true that the shell was very big, but it was a shell and there were barriers and we were cut off therefore from what was happening in the rest of the world. Many things helped to that, the growth and intensification of the caste system, which I think has been a total

abomination in this country. I do not know what it was in its origins, but all this created shells and the larger shell was India, part of the smaller shells which were the castes and so we lost touch with the changes taking place in the rest of the world at a time when vast changes did take place say, in science, technology, etc., industrial revolution, all kinds of things, and we got left behind, steeped as we were in our own self-developed culture which was very good in so far as it went. But we were hopelessly left behind. Now it is of the utmost—it was important then—but of utmost importance today that we should have these avenues open to us to know what is happening in the rest of the world. The windows of our mind should be open to them and the best windows that of language as it is today.

Most of us who know English easily read English literature, read English or American journals, reviews, magazines, etc. Now that is a greater link between us and the English speaking people than any political link or Commonwealth link or anything else, the language link. It is so simply because we can see, read their thoughts, how they are functioning, much more than in other European languages. So I attach the greatest importance to this, to our keeping the windows of our minds open to what is happening—foreign ideas. And naturally that can be done best by knowing the languages. We can translate them, we should translate, we have very efficient programmes of translations, translating foreign books. But it is really quite impossible to keep pace with them.

Another development is taking place in language which is likely to have a fairly far-reaching effect, the development of science and technology and the like, and the important part that mathematics plays, the more and more important part. Language is becoming progressively, more and more, a language of symbols. Well, some symbols of course are always in language, but it is becoming more necessary. If you see it in scientific treatises sometimes it is rather frightening. It is all symbols, hardly any normal linguistic words. It is symbols, which symbols are common to many of the languages. Some of the simplest symbols you know, every child knows, he knows plus, minus, or if you go a little further, Greek words, theta, pai, etc. they know. But now it is becoming a language, very largely of symbols, a kind of universal language. What will happen I do not know, how this will develop. But I suppose we shall have to adopt that symbolic languages in dealing with science and technology and like subjects. Therefore the arguments that we use, that we have today for and against this or that language will probably fade out as owing to stress of circumstances, as we grew more and more scientific or industrially minded, we adopt a symbolic language with a few words to connect the various symbols. But the main part of that language will be symbolic. It is, that is why, rather important and I think it is a good decision which our Government took that in

regard to scientific and technical words, we should try it is done. That keeps us in touch with international use and if that is done in all our Indian languages, that is a common factor to all the Indian languages. All those words are common both in the Indian languages and the international languages. And this is likely to increase, the number of such technical words increase very rapidly, it is amazing. I believe every year, there were 5,000 or 10,000 new words in the English language. Otherwise, it will be very difficult for people to keep pace with the changes taking place.

All these things can be directed to some extent and should be directed, that is pushed in the right direction. But at the same time there should be no attempt at forcing them. This ideal would be giving a general direction to allow them to develop themselves. If that is done, then much of the fury of political conflict in regard to them would lessen and may be even disappear. So I think that while in regard to language, while the regional languages must have the basic, the primary position in our education and work, etc. English and of course, as I would say Hindi, has also a very important position, and that is why a formula was evolved a year or two ago called the three language formula, which was generally accepted all over the country. It is possible to criticise it, as it is possible to criticise any formula that you might evolve, but it is a good formula keeping in view most of the aspects of this problem and helping to bring about in the political and cultural spheres a sensation of unity, of common knowledge, common understanding all over India which is so essential. I really do not see why we should get vastly excited over these subjects and quarrel with each other unless we differ fundamentally in the objectives we aim at. I do not think there is that difference.

But fear, chiefly I think economic fears, fears of a certain degree of employment or unemployment taking place by some changeover, by the advantage given to a certain language affecting others, those fears are not wholly unjustified, but they are not so difficult as not to be got over. And when we lay down that, that fact should be considered, kept in view completely, that there should be no unfair disadvantage to any linguistic group by any change that we might make. Then I don't think we need fear that this will take place.

Anyhow, we live in a changing world, we cannot possibly think in terms of a static state of affairs in language or anything else. All our regional languages, as we go through this process of scientific and industrial revolution which we are going through, will themselves be changing and developing. Language today seems to most people to consist of, well, the work in our classics in any language, poetry, epics, etc. which form the basis of any languages, here or elsewhere.

I imagine, I speak with some diffidence, that a certain modernisation of our languages, our regional languages, really began about a hundred years ago, with the effect of English coming in here, with the effect of that, with the effect of the printing press coming in and all that. That is, the modernisation took place by the impact of English, rather ideas through English and new forms were developed of expressions in our regional languages. Now that process is going on fairly rapidly. From that point of view also, it seems to me very desirable and essential if I may say so, for this impact of foreign ideas to come into India to help in the development of our own languages. We cannot—we may honour as we do and respect all our very valuable classical works and epics and all that—but cannot live with epics all the time. One has to live in the modern world, with modern ideas and therefore language has to fit in with that, and in that process the ideas that come to us from the modern languages of Europe are useful because if so happens that Europe—chiefly Europe and I include in Europe Russia—represents these modern ideas of this industrial age. We may like or dislike industrialisation, but we have to face it, we have to help in its growth in this country and we may try to give it our own bent, we may try to avoid some of its evils. But there is no way out of it, we have to progress in industry as we must, even more so progress in science. And if you do so we must adopt the consequences of that. It is no good living in a world, in a mental world where we talk of science and all the basis of our thinking is opposed to science. We simply split up, we do not function satisfactorily in one world or the other. Therefore I think that it is of importance even for the development of our own regional languages, development in the sense of fitting in with the modern world of science and technology, for us to know foreign languages, and it is most convenient for us to know English.

This will help in developing our regional languages. I want to lay stress on that, because people seem to think that laying stress on English will somehow be disadvantageous to the regional languages. I do not think so, I think it will help in their development, and bring them in line with many modern phases of existence. Therefore I have not the least feeling in my mind of any conflict in our stressing fundamentally our regional languages, in our stressing Hindi and our regional languages, in our stressing Hindi and our stressing the learning of English. I don't think it is too great a burden for people to carry, not only the educated few but in large numbers. If we have to keep up English, we have to try to keep up certain standards in English. They have gone down considerably in India. They are bound to go down as it ceases to be the medium of instruction. It is desirable to keep them and this effort made here in this institute to keep them up and to teach the teachers of English and thereby try to keep up English standards is a basic one and an important one. And I hope it will succeed in

bringing about that business of keeping up standards. English is, after all, as many other languages, a rather fine language. It is not meant to promote comparison, many languages are fine languages, European and Indian. I think personally without knowing too much of it, I have the greatest admiration of Sanskrit. I think it is a wonderful and a magnificent language. The whole of India how India developed, I think it has developed, on the Sanskrit language, all thinking, its literature. I hope that Sanskrit education will continue. But I cannot go about saying that Sanskrit, everybody should know Sanskrit. It just does not fit in with modern times. So I am glad I had an opportunity of coming here today and having had some glimpse of what you are doing in this institute and I wish you success.

Thank you.

68. In Hyderabad: Urban Planning²⁶¹

Slum Clearance Work
Revolving Funds Necessary
Suggestion by Nehru

Hyderabad, July 22 – Mr Nehru stressed here today the need for creating “revolving funds” for slum clearance works. The Prime Minister said that they should look far ahead into the future, plan and then execute the schemes. He suggested that houses should be built only when water and sanitation facilities were provided.

Mr Nehru, who was inaugurating the low cost houses constructed by the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation at Yadgir Hussain Kunta (Puranapul) here, said that their endeavour should be to rehabilitate the slum dwellers in nearby localities instead of at faraway places.

The Prime Minister said that he was very much interested in the slum clearance programme. Hyderabad was a beautiful city. But a city was judged not by its huge mansions, but by the slums in it which reflected the life of the people. Slums grew out of our negligence. That was why, while on the one hand, slum clearance and slum improvement works go on, on the other, new slums grew. This showed that there was something basically wrong with our social system. He said that they should take steps to prevent new slums from being formed and try to remove the existing ones.

261. Report of speech, 22 July 1963, reproduced from *The Hindu*, July 24, 1963, p. 8.

Amenities in Villages

There were two aspects of this problem—rural and urban. Eighty per cent of the population lived in villages. Whatever plans they formulated, Mr Nehru said, should not be only for the cities, but for the rural areas also. If amenities were provided for the people to live comfortably in villages, they would not move out and go to the cities, he added.

He said that provision of houses to slum dwellers was no favour to them. The slums reflected their bad management and apathy. It was not their fault if they are living in slums. It was the society that had to be blamed. They had not had an opportunity to improve, to grow and to develop.

Mr Nehru said that for speed and economy in the slum clearance programme, they should take to prefabricated housing. He suggested that factories for the manufacture of such prefabricated housing material should be set up in every area or at least in every State.

Town Planning

Stressing the need for town planning, the Prime Minister said that in Delhi they had collected some seven or eight town planners and also secured the services of some expert town planners of America for preparing a plan for Greater Delhi. The question was not merely building houses but providing for schools, hospitals, shopping centres, etc. He said that they had to look ahead and provide for meeting the requirements that would arise twenty years later.

69. In Hyderabad: To the Telugu Bhasha Samiti²⁶²

Shri Satyanarayana,²⁶³ Shri Satyanarayana Murthy²⁶⁴ and friends,
As you have been good enough to choose me to be some kind of a vehicle for the publication of this great work, I gladly accept the task and wish you in this great enterprise all success. The bringing out of an Encyclopaedia, anything that is worthwhile, is and must be a tremendous task, as you told me. To bring out the first edition, perhaps it is a big task no doubt, and probably it is just the initial thing which you do. I have no doubt you will have to bring out a revised

262. Speech, 23 July 1963, on releasing the seventh volume of the Telegu Encyclopedia at the Rashtrapathi Nilayam. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10806.

263. Moturi Satyanarayana, Rajya Sabha MP, Nominated, and founding secretary of Telugu Bhasha Samiti.

264. Not identified.

edition of it, improved edition, and fuller edition later on. But it is a great thing you have undertaken and I am glad to know that you have gone through your programme producing these editions. So this is the seventh volume. You have more than half still.²⁶⁵ Well, it is a great and noble task and since you have already devoted more than a dozen years to it, I have no doubt you will complete it and do good not only to Telugu language and culture but leave a monument for our people to study and enlarge their vision.

I wish you all success in this task.

Thank you.

70. In Hyderabad: At the Salarjung Museum²⁶⁶

Governor,²⁶⁷ Chief Minister²⁶⁸ and Friends,

Ten years ago, as you have been told, I visited this Salarjung Museum and in a sense declared it open to the public.²⁶⁹ Trying to think, go back to my impression then, the first impression was of a large number of articles of considerable beauty, of a fine collection, rather mixed up, with things of great beauty with many other things, not of such great beauty. The second impression was a lack of impression, by which I mean, the whole place was so crowded that it was impossible to carry any clear impression of anything and seemed to me that all the beautiful objects in the museum were largely losing their merit and beauty by being placed together one on top of the other, more or less. An essential part of the museum is space, is display: it must not be all jumbled up together to show that you have got so many things. Each thing must be capable of being viewed properly in space and in measure, in time, so that you do not only admire it but to some extent also absorb the atmosphere of the time when it was produced. So I am very glad that a new building is being put up and I hope that this will have plenty of space and there will be no crowding, even though it is better to display half the things, if it is displayed in a proper manner. It is no good putting one on top of each other and one thing rubbing shoulders with the other thing till you are confused, you cannot see anything; you cannot admire anything, you cannot absorb anything. That is most important I think. I

265. The project was for sixteen volumes, see report in *The Hindu*, 25 July 1963, p. 6.

266. Speech, 23 July 1963, on laying the corner stone. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10805, NM No. 1901.

267. S.M. Shrinagesh.

268. N. Sanjiva Reddy.

269. On 16 December 1951. See <http://salarjungmuseum.in/html/history.html>, accessed on 21 June 2019.

do not know much about museums except that I have seen a good number, but the one thing that has impressed upon me is the space, no crowding together, and I hope that will be borne in mind.

Museums, I do not know what most people think of museums. In my childhood we use to call them Ajayabghar. Well, of course they are Ajayabghars in a sense, but that word is the wrong word to use all the same. It is not a museum of oddities, of things which you see. There will be odd things of course, but it is a museum, I hope, of things of beauty being collected, but even more so, a museum of the past, of the past activities, past thinking, past human endeavour and so on and so forth. It gives us a glimpse of the past. It should give us the life of the people and their work comes up before us. We can judge much better of their culture, through a museum than through reading a dry history of it. It is important therefore that it should be made to give that impression to us and it should be displayed in such a manner as to convey something of that past to us.

Further, as this museum is likely to be, not only to give us the past of a particular place but of other parts of the world also. After all, we all of us who live today are the outcome of that past. We are the real museum pieces of today. And it is desirable that we should know something of that past. Of course, the museum gives rather the high points of that past. That is good and if we understand the past in its proper setting, we learn much from it. That is, we learn much about ourselves, what has conditioned us and what to some extent will continue to condition us. So, I think, a museum is of great importance not only to give us pleasure, not only to give us some sense of appreciation of beauty in its various forms, but enlarge our vision and our outlook.

It is of particular importance therefore from this point of view that children in schools and colleges should certainly go there, it must almost be an essential part of their education to visit museums. In India many of our past pieces of art are not such that they can be moved about and put in a museum. You cannot take away Ajanta and Ellora and put it in a museum. There it is, or you cannot put the Taj Mahal in a museum. That is to say, art in the old days, while it was also a kind of palace art for display to selected people who visit the palaces, it was also a public art, whether it was displayed in temples or mosques or whatever, which everybody could see. The greatest statues today of the past in India are part of the entire building. Take Ajanta, it is part of a huge mountain and not merely a sort of thing which you hang up on your walls. It is a curious habit today, encouraged by people who cannot be considered to be high priests in art or in understanding of putting up, let us say, even a public building. There is, let us say a 20' x 10' wall there, and you tell an artist, well, that room 20' x 10', fill it up. What he has to fill up has no relation to the building, to the background of the building, or to the future of the building, it is just some kind of decoration

for that empty space. That is not a particularly happy approach to a problem, of using empty spaces to fill them up with paintings or other sketches. The thing should grow as—take our own temples—part of the surroundings. They are not just beautiful parts. They grew out of a mountain or something and so also art has to be part of the whole idea behind the building. What it is, in fact the proper way to do it, is for the artist or sculptor to be associated with the putting up of the building, not that the engineer puts it up and tells the artist to go and paint, draw up some empty space in a wall. That is a very crude way of looking at things. Unfortunately, we follow the crude way usually. Just as even engineers who put up a fine building often enough do not think very much, are not made to think very much, of the wider question of the perspective of the building outside or the town planning point of view and other things; but life is an integrated home and unless you think of all these aspects, you do not do full justice to what you may be building. Anyhow, looking at the plans of this museum, they seem to be impressive outside.

I am more interested in the inside than the outside. The inside should be such as to do justice to the things displayed, as to have space so that you can have some perspective about looking at them, as to have an atmosphere, which creates something of that kind. Museums are getting more and more important. Museums of articles of beauty from various parts of the world are anyhow, as things of beauty, important. Nowadays, however, museums have a wider scope. Science museums and other museums of that kind teach us something about life, something about the development of life, the history of civilisation and all that. They touch upon a subject of great importance in that history of civilisation, all these things of beauty come in, but something much more comes in so as to develop interest and curiosity and giving some kind of a view of this process of human development. That is a big subject and I do not suppose any one museum can do it. But perhaps each museum, however limited in scope it may be, might have this view point before it, so that it may fit in to the large scheme of things.

Now this Salarjung Museum, which is the outcome of an extraordinary effort by the late Salarjung,²⁷⁰ who started this and who was one of the greatest of collectors of things of beauty and art, has an excellent foundation. It has got wonderful and valuable material and many other things. Some not so wonderful no doubt. It was all lined up and to some extent this large mixing up takes away the beauty of a particular object. That I suppose will be organised in the proper display, but I hope that it will develop on the lines I have suggested, that is gradually becoming an attempt to show the history of the development

270. Salarjung III, (d. 1949); Prime Minister of Hyderabad.

of man, history of the development of civilisation in particular forms. It cannot show the whole of it, it is too great a task, but it will have to, so that you can see whatever it has to show in a proper setting, in a larger setting.

I think it is a great good fortune of Hyderabad city to have this fine great museum, which will initially be good for the people here, but which attracts people from outside too to see from all over India and abroad to see it and to learn from it, as great big museums do. And I congratulate you on this museum and on starting a building, a competent house for this museum, and I hope very much that this museum will not be a showpiece for people who want to see oddities but will enter into the minds of people here, especially the children, and the young people, young boys and girls, so as to condition their minds to some extent, teach them the world. We have unfortunately been in the past too narrowly conditioned. We have seen our own sphere of life and not cared to understand the rest of the world, what is happening. That can no longer happen. We have to understand the world, if we are to understand ourselves. Museums help in that, and I think it will be particularly the big fortune for the young people and children here to visit this museum, visit it not merely as a place to see some odd interesting sights, some other things which will make them think of the past, of the present, the connections between the two, thereby inciting their curiosity.

I was interested to learn from the Governor's address that they are going to have some mobile exhibitions going about. I do not quite know; it is a good idea. I do not know what that mobile exhibition is going to be like. Is it just going to be some bits of statues and other things being sent round, well, something I suppose, but something more is desirable. What I mean is, a museum should almost become a University in some ways, a museum should have regular classes for people, for boys, for girls, for grownups, all of them taking up any one phase at a time, for a course of lectures, one phase of history, one phase of the past or the present and explain it with these actual specimens which are there. Thus, you can do great good by museums to those people who care to attend, and all these should be done in a way to attract people not in a dull and dusty way of telling or explaining archaeology or something, but in an interesting way to attract the hearts and minds of people who might be exercised about it, excited about it. That is the duty of a museum today. A museum is there not merely for those who care to go there, it must attract people, not merely to go round it, but to listen to what it is, to understand what it is. The science or art of museology has grown greatly, so I understand. I know not much about it.

But having seen so many big museums, I will repeat what I said, it is of the utmost importance to display things in the proper way, otherwise, the museum has lost its wind by wrong things being put one on top of the other. And I am

sorry to say this museum at present is too crowded, too many things all in a room, everything. It is like a godown. The beautiful things are there, but you just cannot admire their beauty because your mind is distracted by hundred and one other things around. There must be space. You must look at the beautiful things properly. That is important.

But another important thing is that the museum must be a place of education not merely by showing things that are worth seeing but by explaining them, by showing the context, by trying to exhibit or display something of the period when they were done; of the way people lived in those days; the way the workmen functioned; to bring back a bit of past history and see that past history not only of the area of those exhibits came from but of other parts of the world too. In this way it can become a true centre of education, and it may be that some suitable exhibits could be taken round to villages and other places not merely just odd things, but some rather connected story being represented by them. I do not know how that can be done properly, but I am merely putting it forward to the experts who will think about it. Anyhow, I attach very considerable importance to the growth of museums in India and these various points of view. And I think it is a matter of peculiar good fortune to Hyderabad to have this museum here started by the greatest art collector, that will be not only a memorial to him, but something much more, which will be an abiding inspiration to the people of Hyderabad and to other people who come here to see it.

I am going to perform this foundation stone laying. It is rather a curious way of approaching the subject. I do not believe in foundation stone laying, yet I performed often enough. One thing, if it has to be laid at all, I believe, it is not really a foundation stone, it is something else—a corner stone, or something. Well, a corner stone might be put up occasionally, foundation stone never. So because this is a corner-stone I shall put some cement underneath it and it will descend on it and I hope it will stay there.

Thank you.

71. In Srisailam: Hydro-Electric Project on Krishna River²⁷¹

River waters: Nehru deplores Quarrels
Centre's Decision on Krishna & Godavari Just and Fair
Controversies Harmful to National Interest
(From Our Correspondent)

Srisailam (Andhra), July 25 – The Prime Minister yesterday deplored controversies among the States over the utilisation of river waters. These controversies delayed projects which in turn, affected national interest, he said.

Mr Nehru, who was formally inaugurating work on the Srisailam hydro-electric project here, said the Centre's decision on the utilisation of Krishna-Godavari waters, as contained in the statement made in Parliament by the then Irrigation Minister, Hafiz Mohamed Ibrahim, was a fair and just one.

Mr Nehru said that the statement of Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim was a well thought out statement. The provisions envisaged in the statement could be implemented namely that the projects taken on hand could be executed pending fuller consideration of other projects.

The Prime Minister said that in the meantime he believed that the proposal to link Godavari with Krishna to utilise the surplus waters of Godavari also might take definite shape. The Prime Minister expressed his appreciation of the assurance given by Mr Sanjiva Reddy²⁷² earlier that the ryots of Maharashtra and Karnataka need not have any misgivings about Andhra. The Prime Minister said: "That is the right spirit."

Statistics on River Waters

Continuing Mr Nehru said that in the next few years a thorough enquiry and collection of data on the various rivers would be undertaken and arrangements for this were already being made so that it could help in arriving at a correct assessment and distribution of waters among the States.

The Prime Minister said: "The strength of India lies in the strength of States. Therefore we must all bear in mind that India's progress depends on the progress of the States which could be brought about by unity and cooperation."

The question of the Srisailam project was given careful consideration. Mr Nehru said he "did not want to be a party to the interstate controversy". The

271. Report of speech, 24 July 1963, reproduced from *The Hindu*, 26 July 1963, p. 1 cols 7 & 8 and p. 4 col. 4.

272. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

Prime Minister said that he could understand the anxiety of Maharashtra and Mysore to utilise more waters of the Krishna and Godavari. But in his opinion the projects they had on hand would meet their needs for several years to come and these States would not be able to utilise more waters for a “long period, say 30 or 40 years or at any rate in the immediate future.”

Mr Nehru said the Srisaïlam project would bring prosperity, not only to Andhra, but to the whole of India. Development of electricity, he said, was very important in our country. Sceptics had doubted the need for big projects like Bhakra-Nangal, but he could say the country could utilise any amount of power that can be generated.

Mr Nehru said that there had been some delay in starting the project owing to the controversy among the three States (Maharashtra, Mysore and Andhra). But we should remember that differences among States would affect national interest.

Drive against Poverty

Mr Nehru said: “Our country is facing grave problems like aggression in the North-East which is still being threatened. We have to prepare ourselves to prevent it. We have to remove poverty and misery and we have done some good work in the past in this direction. Fighting the enemy and raising the level of the people internally are one and the same problem. Our strength only would help expel the enemy. Production of electric energy at Srisaïlam adds to the strength and growth of India.”

The Prime Minister said that some people said that because our country was attacked we should stop our developmental projects “That is a foolish idea.” It was only a developed country that could face the enemy resolutely.

Mr Nehru next recalled his visit to this area when the people were suffering from hunger owing to the vagaries of the monsoon. They had to develop the industries and modernise agriculture. Andhra was one of the States where agriculture had progressed well, but it should progress more. “This project has my good wishes and: I hope it will bring prosperity to the people,” he added.

After his speech the Prime Minister in token of inaugurating the construction of the Srisaïlam Project opened an ivory box which contained an embossed plan of the project.

Sanjiva Reddi's Assurance

Earlier, Mr Sanjiva Reddy, welcoming the Prime Minister, said this was a festival day for Andhras.

The Srisaillam project was conceived in 1958. The project report was got ready in six months and sent to the Centre. They received sanction in 1959 for the project. In July 1959, Dr Rajendra Prasad²⁷³ visited the project site and had said that this was essential for Andhra. Unfortunately some States got suspicious and the work was delayed.

Mr Sanjiva Reddy that on this auspicious occasion, he on behalf of the people of Andhra, would give the assurance that the interests of Maharashtra and Karnataka would not suffer on account of this project. "Several people went personally to Mr Nehru and represented against this project. Hence I make this promise in his presence", Mr Reddy said.

On arrival, the Prime Minister was received by Mr A.C. Subba Reddi, Irrigation Minister, Mr L. Venkatakrishna Aiyar, Secretary, Projects Department and Irrigation Adviser, Mr G.A. Narasimha Rao, Chief Engineer, Nagarjunasagar Canals and Srisaillam, Mr C. Lakshmipathi Rao, Chief Engineer, Electricity Board and Mr V. Suryanarayan, Superintending Engineer, Srisaillam Project.

The Prime Minister was shown charts and pictures explaining the data regarding the project and he also saw a profile of the dam marked on the left bank.

Srisaillam, after a few days of rain, wore a blanket of green on the hills and dales as far as the eye could see. At the project site, a structure with inscriptions in English, Urdu, Hindi and Telugu of the Prime Minister inaugurating the work has been unveiled, over which is a cement model of the project.

The Prime Minister arrived at Srisaillam this afternoon from Kurnool.

72. In Hyderabad: Pochampad Project on the Godavari²⁷⁴

बहनो और भाइयो,
यहाँ भारत में बड़ी-बड़ी नदियाँ हैं, प्रसिद्ध नदियाँ, ऐतिहासिक नदियाँ। ऊपर आप जानते हैं सब गंगा-यमुना है, ब्रह्मपुत्र है, सिंधु नदी है, जिसके नाम से भारत का नाम हिन्द, हिन्दुस्तान पड़ा बहुत दिन हुए। नर्मदा है, गोदावरी है, कृष्णा है, कावेरी है और इस तरह से बहुत नदियाँ हैं। हमारे इतिहास में और सब देशों के इतिहास में नदियों ने एक बड़ा

273. The then President.

274. Speech, 26 July 1963, inaugurating the project. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 12369, NM No. 2020.

Nehru laid the corner-stone of the Rs 40-crore reservoir project on the Godavari at Pochampad. He unveiled a tablet inscribed "Modern temple of service to the people." See *The Hindu*, 27 July 1963, p. 1 col. 4.

भाग लिया है और अक्सर नदियों की पूजा तक हुई है जैसे हमारे देश में, क्योंकि इत्ता वह देश को, इत्ता लाभ पहुँचाती हैं, इत्ता फ़ायदा पहुँचाती हैं कि उनकी बहुत क़दर हुई। और आप देखेंगे कि बड़े-बड़े नगर और केन्द्र सभ्यता के, संस्कृति के, नदियों के किनारे उठे हैं, हमारे बड़े-बड़े नगर अक्सर नदियों के किनारे हैं भारत भर में। तो यह तो इतिहास ने हमें बताया है, लेकिन प्राचीन समय पर कुछ तो लाभ उठाया और भी इतिहास ने, कुछ नहरें बनीं, इरीगेशन कैनाल्स [irrigation canals] बने, पानी ले गये ज़मीन पर, वह तो कुछ हुआ, लेकिन अब कुछ दिनों से यह और भी आवश्यक हो गया है कि हम नदियों के पानी से पूरा लाभ उठाएँ। एक तो नहर, कैनाल्स वगैरा जो खेती में आयेँ और दूसरे उसके पानी से हम बिजली पैदा करें और बिजली से कारख़ाने चलायें, और बहुत काम करें। तो इससे नदी का पूरा पानी काम में आ जाये और इससे जनता को लाभ हो।

जबसे स्वराज्य आया, पंद्रह-सोलह वर्ष हुए, उस समय से हमें इस बात की बहुत फ़िक्र हुई कि कितनी जल्दी देश की हालत अच्छी हो, देश आगे बढ़े, जनता की कठिनाइयाँ दूर हों। तो कैसे हो सकता है? एक ही तरह से कि देश में धन अधिक पैदा हो और धन क्या? धन रुपया-पैसा, सोना-चाँदी धन नहीं है, यह तो व्यापार की चीज़ें हैं, धन तो है जो आप खेती में पैदा करते हैं और आप कारख़ानों से पैदा करें, जो आप कारीगरी में पैदा करें, जो चीज़ काम में आये वो धन है, रुपया-पैसा तो व्यापार के ही काम आता है, जितना अधिक हम पैदा करें अपनी खेती से, उत्ता ही देश का धन बढ़ जाता है, सब लोगों का और फिर इसका प्रबंध करें कि जो देश का धन अधिक बढ़ा, वह जनता को पहुँचे, यह नहीं कि थोड़ी सी जेबों में रह जाये, वह बड़े अमीर हो जायें और बाक़ी लोग ग़रीब हों।

तो यह बड़ा प्रश्न हमारे सामने था स्वराज्य आने पर। तो हमने इसका फिर सोचना शुरू किया क्या करें, जिससे धन अधिक पैदा हो? धन पैदा होगा विशेषकर भूमि से, ज़मीन से, खेती से और दूसरे कारख़ानों से। तो इसके पैदा करने में दो चीज़ें आवश्यक थी, एक तो भूमि से पैदा करने में पानी आये, नहर का पानी, बड़े-बड़े नदियों से ले के, नहर का पानी पहुँचायें, जिससे हम लोग इस बात के मोहताज न हों वर्षा पर, वर्षा न हो न हो हम पानी ला सकें। एक तो यह और दूसरे हम बिजली पैदा करें जिससे बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बनें, बड़े-छोटे और खेती में भी बिजली का काम आये, इस तरह से देश भर में काम बहुत बढ़ जाये और अधिक धन पैदा हो। इसलिए हमने पंचवर्षीय योजना की, एक पहली, दूसरी, अब तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना है लेकिन सबमें पहले खेती का काम करना है और खेती के लिए हमें प्रबंध करना है, नहरें बनाने का, पानी लाने का और दूसरे बिजली की शक्ति पैदा करनी है नदियों के प्रभाव से। यह दो बड़े काम हमने उठाये थे और जित्ता देश में हुआ है यह जहाँ-जहाँ वहाँ उससे बहुत लाभ हुआ है।

जब हमारे स्वराज्य की लड़ाई ख़तम हुई और हमारे देश भर में स्वराज्य आ गया, एक हमारी यात्रा पूरी हुई। फिर उसी समय हमने दूसरी यात्रा शुरू की कि स्वराज्य जो मिल गया तो देश अब क्या करे? देश को ख़ुशहाल होना था, देश को अपनी ग़रीबी का अन्त कर देना था और सब लोग जित्ते देश भर में रहते हैं उन सभी को मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए कि यह पूरीतौर से तरक्की कर सकते हैं, यह नहीं कि थोड़े लोग तरक्की करें, बाक़ी लोग

पिछड़ जायें, सभी को बराबर का मौका मिले। हमने कहा इसको कि हम ऐसी समाज बनायेंगे जिसमें सब लोगों को मौका मिले, सब लोग बिल्कुल बराबर तो नहीं होते, लेकिन सब लोगों को बराबर का मौका मिलना चाहिए, फिर जित्ती शक्ति जिसमें हो उता बढ़े। यह हमने अपने मन में बात रखी और इसके लिए उपाय ढूँढे और इसीलिए पंचवर्षीय योजना का कमीशन बनाया और जब से, इस पंद्रह वर्ष से हम इसी काम को कर रहे हैं और बहुत कुछ उससे लाभ भी हुआ है। लेकिन अभी बहुत कुछ करना है, उस काम में बहुत कुछ बातें हमें करनी हैं, हमें सब लोगों को पढ़ाना है, शिक्षा देनी है, सब एक-एक बच्चा, लड़की-लड़का, और ऊपर जा के अच्छी शिक्षा देनी है क्योंकि आजकल जो काम करने होते हैं देश को वह ख़ाली मामूली पढ़ने-लिखने से नहीं होते, उसमें काम करने का तरीका सीखना पड़ता है जैसे इंजीनियर बनें, जैसे डॉक्टर बनें, सीखना पड़ता है। जैसे ऐसा हम सिखाना चाहते हैं बहुत लोगों को, जित्ते सीखे हुए लोग होंगे उता ही देश बढ़ता है। और यह जो बड़ी शक्ति है बिजली की इसको पैदा करनी है क्योंकि इसी शक्ति से हम बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने चला सकते हैं और खेती में भी लाभ उठा सकते हैं। इसलिए यह हमने अपनी योजना में देश भर में इसका प्रबंध करना शुरू किया और बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ बनी हैं इससे, जिससे बहुत, बहुत पानी गया है ज़मीन पर, भूमि में और उससे बहुत पैदा हुआ है, अधिक पैदा हुआ है हमारे, ग़ल्ला, खाने का सामान, इससे देश का धन बढ़ा है, इस काम को हमें बड़े ज़ोरों से चलाना है। तब हमारे स्वराज्य मिल जाने के बाद यह आंदोलन तो ख़तम हो गया, लेकिन एक नई लड़ाई हमें लड़नी है, लड़ाई कैसी? हम किसी देश से नहीं लड़ना चाहते थे, कहीं और से, हमें लड़नी थी लड़ाई अपने देश की ग़रीबी से, ग़रीबी को, दरिद्रता को इस देश से निकाल देना था ताकि सब लोग इस देश में अच्छी तरह से रहें, खुशहाल होकर। यह बड़ा काम था क्योंकि इस देश में तो बहुत लोग रहते हैं, चवालीस करोड़ लोग रहते हैं, उन सभी की ग़रीबी निकल जाये, सब लोग काम करें, मेहनत करें, कमायें और अपना लाभ करें, देश का, यह बड़ा काम था। इस काम को हमने उठाया और उस काम को हम करते जाते हैं और मुझे पूरी आशा है कि इस काम में हमें सफलता मिलेगी और कुछ मिल भी चुकी है। तो एक यह लड़ाई हमें लड़नी थी और उसको हमें लड़ते जाना है, ग़रीबी से।

अब पार साल से एक दूसरी लड़ाई हमारे सिर पर आ गयी है क्योंकि चीनी लोगों ने हमारे देश पर हमला किया, आक्रमण किया और अपने देश को हमें बचाना ही था, तो हम पूरी शक्ति से कोशिश कर रहे हैं उसके बचाने की। तो दो बोझ हमारे ऊपर आ गये, हमारे देश पर, एक तो जो पुराना बोझ है लड़ाई लड़ने का ग़रीबी से और दूसरा चीनी आक्रमण से। तो अब दोनों बोझों को हमें उठाना है, किसी एक को हम छोड़ नहीं सकते, क्योंकि अगर हम चीनी आक्रमण से नहीं बचायें तो हमारा देश स्वतंत्र कैसा रहा, जब और लोग आ के उसके ऊपर क़ब्ज़ा कर लें और अगर ग़रीबी को हम नहीं निकालें इस देश से तब देश दरिद्र रहा। वह कैसा देश है कि स्वराज्य मिलने पर भी दरिद्र रहे और अपना काम खुद न कर सके? तो हमें दोनों काम करने हैं और ज़ोरों से करने हैं क्योंकि अधूरा करने से कुछ लाभ नहीं होता, न इधर रहते हैं, न उधर, दोनों बातें करनी हैं और दोनों में

सफलता हासिल करनी है। इसलिए हम देश भर में योजनाओं का काम बड़े ज़ोरों से चला रहे हैं और उनको छोड़ा नहीं, चाहे चीनी हमला क्यों न हो।

और इसलिए मैं आपके पास यहाँ आया हूँ, इस योजना के लिए गोदावरी नदी पर और कल गया था मैं कृष्णा पर एक योजना के लिए,²⁷⁵ क्योंकि इस काम को हमें चलाना है जिससे देश की शक्ति बढ़े, देश का धन-दौलत बढ़े और जनता की भलाई हो। तो जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा कि कल जो कृष्णा नदी पर एक योजना का आरम्भ हुआ है, जिससे बहुत बिजली पैदा होगी, बहुत लाभ होगा। और आज जो हम यहाँ गोदावरी पर एक योजना का आरम्भ कर रहे हैं, यह दोनों हमारी जो दरिद्रता के विरोध में लड़ाई है, उसमें दो जीत हैं, उससे हम जीतते हैं, हमने क़दम आगे बढ़ाया और हम जीते इस तरह से देश भर में, हम कर रहे हैं कि देश भर आगे बढ़े।

खैर, आज हम यहाँ [पोचम्पाद] पर, गोदावरी नदी के किनारे इस शुभ काम को शुरू कर रहे हैं [तालियाँ] और आप सब लोग दूर-दूर से जमा हुए हैं और ठीक किया, अच्छा किया आप जमा हुए हैं क्योंकि यह काम शुभ है, यह अवसर शुभ है और इससे जनता का लाभ होगा, जिस काम से जनता का लाभ होता है वह शुभ होता है। तो आज हम एक बड़ा काम ऐसा कर रहे हैं जिससे यहाँ की जनता को बहुत फ़ायदा होगा। तो मुझे खुशी है कि मैं भी यहाँ आया हूँ और इसमें आप सभी के साथ भाग ले रहा हूँ।

आन्ध्र में जो किसान हैं, ज़मीन पर काम करते हैं वह अच्छे हैं, तगड़े हैं और अच्छी मेहनत करते हैं और जो पैदा करते हैं ज़मीन से, वह और देश के हिसाब से अच्छा है, और देश के, हमारे देश के हिसाब से, लेकिन फिर भी हमें बहुत ज़्यादा इससे अधिक पैदा करना है, और देशों में जितना पैदा करते हैं एक एकड़ में, ज़मीन में, उसका हम अभी आधा, चौथाई भी नहीं करते हैं। तो हमें तो अपनी भूमि से बहुत ज़्यादा पैदा करना है, ठीक पानी देकर, ठीक औज़ार लेके यानी, ताकि, हल अच्छा हो, आप नये-नये तरीक़े करें, लगायें और जितनी नयी बातें हैं उनको सीखकर हम अपनी पैदावार ज़मीन से बहुत बढ़ा सकते हैं, उससे आप सब लोगों को बहुत लाभ होगा और देश को लाभ होगा। और हमारी ग़रीबी का बड़ा कारण यह है कि हम ज़मीन से काफ़ी पैदा नहीं करते हैं, इसलिए सबमें आवश्यक बात भारत में यह है कि हम ज़मीन से अधिक से अधिक पैदा करें और जो नये तरीक़े हैं आजकल की दुनिया में, विज्ञान ने हमें सिखाये हैं, जो नये औज़ार हैं, नये टूल्ज़ [tools] हैं उनको काम में लायें और जैसे फ़र्टिलाइज़र [fertilizer] है, खाद है इसको देना, यह दें, ताकि हमारी पैदावार बहुत बढ़ जाये और उससे देश का बड़ा लाभ हो। यह हम चाहते हैं हो और आप लोगों को आन्ध्र में तो विशेषकर यह करना चाहिए क्योंकि आप लोग काम अच्छा करते हैं मौक़ा मिलने पर और मुझे पूरी आशा है कि आप इसको करके अपनी तरक्क़ी करेंगे और देश की भी सेवा होगी।

एक देश उतनी ही बढ़ता है जितना उसके पीछे परिश्रम हो, उसके पीछे अक़ल हो और परिश्रम हो, दोनों बातों की आवश्यकता है, ख़ाली व्याख्यान देने से नहीं बढ़ जाता है, मैं

275. See item 71.

आपको यहाँ भाषण दूँ, उससे देश नहीं बढ़ता, परिश्रम से बढ़ता है, जित्ता अधिक परिश्रम करें ठीक-ठीक उता देश बढ़ता है। और परिश्रम के साथ परिश्रम का लाभ पूरा उठाने के लिए उसके पास नये-नये औज़ार होने चाहियें, नये-नये औज़ार, हथियार होने चाहियें, टूल्ज़ होने चाहियें, जिससे उसके काम से लाभ पूरीतौर से उठा सकें। आप अगर अपने खेत में एक बुरा हल चलायें तो उससे काम नहीं चलेगा, अच्छा हल हो, उससे अधिक काम होगा, यह दो बातें हैं, लेकिन सबके पीछे परिश्रम है। कुछ लोग समझते हैं कि बग़ैर परिश्रम के हो जायेगा, तो कोई चीज़ दुनिया में बग़ैर परिश्रम के नहीं होती है।

तो हम फिर से इस बड़ी यात्रा पर हैं जो हमें ले जाये देश की खुशहाली की तरफ़ और जहाँ-जहाँ मैं जाता हूँ आन्ध्र प्रदेश में, मैं देखता हूँ कि तरक्की हुई है, लोग बढ़ रहे हैं आगे, तो मुझे खुशी होती है। तो आज जो मैं यहाँ आया और एक और बड़ा क़दम आपका आन्ध्र प्रदेश उठा रहा है, यह गोदावरी पर यह योजना बन रही है, उसके लिए मैं आपको बधाई देता हूँ, मुबारकबाद देता हूँ और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि उससे बहुत लाभ आप सब जनता को होगा। [तालियाँ] यह आपके यहाँ यह योजना हो रही है गोदावरी की, लेकिन इसका लाभ तो सारे देश का है, आप ही का नहीं। आपके मुख्यमंत्री जी ने आपसे कहा कि पहले कुछ बहस रही महाराष्ट्र प्रदेश से और आन्ध्र प्रदेश में, इन योजनाओं के बारे में। ख़ैर, अब वह नहीं रही, ख़तम सी हो गयी है, वह अच्छा है लेकिन यह बात समझना है कि जो कुछ, जो कुछ एक प्रदेश में लाभ की बात होती है वह सारे देश में है। आप आन्ध्र प्रदेश में रहते हैं और आन्ध्र आपको प्रिय है, यह ठीक है लेकिन आन्ध्र कहाँ है? आन्ध्र तो भारत का एक भाग है, एक प्रदेश है, सारा भारत आपका प्रदेश है, आप कहीं, यहाँ हमारे देश में स्वराज्य आया तो आन्ध्र में स्वराज्य नहीं आया? सारे भारत में स्वराज्य आया, उसमें आन्ध्र भी था और महाराष्ट्र भी था और सारे प्रदेश थे। तो हमारा सारा देश तो एक साथ है, जो कुछ भला हमारे देश का होगा वह हम सभी का भला है, जो बुरा होगा देश का वह सारे प्रदेशों के लिए बुरा है। आप कहीं बाहर जाइये भारत के तो आपको एक-एक यात्रा पत्र ले जाना होता है, उसमें क्या लिखा होता है? उसमें यह नहीं कोई लिखता है कि आप आन्ध्र से आये हैं या बंगाल से या मद्रास से, उसमें होता है यह आदमी नागरिक है भारत का, यह लिखा होता है। और इसीलिए जहाँ-जहाँ आप जायें और देशों में वहाँ आपका आदर होगा कि आप भारत से आये हैं, उनको नहीं मालूम होगा कि आप किस प्रदेश से आये हैं क्योंकि भारत एक चीज़ है और भारत हमें प्रिय है। इसीलिए जब भारत के एक दूर के कोने पर चीन की फ़ौजों ने आक्रमण किया तो हमें चोट लगी, हालांकि हम यहाँ से एक हज़ार, दो हज़ार मील दूर हैं, फिर भी हमें चोट लगी क्योंकि भारत तो एक शरीर है, उसके अलग-अलग अंग हैं। तो हमेशा यह याद रखना है कि हर बात भारत के लिए करनी है, उससे हमारे प्रदेश को भी फ़ायदा होता है और यह भी याद रखनी है कि भारत के सब लोग, जो कोई हों, चाहे किसी प्रदेश में हों, चाहे किसी धर्म को मानने वाले हों, चाहे किसी भाषा के बोलने वाले हों, उन सभी को मिलकर एकता में रहना है क्योंकि सब भारत के हिस्सेदार हैं और यह नहीं कि हमें एक अधिक हिस्सा है भारत में किसी और से। आप यहाँ रहते हैं, आपका, हिमालय पहाड़ आपके हैं, आपका

काश्मीर है, आपके और जो उत्तर के इलाक़े हैं जैसे उत्तर के रहने वालों को, आपका इलाक़ा उनके ही [आपके इलाक़े उनके भी] हैं, यह सब मिलजुल के होता है और हमें मिलजुल के रहना है चाहे हम हिन्दू हों, मुसलमान हों, ईसाई हों, कोई हों, हम सब भारत माता के पुत्र और पुत्री हैं, यह बात याद रखनी है। अगर हम याद रखें, ठीक-ठीक से रहें तब भारत की उन्नति होगी और तरक्की होगी और हम भारत से ऊँच-नीचता हटा देंगे। [तालियाँ]

याद रखिए आप सब कि हम कहाँ जा रहे हैं? हम जिस यात्रा पर हैं? वह कहाँ हमें पहुँचायेगी? हमारी मंज़िल क्या है? हमारी मंज़िल यह है कि भारत के सब लोग खुशहाल हों, कि भारत में सब पुरुष, स्त्री, बच्चों को मौक़ा मिले तरक्की का, कोई भूखा न हो, किसी के पास कपड़े की कमी न हो, घर सभों को हों, पढ़ाई सभों की हो, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध हो और काम का प्रबंध हो। ऐसी हम समाज बनाना चाहते हैं, जिसको हम समाजवाद कहते हैं, उसके सिद्धांतों पर चल के और ऊँच-नीच न हो। हमारे यहाँ बहुत दिन से जातिभेद है, जातिभेद ने बहुत हमें हानि पहुँचाई है, ऊँच-नीच बहुत कर दी है, हरेक जाति के लोग चाहते हैं कि हम ही ऊँचे रहें, हम बड़े हैं और इस तरह से देश के टुकड़े कर देते हैं, एक-एक जाति एक छोटा देश हो जाता है, यह अच्छी बात नहीं है। हमें तो, सब एक हमारी जाति है, वह भारत में रहने की, वह बहुत खास हैं, दूसरी जाति है संसार में रहने की। एक समय आयेगा शायद जब संसार के रहने वाले बराबर कि, एक-दूसरे की सहायता करेंगे, लेकिन कम से कम हमें अपने देश को तो एक समझना चाहिए और जातिभेद को निकालना है, इससे ऊँचता-नीचता होती है, हम नहीं चाहते हमारे देश में हो। और हमें, जो महात्मा गांधी ने हमें सिद्धांत बताये हैं उनको याद रखने हैं, उन्हीं को याद रख के, उन्हीं पर चल के हमें स्वराज्य मिला और अब स्वराज्य को सम्भालने के लिए और आगे बढ़ने के लिए उनको हमें याद रखना है और उनसे बहक नहीं जाना है।

बस, अब जो कुछ मुझे इस समय आपसे कहना था उसका मैं अन्त करता हूँ और मैं आशा करता हूँ और मुझे विश्वास है कि इस योजना से आपको बहुत लाभ पहुँचेगा, आन्ध्र को पहुँचेगा और देश को पहुँचेगा। आपने एक हमारी पुरानी नदी जिसका हम इतना क़दर करते हैं, आदर करते हैं उसका और आप उससे काम ले रहे हैं, मुझे पूरी आशा है कि गोदावरी नदी आपकी पूरी सहायता करेगी और आपको आशीर्वाद देगी। मेरे साथ तीन बार जयहिन्द कहिए।

जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द! जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters and Brothers,

There are huge rivers in India, historic rivers. As you know right at the top, you have the Ganga, Yamuna, Brahmaputra, and the Sindhu river from which the name Hind was derived. Then there are Narmada, Godavari, Krishna, Kaveri and innumerable other rivers. These rivers have played a very big role in our history. They are held in great respect because they benefit the people endlessly.

You will find that great cities and centers of civilisation have arisen on the banks of the rivers all over India. This is what history tells us. Irrigation canals were built and the river waters were utilised. But in the present day, it has become more than ever necessary to take full advantage of the river waters. The canals must supply water to the fields. Secondly we must generate electricity from the river waters. Electricity is extremely important for industries and various other things. In this way, the river waters can be fully utilised and the people will benefit.

Ever since we got freedom fifteen to sixteen years ago, we have been concerned that India should progress and the miseries of the people must be alleviated. There was only one way to do it and that is by increasing the national wealth. What is wealth? Gold and silver and currency are tools of trade. Real wealth consists of the goods produced from land, industries and other handicrafts. Any consumer goods that we produce constitutes wealth. Their arrangements have to be made for the equitable distribution of that wealth so that it does not remain in a few pockets.

This was the problem that we were confronted with when we became free. So we looked around for methods of increasing the wealth of the nation. Wealth could be produced from land or industries. Two things were necessary for this. One was to build canals to supply the river waters to the fields for irrigation so that the farmer did not have to depend on the monsoons. Secondly, we had to generate power which is needed for industries and can be used for agriculture and handicrafts too. New avenues of work would open up and wealth will be produced. So we drew up the Five Year Plans and have implemented the First and the Second Plans. We are on the Third Plan now. Various things come under these plans. But the most urgent priority is to increase agricultural production by building canals and producing electricity, etc. So we took up these tasks and wherever these projects have come up, they have proved extremely beneficial.

We reached one major destination when India became independent. We had to immediately embark upon yet another journey because we wanted to bring prosperity to the country, put an end to the nation's poverty and provide opportunity to everyone for progress. It was not enough for a handful of people to progress while the rest remained backward. We wanted to build a society in which there would be equal opportunities for everyone. Everyone cannot be exactly alike. But once there is equality of opportunity every individual can progress as far as his ability permits. We set up the Planning Commission with all this in mind. The work has been going on for the last fifteen years. There has been considerable progress. But a great deal remains to be done. We have to provide education to every single boy and girl in the country. We need educated and trained doctors and engineers. The more qualified the people are,

the greater the progress in the country will be. We need power to run the big industries. It can be utilised for agriculture too. Therefore we took up huge river valley projects all over the country under which water has been supplied to thousands of acres of land. Food production has increased considerably. We must keep it up. The struggle for freedom is over. But we are now engaged in a great battle, the battle against poverty and unemployment. We have to build a strong and prosperous India in which all the people are well off. It is a gigantic task because there are forty-four crores of people living in India. We have taken it up and gradually making progress. I am sure that we will succeed in it. We have to continue to wage a war on poverty.

Last year another war descended on us when the Chinese launched an attack on our borders. Defence of the country is of course the first priority. So we are making all efforts to be fully prepared. Two burdens have descended upon India. One was the old one of fighting against poverty and now the Chinese attack. We have to carry both the burdens for we cannot drop one or the other. If we fail to defend the country against external aggression, our freedom will be in jeopardy. On the other hand, if we fail to remove poverty, freedom will be meaningless. Therefore we have to carry both the burdens because half done tasks are no good to anyone. We have to succeed in both the tasks. So we are carrying on the tasks of development all over the country in spite of the Chinese aggression.

I have come here today to inaugurate this project on the Godavari. Yesterday I had inaugurated another project on the Krishna.²⁷⁶ We must continue to implement these projects in order to make India strong and increase production of wealth in the country. As I said, the project on the Krishna river will enable us to generate a great deal of power. Today we are starting this project on the Godavari. Both of them are part of our war against poverty and our success in them will contribute to the strength of the whole country.

Well, we are starting this auspicious task here in Pochampad on the Godavari river. [Applause] You are assembled here from far and wide to be present on this auspicious occasion. I am happy to be present here and participating in this task with all of you.

The farmers of Andhra are good people, strong and hard working. They produce a great deal from land. Their average yield per acre is pretty good compared to the national average. But it must be increased further. We do not produce even one-fourth of what other countries do. We must increase agricultural production by providing water for irrigation using good implements and ploughs and new techniques of production. We can increase production

276. See fn 275 in this section.

enormously which will benefit the whole country. One of the causes of our poverty is that we do not produce enough from land. If we apply new scientific techniques of production and use new tools and implements and fertilisers, we can produce double or more of what we produce now. The people of Andhra must do so particularly because they are intelligent workers. I hope you will take up this task and benefit by it and serve the country in the process.

A nation's progress depends on the hard work and intelligence of the people. We cannot progress by giving speeches. We must work hard and at the same time, it should be intelligent, planned work. New techniques and tools must be used. If you use outdated ploughs they will not help much. But above all, what is required is hard work. Some people do not seem to realise this. Nothing in this world is achieved without hard work.

So we have embarked on this new journey towards prosperity. Wherever I go in Andhra Pradesh I see signs of progress. We are taking a major step in Andhra Pradesh by this project on the Godavari. I congratulate you. I hope all of you will benefit by it. [Applause] But this project will benefit the people of India as a whole. As your Chief Minister mentioned just now, there was an argument between Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh over this project which is now resolved. But we must understand that any step like this in one state benefits the whole country. You live in Andhra and have great love for it. But Andhra is after all a part of India. The whole of India is yours. Independence was for the whole of India, including Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and other states. We are all equal shareholders in anything good or bad that happens in the country. When we go abroad, we go as the citizens of India. It is engraved on our passports. Nobody is concerned whether you come from Andhra, Bengal or Madras. We are respected in other countries as citizens of India. India is one nation and all of us love our motherland. Therefore when the Chinese forces attacked in one corner of India, the whole country suffered a great shock even two thousand miles away. The body politic of India is one. So we must always remember this and no matter what we do, it must be for the benefit of the whole country. We must also bear in mind that unity among the people of India is extremely important irrespective of the differences in language, way of life, province or religion. Everyone has equal rights in India. Though you live here, you have an equal right to Kashmir, the Himalayas and the North and vice versa. We must live in amity whether we are Hindus, Muslims, Christians or something else. We are all sons and daughters of India. If we remember this, India will progress and we can remove the disparities which exist today. [Applause]

Please bear in mind the journey that we have embarked upon and the goal, we have set before ourselves. Our goal is the prosperity of India, equal opportunities for every man, woman and child in the country. We want to ensure

that everyone gets the basic necessities of life like food, clothing, housing education, healthcare and means of livelihood. We want to build a socialist pattern of society and reduce the disparity between the haves and have-nots. The caste system has done great harm to India in the past by creating disparities. The country was fragmented and divided into various compartments which is not a good thing. All of us belong to one caste, that of Indians and secondly to the whole of humanity. Perhaps a time will come when the people of the world will all become equal and help one another. But at the moment we must get rid of the caste system and inequalities from our country. We do not want them to continue in India. We must remember the lessons taught by Mahatma Gandhi which led to freedom. We cannot afford to give them up now.

All right, now I will finish what I had to say. I hope that this project will benefit the people of Andhra and the whole country. We are beginning an auspicious task on an ancient river of ours. I am sure that the Godavari will help you and bless you in your efforts. Please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

73. In Hyderabad: Address to Houses of Legislature²⁷⁷

Mr Chairman,²⁷⁸ Mr Speaker²⁷⁹ and Friends,

You have heard an eloquent eulogy of me from the Speaker. It is very kind of him to say all that he said, but it has rather put me off the track because I had hoped that we had not met here merely to praise each other but perhaps to consider the problems we have to face in the country and how best to do so. Let us be clear of what we have done and what we are supposed to do and problems that face us. I think it would not be untrue to say, looking at our record for the last fifteen to sixteen years, that we have a large number of creditable achievements to our credit. Comparing our country to any of the countries round about in

277. Speech, 27 July 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10807 Part I, 10806 Part II, NM No. 1902, 1903.

Nehru was speaking at a reception given by the Chairman of the Legislative Council and Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

Tape incomplete; however, a summary of this speech, with excerpts, along with a report on his speech at a public meeting, may be found in item 74.

p. 1 col. 1 and p. 7. col. 7.

278. M. Hanumantha Rao.

279. B.V. Subba Reddy.

Asia, we stand rather out. There have been many changes, *coups d'état* and such like happenings in the other countries, military dictatorships and the like. But we have carried on, in spite of occasional shouting at each other, in peace, and according to our Constitution. That seemed to be a humdrum way of living no doubt. But it is no small achievement to have done so. At any rate, an outsider who looks at India and looks at other countries round about, is impressed by this fact alone, apart from what we have done.

We must remember that democracy, which we profess, has not had a very substantial growth in most countries. Even in Europe, even in Western Europe, it is rather limited and even there it is undergoing, possibly, some changes. The kind of democracy which we established was largely taken from the British, partly from the Americans, because we are a federation and the American Federation gave us some ideas but the parliamentary form of government that we took was essentially British. To imagine that this is automatically the right thing to do, does not necessarily follow, because it has not succeeded in many other places and one does not quite know what the future will show about it in other countries. In India we have, I think by and large, succeeded. I dare not say that we shall succeed always, but we have succeeded and laid fairly strong foundations. Because, essentially the parliamentary form of democracy is based certainly on laws and conventions, and the law of the Constitution, but much more so on conventions, much more so on the behavior of the people who participate, because the best of constitutions can collapse if the people who function under it do not behave properly as has happened elsewhere. So, we have always to be alert and to see that wrong tendencies do not get hold of us.

Now we stand for democracy and we stand for socialism, not necessarily in any doctrinaire type but some basic principles of socialism we stand for. Therefore we stand for democratic socialism. I do not know if all of you sitting here would care to join me in saying that we stand for democratic socialism or perhaps some of you do not. But broadly speaking, even the parties in India which may differ in some ways, say that they stand for democratic socialism, some do not. Now, it is important that we should be clear about what we stand for. Because unless we are clear about that, we get into difficulties at every step, we might get into difficulties.

Take another thing—foreign policy. What do we stand for? Well, broadly we stand for peace and friendship among nations, we stand for the end of colonialism and all that and in standing for all that we stand for what is called non-alignment. That is, not attaching ourselves to a power bloc. By attaching ourselves to a military bloc, we may gain some advantages but we also gain a great deal of disadvantages and our capacity to work for peace is tremendously affected thereby. This true non-alignment, broadly speaking, has been accepted

by nearly every party of the country, not all so to say. Some accepting it, do not go to its logical conclusions and want us to follow non-alignment in some kind, literally and not really in spirit. Also things happen which put great pressure upon us and which make us do something or the other, which make people doubt if we are as non-aligned as we say we are. All these problems arise and have arisen recently.

In the larger stage of the world we live, as you all know, in extraordinarily revolutionary times, revolutionary in a basic sense, I do not mean it is riotous times, but times which are changing the shape of things, the way people live, that is a real revolution, that changes the texture of our lives, chiefly due, principally due, to technological changes. Technology and science are changing the world we live in before our eyes. It is quite extreme, we do not perhaps realise it, we live in it, we see small changes, coming in step by step, we are accustomed to it. Although India is still backward in technological improvements, but we take them for granted, but as a matter of fact if I look back, for instance, the last fifty years of my life, it is surprising what has happened in these fifty years, in the way of changes all over the world, even in India of course, but all over the world and the pace of change is becoming greater every year. We do not get much excited about it, we read about cosmonauts and astronauts going round and round the world, and somebody aiming at the moon and somebody at Mars, we take it in our stride. Nobody is excited about it. The way some things which appear to us most extraordinary become common. It shows that how we adapt ourselves to these changing conditions of our minds and something that might appear to be almost magical, is common place today. But the whole point is that the world is changing very rapidly and because the world is changing, the conditions of life are changing, with it. Science and technology are changing tremendously, that affects us too.

In India there is another aspect, an important aspect that we have always to bear in mind, the growth of population which is having and will have lasting effects on us. Because it is a conceivable possibility and some people threaten us with that, that this growth of population may overwhelm us in India and upset all our calculations. It is a possibility. I do not think it is a probability. But it is a possibility. Anyhow, we have to be aware of that and when all these big things are happening, one has to fit them in with the chart of progress which we make, which we are going to do in the country.

Obviously, everybody will agree, almost everybody, that we have to provide a good life to all our citizens, to all our people. A good life—we may argue what a good life is—but essentially a good life means certain material advantages that everybody should have, enough food, enough clothing, a house to live in, education, health services and work. Now, these are rational things everyone

should have. In order to give all these things, how do you do that? We can only do that by producing the wherewithal to provide these good things. We do not go about giving them by loans or doles, from outside and to produce the wealth for it. So we come back to production. And can only produce them by applying modern methods of science, technology, etc. to do that. There is no other way of doing it. In fact the only countries in the world which appear to be prosperous today are countries which have advanced technologically and scientifically and thereby increased their wealth production tremendously. There is no other way as far as I can see. So we have to.

We need not copy any country. We need not copy America or Russia or England or France, but there are certain things common to them. What is common between America and the Soviet Union? They quarrel a great deal with each other, they have great armaments and all that, they are armed against each other. Here may I say how we are all very happy at the accord that has been reached between America, the Soviet Union and the UK about the test bans, because it is really a very big thing. By itself it may not be so big, because the world remains as it is. The armed countries remain as they are. But still, it has taken years and years to get at this. It does show a certain change in the atmosphere of the world that this should happen and we must congratulate them and hope that this first step will be carried out. Now I am saying that all these countries which argue about ideologies and the rest, take the two chief countries, United States and the Soviet Union. They may argue and get red in the face about capitalism or communism. There may be differences of course, there should be, there is no reason why they should be alike.

But what I mean, the chances are that they need not quarrel about these differences, they can live their lives and learn from each other. There is every chance that might happen, because for the first time in human history, science and technology have in theory and practice somewhat solved the problem of abolishing poverty. Before the last hundred years you might say, it was said the poor are always with us; there is no help for it, we cannot get rid of them. We tried to satisfy our conscience by giving doles to some, largesse to somebody else; we have poor houses and orphanages and what not, horrid words. I think the very concept of poor house, for instance, some people imagine is a great thing, is a disgusting word to me. As for orphanages and the like, it is equally disgusting, fancy labelling children who are there, orphans all the time, something they remember, that they are living in orphanages. You see the whole concept is wrong. Instead of growing up as healthy children, they have to remember always that they are orphans and outside the normal social group. However, it really was a great difficult thing in the old times for poverty

to be conquered. Although there is one advantage: that the population was presumably much less.

In India we read of Ramraj. With all respect to Ramraj, people forget that at the time of Ramraj the population of India was probably hundreds of times smaller than it is today. Large parts of India were forests mostly, there was no lack of land, there was plenty of land, any hard working person could take land. They produced enough to eat, they did work enough for themselves, they may not have lived a very luxurious life. But there was enough for all because there were few people relatively, but then and whenever they increased above a certain number famines came to arrest and get the number down. Now the population has increased greatly all over the world and is increasing at a terrific pace and we have to face this problem of population increase. But at the same time, greater than the population increase is the increase in the world's knowledge of producing things that an increased population requires—food or clothing or anything. For the first time, we can show by a mathematical formula that the poverty of the world can all be solved provided we work, not by sitting at home, provided we work and cooperate and do not waste our substance in wars and the like. In fact the world's productive capacity is so great that you have seen that most terrible wars, the last two wars, the last two great wars have destroyed Europe very greatly, they destroyed parts of Asia and yet in ten years the countries that had been destroyed were flourishing again, whether it is Germany or Russia or Japan. It is extraordinary. Those countries that were down and out, in ten to twelve years after the war, thanks to their productive capacity, were flourishing and powerful.

So that for the first time, the world has got the means of solving all these problems of poverty, disease, etc., provided we set about it the right way and take advantage of the knowledge the world possesses in science, production, technology, etc. So what ills are there? What comes in our way? We ourselves are, our lack of knowledge, our capacity to work together or our laziness comes in our way, in every country's way, and the countries which can get over these, can go ahead. Japan is an extraordinary example how deliberately they got over all their feudal regime, relics and habits and built themselves up. Even so, it took them a long time.

This kind of thing does not happen by some kind of magic, it takes time. But having built yourself up to a certain stage, even vast scale destruction does not matter, provided the trained human beings are there. It is that that counts, because Russia, Germany or Japan after the last war, in spite of tremendous losses, had those trained human beings and capacity to work hard that they have built themselves up again. And it is not the building that counts, the palaces and buildings, but the human trained human beings that count ultimately. The

buildings will be put up by human beings but we cannot produce trained human beings out of nothing. Out of material which is not good enough or widespread enough, the most important thing ultimately in the country is the trained human being, and I lay stress on the trained human beings, all your vast crowd of functionaries need not necessarily be trained at all. Of course, they may be graduates and MAs and they get their jobs when they pass examinations and they are useful in their own way but today the trained human being is a person specialised in training. A good engineer is on the whole more important than a general trained man, although they are also important. An administrator is important but we seem to be in the habit of thinking that the administrator does everything. He does not and he is a nuisance. He is merely an administrator and does not know any special jobs. So stress is going to the specialised persons more and more. The specialised person on the other hand may be very good at his own speciality but has no wider culture. It is extraordinary to come across a very good engineer who knows nothing about the world apart from engineering, or a good doctor, but the wider culture may be lacking. So we have to strike a balance between these two.

Now obviously in India one thing forces itself down our throat and that is raising the mass level, giving them first of all the absolute necessities of life. The problems in Europe or America or in Russia are somewhat different. They have survived the initial effort to give the necessities of life to their people. Everybody has more or less, they are seeking to raise them, and in raising them they are facing entirely new sets of problems. In America the problem is of what to do with one's leisure; with automation they can produce as much as they are producing and more with half the labour force. What is to be done with the rest, the remaining half. These are not our problems and they will not be our problems for—I do not know—may be a couple of generations or more. I do not know, we need not bother about it. But it is interesting to see how the affluent society which they have produces new problems of different types. That is why it is rather dangerous for us to judge our problems with examples taken from Europe or America because those examples do not fit in our state of affairs today. We have to build up our own economics and understand our problems in our context not in the European or the American or the Russian context.

But one thing is clear, that our job is first of all to provide the basic necessities of life to our people. You make a list of them but the absolute necessities are food, good clothing, housing, education, health and work. Work is essential. The work produces all those things. How has that to be done? It may be done, some people thought it could be done by leaving everybody to do what he liked, everybody wants to do something for oneself and self-interest or selfish desire to do something for himself, it was thought, will lead

to a general improvement. Everybody being selfish by himself, somehow that total amount of selfishness worked for the public good. That is the idea. That idea is not held by so many people as it used to be, and leaving everything to chance and to the selfish urges of man more particularly now, there are so many other forces at play which come in the way of logical and proper growth that we are forced, and every country is forced, more or less to plan. It is natural, if you want to achieve something you want to do it in the best possible way. We do not leave it to chance. Suppose we have war. In war you fight for your survival, a country fights for its survival. It dare not take any chances, it does not fight with a laissez-faire attitude. Let every man fight, let everyman do his best. You have to plan the war. You have the general staff to plan carefully. You have to provide these war needs. You cannot take for granted that everything will work themselves. No country could survive in war time if they follow that policy. No country does. You have the strictest controls and all kinds of things if war comes. That is, we have to face real difficulties, and you have to do it. But when the difficulties are not so obvious, not so urgent, then we slip back. In any event any country which has to cover a great deal of ground quickly, there is no other way and I repeat, there is no other possible way except planning.

Now what the plan may be is a different matter. It is for opinion. But planning means a logical scientific and organised approach to our objective, and I cannot conceive how any intelligent person can oppose it. Yet some people do. It is beyond me to explain their minds' working except to think that they associate these, with all kinds of things, demons and other things that they dislike, but it is inevitable that we plan. Differences might arise as to how one plans, what one should plan, but the fact of planning is essential, absolute and unavoidable.

In India we plan for what? We plan for greater production of course, greater agricultural production, industrial production. In a sense industry is essential to raise our standards and increase our production, but in order to increase industrially, we have to increase agriculturally and you come back to the basic thing in India, that is agriculture. I am all for industry, I am all for steel plants and this and that, but I do say agriculture is far more important than any industry. Because, it is out of the success of agriculture that industry comes. If you fail in agriculture, you have no way to stand upon. Where do you get the wherewithal to have industry? It is out of the surplus from agricultural production, that you do it and therefore it has become of the utmost importance that agriculture should flourish and should produce the goods and surpluses. Now, the thing is so obvious but yet somehow or the other, it does not seem to have caught the imagination of everybody. The first thing we did, it is an essential thing, was land reform. Now land reform was done and yet even today land reform is not

complete yet. It is a very sad thing. How having made a big spurt we slowed down and it may be necessary to examine this, why we have slowed down in many states and many of the good states, but we have slowed down.

The other day, we had a competent expert whom the Ford Foundation sent, a gentleman of the name Ladejinsky.²⁸⁰ I think the name is correct. He was sent specially to examine the Package programmes which are functioning through the help of the Ford Foundation and specially again to examine how far the tenurial system, of tenants—what the tenants are like, what is their condition. This is the man on whose advice, land reforms in Japan were undertaken by the Americans who were there. And on the whole, they have been remarkably successful in Japan, the land reforms system. Well, he has written a report which is not very encouraging about India, for various reasons, and I hope that report will be available to most of you. At present I believe it is treated as a dead secret thing, why I do not know. I think he came to Andhra Pradesh too on this trip, in Andhra Pradesh, West Godavari is the only district, he examined, six or seven districts in the whole of India. In Andhra Pradesh it was West Godavari I remember, in Madras it was Tanjore and so on, in other parts in UP and other places. He had many good things to say. But it is surprising to find that after all these talks on land reforms for such a long time, we have these tenants there with no security, still in great parts of the country. In fact there is no way of proving even that they have any right. They can be pushed out at any time. I was actually amazed.

Even now, you know that probably of all the States in India, I think the highest income, per capita income, is that of the Punjab. Punjab is a relatively prosperous State. It is prosperous in its agriculture, it is prosperous in its industries, especially small and middle size industries and it is essentially prosperous. Why? Because they are hardworking people. They work hard and they work with their hands, whether it is agriculture or whether it is small industry. They have not got the mentality of sitting at a desk, as babus and what not. But they are good mechanics. Punjab has got hardly any major industry, public or private sector, but Punjab has got scores of thousands of small industries, and the extraordinary thing is that the hundreds of thousands and millions of Punjabis who came after the Partition to India from Pakistan, have done well, remarkably well, because they are hard workers and they prospered and wherever they had gone, they have established themselves. If they had gone to a town in the UP that town is changed in its appearance. It has become prosperous. It was a slow moving town before, but after the advent

280. Wolf Ladejinsky. See appendix 29.

of the Punjab it was full of life. This man Ladejinsky, he went, he examined one district Ludhiana there, and he criticised it again from his point of view that the tenancy laws were bad. Although he recognised that there were very few tenants there, relatively, the great majority are not tenants. But still such of them, but he told me it was an exciting thing to go to Ludhiana district. He felt what he had felt many years ago when he was in Midwest America, the strong impact of the industrial revolution coming, the place changing and the industrial revolution changing it. There is nothing new in Punjab except that people worked hard, that is all.

Change is happening all over India but to a greater or lesser degree. But there is no doubt about it in Punjab. I am only talking about Punjab because I have read about it recently. Even in the South there are places where this industrial revolution is coming in at a fair speed. So we are going through this changing period and how we are to expedite it, to hasten it, and preserve the basic things that we stand for. After all, life is something more than merely eating and clothing oneself, etc. and has some other values. But those other values do not come into the picture unless you have enough to eat and other things. You cannot have a starving person talking about cultural values and the rest, we have to give him food. So that is our problem today. Maybe ten years later, twenty years later, our problems will be different. They will change the changing society. In Europe, I have known Europe now, well, getting on to 56 years, more than half a century, when I first went there. Whenever I go there again to England or France, I see the rapid changes that are taking place in their social make-up and they are changing rapidly and it is difficult to say whether the change is for the better; in some respects it is not for the better, in some respects it is.

We have to face these changes in India and elsewhere. In India perhaps more of course, we have to get out of centuries of static conditions and the change is going to be greater. We have to adapt ourselves to it and to think how to behave in the future. Now in adapting ourselves to it, one of the essential things is a certain basic stable administrative governmental structure. If the Government is changing all the time, as we see it has been the case in the other countries round about India, there is hardly anybody in those countries who survived many years. The whole constitution is changing, military rule or something. It becomes difficult to settle down, to progress to any definite extent. One of the values in India has been regardless of our ability or lack of ability, but we have in the last fifteen years, given more or less a stable administration in India, although that administration has been often not up to the mark, there will be many things to criticise but it has functioned, it has not broken down, with the result that we have moved, I believe moved considerably.

In our planning, you can criticise everything, planning, you can criticise in many ways but the fact that we plan and try to plan is itself a great thing, and something moves on. Therefore, we have had an essential basis with us, we can improve it greatly and it is necessary we improve it. Nowadays, we hear a great deal about corruption. Of course, corruption is a kind of thing which can destroy any set up. It is bad from every point of view, morally, ethically, administratively, anything, and we must try to put a stop to it completely. Whether it is any kind of corruption, nepotism and the like though I must say that in India this cry of corruption and criticism has become a major industry.

I remember an American who came here some years ago, you may have seen his criticism. He was an expert in governmental procedures. I forget his name now. He came about seven or eight years ago to report. He was invited by us then, he came two years later, three or four times he came and he criticised many of our governmental procedures and said that we are too tied up with the past, with British times. We could not get out of them. We were slow moving, as in British times when there were no social changes taking place. Now that we are aiming at social changes, it is out of place, this bureaucratic procedure of ours, he criticised it. I think his criticism was right and right even today; although we have made some changes, it is even right today. But he said, one of the most flourishing industries he found in India was criticism of Government, of everybody, even Government supporters.²⁸¹ It is right. There should be criticism but the abundant way in which this was supplied in India was astonishing. It is true and I think it is good to have criticism, I think it is essential in any kind of Government to have the critic, the opposition, that keeps the Government up to the mark and points out many things which are not visible to Government. But one can overdo that kind of thing, and it appears to me it is somewhat overdone, not criticism, but the spirit of running down possibly for political reasons, possibly for other reasons. It is very easy to criticise. I think each one of you can sit down and criticise much that is happening in India. I can certainly and I often criticise it in public too. But when I have seen the whole picture I do not mind criticism. But one rather unfortunate tendency that one sees gradually taking shape is not criticism, but a certain lack of decency in our public life.

That is a very unfortunate thing, apart from the fact that that reduces the level of our work very greatly and introduces an element which degrades us, our institutions, our Parliament, our Assemblies. You know in our Parliament and Assemblies there are all kinds of rules, you have to normally use certain courteous phraseology, the honourable member and the learned member and this and that. That does not mean that the other member is an dishonourable

281. This refers to Paul Appleby.

person. But all these are deliberately put in to keep the temper of the House low and not start cursing each other as sometimes we do. And they are good. There is in the British Parliament, I forget now, I think there is some distance between the Government benches and the opposition benches. I was told that that distance was deliberately put, in the older days, so they may not be too near to each other and to hit each other. But all these phrases, fine phrases and fine customs of the Speaker, the decorum which the Speaker seeks and ought to get, all these are to discipline ourselves and conduct our business, even if in some archaic way occasionally, but to decency.

Now some people ask, why all these formulas which have no meaning. It has a very great meaning, if it helps us to preserve decency and decent behaviour, and is observed. Sometimes the Speaker is forced to order out somebody, some member, but this may happen in the best regulated parliaments. But it is nevertheless unfortunate because you must, if you are in Parliament, listen to those speakers, otherwise you cannot function. Otherwise there is confusion, there is chaos. That is what is happening, there is certain chaotic tendency. I will not go into details but you can yourself see this kind of thing happening which is very bad I think. I can find no other word for it, a certain tendency which you know very well which existed in Europe and played havoc in Europe, it is a purely fascist tendency that is visible to some extent, it does not grow very greatly but this is visible to some extent and that is a bad thing. Even outside the legislature also democracy is likely to fail and has failed in Europe because of those tendencies coming up. Because one act which may be called fascistic inciting the other party to behave in the same way and so both parties lower themselves, the whole country is lowered thereby and democracy goes to pieces.

Therefore I should like you to be wary of such developments. I am not afraid of the future. I think we shall pull through whatever happens but the fact remains we have very difficult problems. Our major problems are the problems of economic growth.

[The recording seems incomplete]

74. In Hyderabad: Public Meeting and Address to Legislators²⁸²

Nehru alerts Nation
No room for complacency in face of fresh Chinese menace
Country facing Danger on two fronts

(From our Correspondent)

Hyderabad, July 27 – The Prime Minister, Mr Nehru, said here today there were reports of Chinese concentration on India's northern border in the past two or three days.

The developments reported to have taken place on the border were full of menace and "We have to be prepared", Mr. Nehru added.

The Prime Minister said that the possibility of China attacking India could not be ruled out.

He said that the country was to-day passing through a testing period and they were faced with threats from two borders—the Chinese and Pakistan.

A lakh of people listened to Mr Nehru, who devoted his speech to the Chinese threat and Pakistan.

The Prime Minister warned the nation to be alert and prepared for any eventuality.

Mr Nehru criticised the new-found friendship between China and Pakistan, and said that what bound these two countries was said hatred against India. Pakistan he said had been a member of the SEATO, for which China had utter contempt. "Now the two countries have come together, sitting in one another's lap and making love and friendship", he said, amidst laughter.

China's Habit

While India was on the march towards economic progress, China, with whom India had friendly relations committed aggression. The Chinese brothers had been in the habit of fighting. Now, they have begun to fight with Russia, because the latter was friendly towards India and helped us."

Mr Nehru said India was grateful to the US and Britain for supply of arms.

India had radar but not so highly sophisticated as those now sought to be installed. The new radar would be very useful in keeping track of the movements of enemy aircraft. Thus they would be very helpful in defence operations and

282. Report of speech, 27 July 1963. Reproduced from *The Hindu*, 29 July 1963, p. 1 col. 1 and p. 7 col. 7.

that was why India had agreed to the joint exercises. The radar being a very complicated equipment, our personnel needed training to handle them, he said.

The Prime Minister said that during the joint air exercises, the radar would be installed in cities vulnerable to air attack and later taken away by the countries who supplied them. Subsequently India would import the radar.

He referred to the plans for increasing irrigation facilities and power in the country and said now atomic energy was the symbol of the modern world. India had made it clear that they would use atomic power only for peaceful purposes and would not manufacture atom bombs. In the matter of atomic energy work, India was preceded only by five or six countries. China too showed interest in atomic power. It was no surprise and after sometime, they might be even in a position to make a nuclear test. India need not be frightened at this, because it might take ten years for China to manufacture atom bombs for war purposes.

Agitations Deplored

Mr Nehru called upon the people to put an end to all petty quarrels.

He denounced the proposed opposition agitations and demonstrations on the issue of rise in prices and increased takes and warned the people not to be carried away by such moves.

Despite occasional showers the crowd, estimated at over one lakh heard the Prime Minister with rapt attention.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee. The Chief Minister of Madras Mr K. Kamaraj and Union Minister for Heavy Industries Mr C. Subramaniam who are here on urgent summons from the Prime Minister, were also seated on the rostrum. Mr N. Sanjiva Reddy, State Chief Minister, also addressed the meeting.

The Prime Minister, earlier speaking at a reception given in his honour by the Speaker of the Andhra Legislative Assembly and the Chairman of the Legislative Council, said the Army Chief of Staff, Gen. J. N. Chaudhuri now in the USA, would return to Delhi tomorrow in view of these developments.

Mr Nehru said that in this connection the coming together of China and Pakistan who had nothing in common except, perhaps, hatred towards India, was surprising. India, he said, had all along been trying to be friendly with Pakistan. But Pakistan had not reciprocated.

Mr Nehru asked legislators to keep a right perspective at this moment of danger. There was need to see that people did not get frightened or panicky and were at the same time not complacent.

The Prime Minister in the course of his speech, stressed the need for scientific and technological advancement for banishing poverty.

The Prime Minister praised the concept of planning and its role in raising the standard of living of the masses. He said that people should work hard and double production.

Land Reforms

The Prime Minister said that it was surprising that with all land reforms in the country, there were tenants who had no security.

Mr Nehru said the first thing they did in independent India was to initiate land reforms. “Yet land reform is not complete. It has been slowed down in many of the States. This has to be looked into.”

“The cry of corruption and criticism has become a major industry” in India, Mr Nehru said.

He said that criticism of the Government from everybody including Government supporters was one of the most flourishing industries. These days one heard a great deal about corruption. Favouritism and nepotism were all “so disgusting” and should be put down. It was no doubt good to have criticism but it should not be overdone, Mr Nehru said.

The Prime Minister said that in the last 16 years India had on the whole maintained democracy creditably. “In spite of occasional shouting at each other and the humdrum, we have gone on constitutional lines.

“We have by and large succeeded and laid fairly strong foundations of democracy. Parliamentary democracy is essentially base on constitution and laws, but much more on behavior and conventions. Best of laws might collapse if people did not behave in a democratic spirit.

“We have to see that wrong tendencies do not get hold of us,” he said.

75. In Hyderabad: At the Rifle Shooting and Training School²⁸³

श्री रामकृष्ण राव जी,²⁸⁴ भाइयो और बहनो और बच्चो,
जबसे मुझसे कहा गया यहाँ आने को और मैंने पूछा वहाँ क्या-क्या होगा और मुझे
बतलाया गया कि शुरु होगा मेरे ही इम्तिहान से, ज़रा मैं घबराया, क्या मैं इत्ते सारे लोगों

283. Speech, 28 July 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. No. 10806, NM No. 1902.

See also item 190.

284. Rajya Sabha MP, Congress, from Andhra Pradesh.

के सामने, मैं इम्तिहान में फ़ैल हो जाऊँ तो अच्छी बात नहीं। ख़ैर, इत्तिफ़ाक़ से थोड़ी बहुत कामयाबी हो गयी।

मैं समझता था कि इसके बाद आपके जो सदर हैं रामकृष्ण राव जी, उनका इम्तिहान होगा, लेकिन वो कतरा गये। साहब ने मुझे कहा कि इस फ़न [fun] में हम बहुत पहुँचे हुए नहीं हैं लेकिन औरों को सिखाते हैं। ख़ैर, अच्छा है, इसको आप सीखिए, कोई हर बात सीखनी अच्छी होती है और आजकल आप शायद जानते हैं कि लड़ाई वगैरा में, यह बच्चों के हथियार नहीं चलते हैं, यह तो खेल है, यह कोई लड़ाई की चीज़ नहीं, लेकिन हमारे लोग इत्ते नावाक़िफ़ होते हैं इससे कि इस खेल से ज़रा घबराते हैं, क्योंकि आदी नहीं।

तो यह बिल्कुल घबराहट तो निकलनी चाहिए और सीख लेना चाहिए, शिकार थोड़ा बहुत आप करिए, मामूली। आप लोग जा के शिकार भी खेलते हैं कि नहीं या यों ही अपनी कार्यवाही दिखाते हैं और शिकार भी आजकल ऐसे होता है कि जो बन्दूक वाले होते हैं वो अपने को महफ़ूज़ कर लेते हैं, कोई, उनको कोई ख़तरा नहीं होता, यह ठीक शिकार नहीं। कोई बराबरी का शिकार होता है कुछ, जिसमें कुछ हिम्मत आजमाई हो, उसमें कुछ ख़तरा हो, तो अच्छा होता है, ख़तरे से बहुत डरना ठीक नहीं होता।

ख़ैर, यह तो और तरफ़ ही चला गया है। मुझे खुशी हुई यहाँ आ के खासतौर से इसलिए कि यहाँ बहुत सारे बच्चे हैं और बच्चे ही इसको सीख रहे हैं। मुझे कुछ अच्छा लगता है कि बच्चों में जोश देखकर और फिर क्योंकि आजकल के जो बच्चे हैं वो कल बड़े हो जायेंगे, कोई रुकता नहीं, बढ़ते ही जाते हैं। और कल जो हिन्दुस्तान होगा वो आजकल के बच्चों का होगा, जो बढ़ रहे हैं और अच्छा है कि कुछ तरह-तरह की बातें वे सीखें ताकि हिन्दुस्तान के अच्छे नागरिक हों, सिटीज़न हों और उसकी ख़िदमत कर सकें।

तो बस, मैं तक्रीर करने तो आया नहीं, मुझे उम्मीद है कि आपका वो राइफल ट्रेनिंग जो होती है कामयाब होगी, वह शायद बच्चे-बड़े सीखेंगे और उससे कम से कम डर निकाल देंगे, ऐसे हथियारों का।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Shri Ramakrishna Raoji,²⁸⁵ Sisters, Brothers and Children,
When I was invited to come here, I asked what the programme would be and was told that it would begin with a rifle shooting test for me. I was a little scared lest I should fail in it before so many people. Anyhow, by some strange chance, I have succeeded quite well.

I thought your minister [Sadr in Hindi], Ramakrishna Raoji, would also have to undergo the test. But he got out of it. [Laughter] He says he is no good at this art but only teaches others. Well, it is a good thing to learn, for

285. See fn 284 in this section.

knowledge is good. As you know, nowadays rifles etc, are not used in wars for there are more lethal weapons available. But we are scared of even these childish weapons because we are not used to the sport.

We must root out that fear. You should learn to hunt a little. I do not know if any of you does so. Nowadays, even in shikar, the hunter provides complete safety for himself which is not right. There can be a test of valour only when there is real danger. It is not right to be too scared of danger.

Well, I am wandering from the point. I am happy to be here particularly because there are many children present. It is mostly children who are learning to shoot. I like to see such spirit among the young ones. After all, it is they who will grow up to be the future of India. So it is a good thing that they should learn different things in order to become good citizens of India and serve the nation well.

All right, I am not here to give a lecture. I hope your rifle training will be successful and the young and old who indulge in this sport will get rid of irrational fears.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

Indian National Congress

76. B.V. Keskar's Election²⁸⁶

डा० बाल कृष्ण केस्कर कांग्रेस की ओर से फ़र्रुखाबाद से लोकसभा के लिए उम्मीदवार खड़े हुए हैं। वह एक हमारे पुराने साथी और कांग्रेस के सदस्य रहे हैं और उन्होंने लोकसभा में पहले अच्छा काम किया है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि फ़र्रुखाबाद के वोटर उनकी मदद करेंगे और अपना वोट उनको देंगे। इस तरह से वह कांग्रेस के सिद्धान्तों को मज़बूत करेंगे, और उनके प्रतिनिधि लोक सभा में एक बहुत अच्छे और योग्य पुरुष होंगे।

[Translation begins:

Dr Balkrishna Keskar is standing as Congress candidate from Farrukhabad for the Lok Sabha. He has been an old comrade and a member of the Congress, and he has done useful work in the Lok Sabha in the past. I hope that the voters of

286. Message, 1 May 1963, forwarded to B.V. Keskar, c/o Kali Charan Tandan, President, District Congress Committee, Farrukhabad.

Farrukhabad will assist him and vote for him. In this manner they will strengthen the ideals of the Congress, and their chosen representative in the Lok Sabha will be a good and able person.

Translation ends]

77. Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim's Election²⁸⁷

Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim Sahib²⁸⁸ is the Congress candidate in the bye-election for the Lok Sabha from the Amroha constituency. Hafiz Sahib is an old and tried Congressman who has been a great asset to the nationalist cause both prior to independence and since. He has worked for communal unity and integration throughout his long public career and stood for the larger causes for which the Congress stands.

I hope that the people and electors of Amroha will support Hafizji fully and ensure his return to Parliament where he has played such a distinguished role.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

78. To H.C. Heda: CPP Elections²⁸⁹

May 4, 1963

My dear Heda,

I have received your letter of the 4th May. Vague rumours have reached me about canvassing for these Congress Party elections. As you perhaps know, I have kept away from them completely and spoke at the Executive Committee meeting to this effect, suggesting that people and especially Ministers should avoid this kind of canvassing. I agree with you that this is unfortunate and undesirable. However, I do not think that these elections should be postponed now at the last moment.²⁹⁰

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

287. Appeal, 3 May 1963.

288. Minister of Irrigation and Power, Rajya Sabha MP till 1962.

289. Letter to Congress MP; address: 1 Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi-1.

290. See also item 79.

79. To Satya Narayan Sinha: CPP Elections²⁹¹

May 4, 1963

My dear Satya Narayanji

I enclose a letter from H.C.Heda. What he says in this letter is rather shocking and is entirely opposed to my suggestion at the Executive Committee meeting. I do not know if what Heda says is true.

I am rather distressed by all the rumours and accounts I receive. Anyhow, the elections have to proceed and should not be postponed.²⁹²

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

80. To Raghunath Singh: Rishang Keishing in CPP²⁹³

May 5, 1963

My dear Raghunath Singh,

I enclose a letter from Rishang Keishing.²⁹⁴ It is true that at a meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board today, it was decided to approve of his being taken into the Congress Parliamentary Party. This has already been approved by our Party. So there is no other difficulty in the way and he may be enrolled.

He is evidently anxious to vote at the elections. I do not know if this is possible. If it is, this might be permitted.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

81. To K.K. Shah: Leaking to Press²⁹⁵

May 5, 1963

My dear Shah,

I see a reference in the papers about our talks in the Working Committee yesterday. I suppose some kind of information was given from the AICC

291. Letter to the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.

292. See also item 78.

293. Letter to the Secretary of the CPP.

294. Lok Sabha MP, Socialist, from Outer Manipur.

295. Letter to the General Secretary of the AICC.

Office. I think this is unfortunate. Working Committee meetings should be treated completely as private meetings and no such account should be given out. However careful one might be, this leads to certain embarrassments. I think we should make a regular convention not to say anything about the proceedings of a Working Committee meeting to the press.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

82. To Kamalnayan Bajaj: Congress MPs' Debts²⁹⁶

May 6, 1963

My dear Kamalnayan,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of April 30. During these past few days, I have been terribly busy and unable to deal with my correspondence.

As a matter of fact the matter you have referred to was brought up in the Executive Committee meeting. It was decided that the Members who have taken loans and have paid their instalments to-date should be entitled to vote. This seems to me a fair decision.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

83. In New Delhi: At the CPP²⁹⁷

Far more drift, this year they have met 81 times, nearly double. So also the State Committees have met 98 times. State Committee on law has not met, so far as I am concerned it has done nobody harm by not meeting and if you did not have the Committee on law, it would do no harm either. A Committee which has to meet frequently is dealing with problems like agriculture, food production etc. These are important Committees. Law, that I do not doubt, about the law they have to discuss. Well, as for other some suggestions he has made, I would suggest if you will send them in writing to the Secretaries, then some attention could be paid to them.

296. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address 24, 25 Parliament Street, New Delhi.

297. Speech, 8 May 1963. NMML, Tape No. M-70/c.

Far more drift, one time this year they have met 81 times, nearly double. So also the State Committees have met 98 times. State Committee on law has not met, so far as I am concerned it has done nobody harm by not meeting and if you did not have the Committee on law, it would do no harm either. A Committee which has to meet frequently are dealing with problems like agriculture, food production etc, these are important Committees, Law that I do not doubt about the law they have to discuss. Well, as for other some suggestions he has made, I would suggest if you will send them in writing to the Secretaries, then some attention could be paid to them.

Now do you, are you agreeable to this report being passed.

All right.

Then we come to the Accounts...

आइये, कुछ बी.सी. राय का, फंड का कुछ कह रहे थे। मैंने पूछा, वो है जो रकमें इलेक्शंस के सिलसिले में इलेक्शंस के पहले दी गयी थीं, एडवांसीज [advances], फुटकर रकमें, 100 रुपये, 50 रुपये किसी के रह गये, किसी को दिये, वो छोटी रकमें हैं जो आती जाती रहती हैं।

और क्या खास बात है, वो कहें, मुझे याद नहीं है।

कोई: पचास हजार रुपया नेशनल डिफेंस फंड के लिए और इकट्ठा किया था। तीन लाख पहले दिया था और पचास हजार अब, चेक वो दे देंगे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अरे, रुपया तो हमको दे दें, साढ़े तीन लाख रुपया दिया है। पचास हजार एक रुपया। खैर, बस। अच्छा आप एकाउंट्स को भी मंजूर करते हैं।

कोई: अब अनाउन्स कर दीजिए आफिस बेर्स [bearers] को।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : अभी इलेक्शंस हुए हैं, तो मामूली दस्तूर होता है, अगर आप पसंद करें कि पुरानी कमेटीज़, पुराने आफिस बेर्स [bearers], पुरानी कमेटीज़ जिनका वक्त पूरा हुआ, उनके कुछ उनके काम के निस्बत आप अपनी राय दे दें, अप्रीशीएशन [appreciations] दे दें।

कोई: मिस्टर ठाकुर ओडिटर इज़ हेअर, एस. वैद्यनाथ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: खैर, वो पीछे किया जायेगा। पहले लिख लीजिए कि अप्रीशीएशंस [appreciations] पुराने एक्ज़ीक्यूटिव कमिटी के आफिस बेर्स [bearers] - और एक्ज़ीक्यूटिव कमिटी के लिए।

नाउ, नोमिनेशन ऑफ द चीफ़ व्हिप [whip] अब चीफ़ व्हिप को मैं नोमिनेट करूँ, वो गद्दी पे बैठे हैं, बड़ी मज़बूती से

कोई: पंडितजी, बाक़ी को वो चीफ़ व्हिप [whip] नोमिनेट कर दें।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: नहीं, नहीं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: तो ठीक है ... आपकी बाज़ू से निकल जायें। [Alright,]

कोई: हम लोगों के सामने से निकल जायें।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: अच्छा चीफ़ व्हिप तो सत्य नारायण जी हुए। कुछ शिकायतें मेरे पास भी आयी हैं और वो इसके निस्वत कि वो चुन के क्यों न हो, नोमिनेट क्यों हो। चुन के बा-ख़ुशी हों लेकिन दिक्क़त ये होती है कि एकाध दफ़े जो चुने गये हैं, जब चुने गये उन्होंने अपना चेहरा ही नहीं किसी को दिखाया बाद में, कुछ काम नहीं किया, कुछ नहीं किया। लेकिन मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि जो आपकी स्टेट कमेटीज़ हैं, वो रीजनल ग्रुप का मैं कह रहा हूँ, वो कुछ रेकमन्डेशंस भेज दें, उसपे हम विचार करें और उन्हीं में से चुनें।

कोई: पिछले साल, दो साल हमने किया ऐसे दो साल और नतीजा ये हुआ कि जनरली जो लोग चुन के आये, दो साल रीजनल का हम कहते हैं, भाई वो रीजनल व्हिपस [whips] लोग चुन करके आये हरेक अपनी स्टेट कमेटी की तरफ़ से। दिक्क़त ये हुई कि जनरली आप देखिए कि ऐसे लोग चुन के चले आये, सेक्रेटरी का ऐसे कुछ काम नहीं है वहाँ, दिन-रात उसको प्रेजेंट रहना चाहिए, मौजूद रहना चाहिए, काम करने का। नब्बे प्रसेंट चुन करके जो लोग आये, आप माफ़ कीजिएगा, उन लोगों से, पुराने लोगों से, उनसे कोई इन्टरेस्ट नहीं लिया। तो अब भी हम, हम ज़रूर चाहते हैं कि स्टेट कमेटीज़ - वाले अपना दें, राय करके कुछ एक्टिव काम करने वाला, व्हिप [whip] का कुछ काम थोड़ा सा ऐसा है कि उसको ख़ास तरह के आदमी चाहियें उसके लिए।

Jawaharlal Nehru: Let the State Committees make their recommendations, after them, they shall be chosen.

Now, Appointment of Auditors:-

Our Auditors are Messrs Vaidyanath Aiyar & Co. who have done good work for us. They have worked honourarily and I think we should express our appreciation of them.

आओ भाई कहाँ है वैद्यनाथ ठीक है।

और फिर से हम इन्हीं को मुकर्रर करते हैं।

Right. That is all.

कोई: अब नये आफिस बेरर्स आ जायें।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: कहाँ आ जायें। अब हेरा-फ़ेरी न कीजिए, बैठे हैं, बैठे रहिए, फिर बाद में आइयेगा।

कोई: Let them come सामने आ जायें तो अच्छा है। आयें तो न, आइये जी, साइकिया साहब और पट्टाभि रामन।²⁹⁸

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: आप जानते हैं कि इस वक़्त तीन इलेक्शंस उत्तर प्रदेश में हो रहे हैं लोकसभा के, अमरोहा में²⁹⁹ और फ़र्रुखाबाद³⁰⁰ और जौनपुर में।³⁰¹ तीनों कुछ अहमियत रखते हैं, ज़ोरों के इलेक्शन हैं। तो आप में से जो-जो मैम्बरान जाना चाहें वहाँ वो अपना नाम यहाँ दफ़्तर में दे दें, तो उनके जाने का इंतज़ाम कर दिया जायेगा। इलेक्शंस और जगह भी हो रहे हैं और जो ख़बरें अब तक आयी हैं वो कमोबेश अच्छी हैं। मध्य प्रदेश में शायद चार में तीन की जीत हुई, और जगह भी हुई है, बंगाल में बहुत अच्छी हुई, आसाम में कुछ बहुत अच्छी नहीं हुई, वो दूसरे वजूहात थे।

ये तो है, लेकिन अभी हमारे यहाँ हमारी पार्टी का चुनाव हुआ, मुझे कुछ शिकायत नहीं है उस चुनाव से, अच्छे लोग आये, मुबारक हो उनको काम करना लेकिन मैं इत्ता ज़रूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि ज्यों-ज्यों ख़बरें आती थीं, मैं कोई दख़ल नहीं दिया मैंने चुनाव में, लेकिन बहुत ज़ोरों से कैन्वेसिंग हुआ और कुछ लोगों को इधर-उधर घसीटने की कोशिश की गयी, दिमागी तौर पर, शायद हाथा-पाई नहीं हुई हो। ये कुछ न कुछ तो ख़ैर कोशिश होती है लेकिन इस दफ़्ते कुछ ज़्यादा हुई पहले से और यह ढंग कुछ अच्छा नहीं। कुछ, कोई आदमी व्यक्तिगत रूप से लोगों से कहे, लेकिन ये कोई बहुत अच्छा नहीं लगता कि हम यहाँ एक-एक को जानते हैं, एक-दूसरे को, कौन सी ज़रूरत हो गयी, अनजान तो नहीं हैं लेकिन एक गिरोह बना के करना ये ठीक नहीं है। गिरोहबंदी हमारे यहाँ और हमारी पार्टी में हो तो हम कुछ, बाज़ हैं वहाँ की पार्टी की हैसियत हमारी हो जाती है। अब तक हम कुछ उनसे अलग रहे, कुछ ऊँचे रहे उनसे, तो इस बात का ख़याल रखना चाहिए।

अब मैं आपको ज़्यादा रोकना नहीं चाहता, दो-एक बातें सिर्फ़ अर्ज़ करूँगा आपसे। आप जा रहे हैं और जा रहे हैं कई महीने के काफ़ी सख़्त काम के बाद, ठीक है, कुछ आप सुस्ताएँ, लेकिन कुछ उस अर्से को काफ़ी वक़्फ़ा है, आप काम में जायें कांग्रेस के लिए, क्योंकि कांग्रेस के सामने, मुल्क के सामने और कांग्रेस के सामने बड़े-बड़े सवाल हैं। मैं उन

298. C.R. Pattabhi Raman, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Labour and Employment and Planning.

299. Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim was the Congress candidate from Amroha.

300. B.V. Keskar was the Congress candidate Farrukhabad.

301. Rajdeo Singh, the Congress candidate from Jaunpur, defeated Deen Dayal Upadhyay of Jan Sangh in the only Parliamentary election Upadhyay ever fought.

सवालियों का ज़िक्र नहीं करता, चीनी आक्रमण है, वगैरा-वगैरा, वो तो है ही, लेकिन कांग्रेस के अंदरूनी सवालियों का करता हूँ क्योंकि इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि कांग्रेस का दिमाग़ साफ़ नहीं है और इसी वजह से पेच होते हैं, दिक्कतें होती हैं, चाहे यहाँ हों, चाहे कहीं और हों और इसको साफ़ करना है। और कांग्रेस के अन्दर चाहे ऑर्गेनाइज़ेशन हो, चाहे कुछ हो अजीब इधर-उधर के पेच हैं और कुछ मेरे पास आज एकाध ख़त आया पुरानी कांग्रेस वालों का, एकाध ख़त पुरानी कांग्रेस वाले, उनका कांग्रेस क्या है आजकल? मैं इधर-उधर देखता हूँ क्योंकि उसका रंग दूसरा निकलता है। कुछ बहुत हमारे पुराने जो कांग्रेस वाले हैं, बाज़ पुराने वो कुछ रूठ-रूठ के अलग हो गये, नये कुछ बहुत खिंचते नहीं हैं, कुछ बीच के रह गये और वो न तो बहुत पुराने हैं, न नयों का जोश है उनमें, न पुरानों का तजुर्बा है, वो लोग रह गये बीच के। अब कहाँ तक ये सही है मैं नहीं जानता, मैंने आपसे कहा, ये वाक़िया है, कुछ कांग्रेस का दिमाग़ कहीं जमा नहीं है, आजकल की कांग्रेस का। हम दोहराते तो हैं, नारे भी कह दें, स्पीचेज़ भी कह दें लेकिन दिमाग़ सही नहीं है, उसको ज़रा साफ़ करने की कोशिश करनी है।

और मुल्क के जो सवाल हैं, बड़े सवालियों पे हम चीनी आक्रमण वगैरा, वो तो ख़ैर हैं ही लेकिन आख़िर मैं असली सवाल मुल्क के अंदरूनी और कुछ काफ़ी पेच में पड़े हैं सवाल, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। आज सुबह हम डेढ़ घंटे बैठे प्लानिंग कमीशन में, इसी बात पर विचार कर रहे थे और उसमें किसी का कहना, क़सूर किसका है, ये तो मुश्किल है और उससे फ़ायदा भी नहीं होता, कुछ उसमें हमारा क़सूर हो, सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट का, कुछ प्लानिंग कमीशन का, कुछ प्लानिंग कमीशन का, कुछ औरों का, लेकिन जो हमारे नक्शे बने हैं वो कोई ठीक-ठीक चल नहीं रहे, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। असल में बुनियादी बात आख़ीर में घूम-घाम के होती है हमारे फ़ूड और एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन की, वो बहुत ही बुनियादी है, और सब बातें उसके बाद आती हैं। इंडस्ट्री में भी कुछ तरक्की हम ज़रूर कर रहे हैं लेकिन कुछ तेज़ी से काफ़ी नहीं है। और बहुत सारे सवाल हैं, मैं उन पर जाता नहीं लेकिन आपको सोचना चाहिए और ताकि आप बीच के वक्फ़े में तो काम करें ही अपनी-अपनी जगह, कुछ उसूली काम करें, उसूली बातें रखें लोगों के सामने, ख़ाली व्यक्तिगत रूप से न करें, क्योंकि व्यक्तिगत रूप से करने का कोई ख़ास असर नहीं होता, वो आपसे कोई रिश्ता हो जाये थोड़े दिन का वो हट जाता है। और अगर बुनियादी काम करें कुछ बातों का तब उसका असर होता है जो रहता है जब आप ट्रेन्ड करते हैं लोगों को। मुझे इस बात से बहुत डर लगता है कि हमारे इलेक्शंस वगैरा में, और बातों में, हम लोग अपनी-अपनी जगह अपने को पेश करें न कि कांग्रेस को। इससे कांग्रेस का नुक़सान तो होता ही है अपने को भी नुक़सान होता है, लोग महसूस नहीं करते, ये बहुत ही एक छोटे दिमाग़, कहें कि समझेगा, कि अपने को पेश करके वो अपने को बढ़ायेगा, वो नहीं बढ़ायेगा। आप क्या चीज़ हैं, मैं क्या चीज़ हूँ, हम बढ़े हैं इसलिए कि हम कांग्रेस में हैं और कांग्रेस बढ़ी है, कांग्रेस को नीचे से निकाल दीजिए तो हम ठिगने सब हो जाते हैं। एक पहाड़ पे हम खड़े हैं जो कांग्रेस है और पहाड़ की वजह से हम भी ऊँचे लगते हैं लेकिन पहाड़ वो ऊँचा हमें करता है, हमारा क़द नहीं ऊँचा है और जहाँ पहाड़ निकल जाये नीचे से तो हम अपने क़द

के हो के, छोट-मोटे हो के रह जाते हैं अपनी-अपनी जगह। इसलिए जो व्यक्तिगत तरीका एपरोच करने का जनता को वो ठीक नहीं है, व्यक्तिगत कुछ न कुछ बताना ही होता है, बताएँ, हमेशा गौर देना चाहिए संख्या को, कांग्रेस को, कांग्रेस के उसूलों को, उससे उसका असर हम पे पड़ता है, हम भी बढ़ जाते हैं, हम बढ़े हैं उससे, हम बढ़ेंगे, पर जहाँ इस बात को हमने छोड़ा हम छोटे हो जायेंगे। इसलिए गौर करना है हमें इन सब मसलों पर। आजकल बहुत पेचीदा मसले हैं, हमारा कुछ कह देना, एक स्पीच ज़ोरों की दे देना, ज़ोरों से स्पीच देना ठीक है लेकिन हैं, मसले बहुत पेचीदा हैं। एक लीजिए जिसमें हम लोग एक मन के हैं, चीनी आक्रमण, एक मन के हैं लेकिन निहायत पेचीदा मसला है। हमारी, हम अपनी ख्वाहिशों का इज़हार कर दें, इच्छाओं को प्रकट कर दें वो और बात है लेकिन है मसला बहुत पेचीदा। क्या करें, कब करें, किस ढंग से करें, क्या उसका असर होता है और मुल्कों पर, और मुल्क क्या करें, वो एक निहायत पेचीदा मसला है, तो इन सभी को हमें समझने की कोशिश करनी है और रखना है। और जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा खास मसले जो हमारे हैं वो तो अंदरूनी हैं जिससे कांग्रेस का भविष्य चलेगा, अच्छी तरह से या बुरी तरह से, कहाँ तक हम अन्दर के अपने प्रोब्लम का कोई हल निकालते हैं। तो इन बातों पे आप विचार कीजिए, क्योंकि हल्के-हल्के कांग्रेस एक उसकी हालत, उसकी दिमाग की जहाँ तक मैं देखता हूँ एक कन्फ़्यूज़ होती जाती है, साफ़ दिमाग़ नहीं रहा है, कन्फ़्यूज़ है और जब कन्फ़्यूज़न आपमें हममें हो तो पब्लिक में हो जाती है, ज़ाहिर है और वो एक नुक़सान-देह चीज़ है।

ये और बात है कि पेचीदा सवाल हमारे सामने हैं, पेचीदा सवाल का कोई आसानी से जवाब नहीं मिलता, वो ठीक बात है। अगर हम समझें कि कोई जादू का जवाब है या कोई एक स्लोगन [slogan] ले के हम जवाब दे दें, ये तो बच्चों का खेल है, ये एक पार्लियामेंट के लैजिलेचर्स के लिए काफ़ी नहीं है। तो इन बातों पे गौर करना है और बुनियादी बातों पे खासतौर से, वो बुनियादी बातें हमारे दिमाग़ में साफ़ हों, चाहे वो अंदरूनी हों हमारी पोलिसी की, चाहे बाहरी हों, और उसको ज़ोर से सामने रखना है लोगों के और उसकी वजह, वजूहात पेश करने हैं। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इन सब बातों पे गौर करें और अपने-अपने कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी में, अपने-अपने स्टेट्स में इन बातों का चर्चा करवायें और अपने अक्सर स्टेट्स हैं, बाज़ स्टेट्स अच्छे हैं, बाज़ बहुत अच्छे नहीं चल रहे हैं, कांग्रेस यानी वहाँ उसकी तरफ़ ध्यान दे, क्योंकि आपकी ज़िम्मेदारी है स्टेट की भी, चले, चलाने की। ग़रज़ कि मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि इस ज़माने में, दो-तीन महीने बाद, जो आपको दो-तीन महीने मिलेंगे उसमें आप कोई अपनी-अपनी जगह माक़ूल काम करें, और माक़ूल काम मैंने आपसे इलेक्शन का कहा, इलेक्शन का कहा। इलेक्शन तो ख़ैर एक है आरज़ी काम, लेकिन इलेक्शन भी एक नतीजा होता है काम का, महज़ गुल-शोर मचाना उस वक़्त काफ़ी नहीं होता। और हमारे सामने जो सवाल हैं बुनियादी हैं कांग्रेस का दिमाग़ और कांग्रेस का दिल और कांग्रेस की रूह कहाँ है, कांग्रेस की आत्मा कहाँ है, क्योंकि हर संस्था की होती है, ये फ़ुटकर संस्थाएँ बनती हैं, उनमें कुछ नहीं होता, बुनियाद नहीं होती, चाहे ऊपर की बातें कोई पकड़ ले। कांग्रेस ज़्यादा गहरी चीज़ है हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में, हिन्दुस्तान की

ज़मीन में गड़ी हुई चीज़ है, वो चीज़ उसकी एक रूह होती है, एक आत्मा होती है, एक अंदरूनी स्पिरिट होती है, अगर वो नहीं रही या कमज़ोर हो गयी तो मुरझाने लगती है। हमारे लिए ना-मुमकिन है उस पर बहुत दिन तक ऐसा काम करने को जैसे और कुछ संस्थाएँ करती हैं, ऊपर काम, गुल-शोर का काम चलता नहीं।

तो बस मैं और आपका समय नहीं लूँगा। आप इन बातों पे विचार करें और फिर आप जायेंगे, फिर हम सलाह-मशवरा करेंगे।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: Then we come to the Amounts.

Come, you were saying something about the B.C. Roy Fund. Some of small amounts which were given before the elections towards election expenses, advances, hundred rupees or fifty may still be remaining, these are small amounts and not important.

What else? Let him speak, I do not remember.

A Member: We have collected Rs 50,000 more for the National Defence Fund. We had contributed three lakhs earlier and will get Rs 50,000 now by the cheque.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, give us the money, three and a half lakh has been given, fifty thousand and one. Okay! Well, do you pass the Accounts?

A Member: Now, announce the names of the office bearers.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The elections are over. It is a common tradition that we should express our appreciation of the work done by the outgoing office-bearers and committees.

A Member: Mr Thakur, the Auditor is here. Mr S. Vaidyanath.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, that will be taken up later. First, write down that appreciation of the outgoing Executive Committee and their office bearers which was expressed.

Now, nomination of the Chief Whip. I shall nominate the Chief Whip—he is seated comfortably on the cushion.

A Member: Panditji, the others can be nominated by the Chief Whip.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no.

A Member: Let it be done in our presence.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Alright, Shri Satya Narayan becomes the Chief Whip. I have received complaints regarding this, asking why the Chief Whip should be nominated and not elected. Certainly he can be elected but unfortunately on one or two occasions when someone was elected, he did not do any work at all. I would suggest that the State Committees—I am referring to the regional groups—should send in their recommendations and then we can select somebody from among them.

A Member: We followed this system last year—for two years—and generally the regional whips elected by the State committees did no work at all. There is not much work to do, but it is their duty to be available all twenty-four hours. But 90% of the old ones who were elected, if you will excuse my saying so, took no interest at all. Even now, we would like the State committees to give their suggestions but the man proposed should be an active worker. You need special people for the post of a whip.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Let the State Committees make their recommendations, after that, they shall be chosen.

Now, Appointment of Auditors.

Our auditors are Messrs Vaidyanath Aiyar & Co. who have done good work for us. They have done honorary work and I think we should express our appreciation of them.

Vaidyanath, please come ... alright.

We express our appreciation and appoint them again. Right.

That is all.

A Member: Now ask the new office bearers to come.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Where should they be asked to come? Don't start upsetting everything. Let them keep sitting wherever they are, they can come up later.

A Member: Let them come up in front, it would be good. Please come ...
Shri Saikia and Shri Pattabhi Raman.³⁰²

302. See fn 298 in this section.

Jawaharlal Nehru: As you know, bye-elections to three Lok Sabha seats are taking place, in the UP—Amroha,³⁰³ Farrukhabad³⁰⁴ and Jaunpur.³⁰⁵ All three are important. Those of you who wish to go there should give in their names to the office and arrangements will be made for them. Elections are taking place elsewhere too and the news so far is good. I think we have won three out of the four seats in Madhya Pradesh. We have got very good results in Bengal, but not so good in Assam, but there are other reasons for that.

Recently we had our Party elections too and I have no complaints about them. Good people have been elected and they are welcome to their posts. One thing I would like to point out and that is as the news kept coming in, I did not interfere at all, but there was a great deal of canvassing and attempts were made to pressurise candidates. Canvassing is always done but this time it was not nice. A candidate can make an appeal privately, but after all, we know each Member very well. So what is the necessity for so much canvassing. They are not unknown to us. It is not a good thing to form groups like this. If we do, our Party will descend to the level of the other Parties. We must try to remember that so far we have kept ourselves above these things.

I do not wish to detain you any longer. So I will say just one more thing. You are going home after months of hard work and it is right that you should relax a little. But it is necessary that you should do some work for the Congress because there are big problems before the Congress and the country. I will not go into all of them. It is not merely questions like the Chinese aggression. There are internal problems confronting the Congress which I would like to mention. There is no doubt about the fact that the minds of Congressmen are not clear. This creates complications and difficulties and they have to be cleared up. Whether it is the Congress organisation or other things, there are constant tensions. I have received a few letters from old Congressmen, some of whom have moved away from the others, some of the new Congressmen do not pull their weight. Only the middling groups remain. They are not old enough to have much experience and at the same time lack the enthusiasm of the new members. This is the situation. The Congress thinking is not clear any more. We make speeches and raise slogans but the thinking is not clear. An effort has to be made clarify our thoughts.

The big problems of the country are of course there. But ultimately the real questions before a country are internal and there is no doubt that they have become very complicated. Today we sat in the Planning Commission for an

303. See fn 299 in this section.

304. See fn 300 in this section.

305. See fn 301 in this section.

hour and half discussing just this. It is difficult to say who is responsible for this and nor is there any use in doing so. All of us are partly responsible, the Central Government, the Planning Commission, etc. But there is no doubt that the we are not progressing according to plan. The basic question before us is of increasing production of food and agriculture, others are secondary. We are making some progress in industry but not fast enough. There are many other things too, but I won't go into them, I would like you to think about these things and spend the coming weeks in doing some useful work in explaining our policies and principles to the people. I am not talking about establishing personal relationships because they may not last very long. Your work must be more fundamental and that is to train people, I am afraid of the increasing tendency to project ourselves individually instead of the Congress in elections, etc. It is harmful to the Congress and also to individuals and people with limited visions do not realise this and think of personal aggrandizement alone. We have grown because we are in the Congress and the Congress has grown. If you take away the Congress, our stature will be reduced. We look big because we are in the Congress and the Congress has grown. If you take away the Congress, our stature will be reduced. We look big because we are standing on top of a mountain, the Congress, and it is that which gives us our stature. If we do not have that under us, we will become smaller in stature. So the method of personal approach to the people is not right. Certainly you must present your cases as individual candidates, but emphasis must be laid on Congress principles and organisation. That alone can add to our stature. Our growth has always been related to the Congress. But if we forget this, we will immediately lose our stature. So we must think seriously about these things.

The problems of today are very complicated. We cannot solve anything by merely making speeches, etc. Take the Chinese aggression, for instance, which is always in our thoughts. It is an extremely complicated matter. We may express a desire to solve them but how and when we can do so or what effect our actions will have on other countries, what their reactions are likely to be—these are complicated questions. We must try to understand these problems. And as I said, our problems are internal and the future of the Congress depends on how we find a solution to them. Please think about these matters because so far as I can see, the thinking in the Congress is getting more and more confused and if you and I are confused, it is obvious that that will reflect on the public too which would be very harmful. It is a different matter that there are no easy solutions to the complicated problems before us. We cannot solve them by magic or slogans, it would be childish. We cannot solve them by passing legislation, either. We have to have clear thinking about our fundamental principles and policies and put them before the public, explaining our reasons for adopting them. I want

you to start debates in your constituencies and states about these things. The progress in some of the states is not very satisfactory and it is the responsibility of the Congress to do something about it. So I hope you will utilise these two to three months for good work and not only for election purposes. Elections are of course important and the results will show how much work has been put in. We have to explain to the country how the Congress mind works and what constitutes the spirit of the Congress. These smaller organisations do not have a real base though they may mouth superficial ideologies. Congress has deep roots in the history of India, it is rooted in Indian soil. It has a spirit, a soul and if we lose that, we will crumble. We cannot function for very long in a superficial way as some organisations do. Making a lot of noise will not take us anywhere.

I will not take up any more of your time. Please think about it. We will consult one another again.

Jai Hind !

Translation ends]

84. To U.N. Dhebar: Khadi Bhandar in Electioneering³⁰⁶

May 9, 1963

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Several persons who have been to Amroha on behalf of the Congress, have told me that the Khadi Bhandar and the Gandhi Ashram people are working actively there in the election campaign against the Congress. They further told me that a large number of jeeps are working there. Many of these jeeps belong to the Khadi Commission. In fact, the Khadi Commission's name is inscribed on them.

This seems to me very improper. I hope you will be good enough to enquire into this matter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

306. Letter to the Chairman of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission.

85. To Indulal K. Yajnik: Place for Memorial³⁰⁷

May 13, 1963

Dear Shri Yajnik,
Your letter of the 10th May.

I enquired in Ahmedabad about your suggestion to put up a memorial there. I was told that the exact place which you had suggested was not suitable as it would come in the way of traffic and also that was not the place where the shooting had taken place. A memorial plaque had apparently been put up in the gardens.

The other matters you have referred to have been discussed at considerable length during the last session of Parliament and I cannot add anything worthwhile to that discussion.

In regard to the Washington reports to which you refer, all that has happened is that we have said that we have no objection to the good offices of a competent person, agreed to by the parties concerned, to deal in regard to various matters in dispute between us and Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

86. For Jethalalbhai Joshi's Election³⁰⁸

Shri Jethalalbhai Joshi³⁰⁹ is standing for election as a Congress candidate for the Lok Sabha. The vacancy has been caused by Shri Dhebarbhai's resigning from the Lok Sabha on his appointment as Chairman of the Khadi Commission. The chairmanship of the Khadi Commission is a responsible office which should take up all his time. It was thought therefore desirable that he should resign from the Lok Sabha and devote himself fully to the work of the Khadi Commission.

Shri Jethalalbhai Joshi is an old and tried Congressman and has been serving the Congress cause in various capacities ever since 1921. He has served previously in the Lok Sabha and later in the Rajya Sabha. He has done good work and I am sure he will be a worthy representative of the Rajkot Constituency in the Lok Sabha.

307. Letter to Congress MP; address: Mission Road, Ahmedabad.

308. Message, 15 May 1963.

309. Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57, lost in the by-election in Rajkot to M.R. Masani of Swatantra Party.

I send him all my good wishes for this bye-election and trust that the voters will support him and vote for him in large numbers.

87. To Bibhuti Mishra: Sub-Committee on Congress Ideology³¹⁰

May 16, 1963

My dear Bibhuti Mishra,

Your letter of May 16th about forming a sub-committee to study Congress ideology. You can certainly have a sub-committee for this purpose, although no committee can write anything. It is only an individual who can write and others can then help in revising it.

I think the sub-committee should not be too big. It will be more effective if it is a relatively small committee. But there is no harm in your inviting a larger number to discuss the question to begin with.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

88. To Raghunath Singh: Seminar on Agriculture³¹¹

May 16, 1963

My dear Raghunath Singh,

I have your letter of May 9th.

I think it will be a good idea to have a Seminar to consider some important subjects. The question of increasing agricultural production is perhaps the most important that we have to deal with.

I am afraid, I cannot promise to attend the Seminar. Apart from various engagements I have got, I have to go to some place for rest. Just at present I do not wish to add to my engagements.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

310. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; and Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament.

311. Letter to the Secretary of the CPP.

89. To Bishamber Nath Bhargava: PCC Candidates³¹²

May 17, 1963

Dear Shri Bhargava,

I have received your letter of the 16th May.

I am afraid I have very little voice in selecting candidates for election. As you perhaps know, some names are suggested by the Pradesh Congress Committee. These come up before the Central Parliamentary Board with comments. Out of those, the Central Board selects a person. I am much too heavily occupied to go into those matters with any care. I suggest to you that you should apply to the Pradesh Congress Committee's Election Committee. You have a good record.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

90. To Kewal Motwani: Congress Membership³¹³

May 17, 1963

Dear Kewal Motwani,

I have your letter of May 16th.

I am sorry to learn of the troubles you have had.

According to its constitution, the Indian National Congress is an open organisation and anybody can join it who apparently subscribes to its objects and creed. He thus becomes a primary member. Later, the process of elections comes in at various stages. In a democracy, this is the normal process, and I am afraid many undesirable persons take advantage of it. I shall try to remember what you have written if in future the name comes up before me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

312. Letter; address: 3 E Kantichandra Road, Bani Park, Jaipur.

313. Letter to a socialist and educationist ; address: Jackson's Hotel, Jabalpur.

91. To N.V. Gadgil: Problems of Congress³¹⁴

May 20, 1963

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of May 2nd. I am sorry for the delay in answering it. But you will appreciate that I am heavily occupied and it is sometimes difficult to deal with my correspondence in time.

About your views in regard to the Congress organisation, I think there is much truth in what you have said, though it is somewhat exaggerated. We have to face a difficult situation about it. I certainly think that we should try to meet the criticisms that are made about it. I have myself said so in public and often in private. I have no doubt that the Congress can only continue as an effective body if it keeps its primary inspiration and does not merely become an organisation for winning elections.

I agree with you that while we keep non-alignment, we must also build up our defence. No policy can be a successful policy if it is based on weakness. We are trying our best to build up this defence apparatus. Inevitably, this takes some time. It is true that unfortunately the initiative in our conflict with China rests largely with China. This is largely due to the circumstances we have to face on our border territories and to the fact that China has built up a powerful military machine during the past years. Nevertheless, we have to meet this machine and build our own defence accordingly.

About corruption, black-marketing, etc. I entirely agree with you. It is, however, not an easy matter to take the steps we would like to take. Even the legal apparatus comes in our way. However, we should try our utmost in this direction.

We are repeatedly considering in the Planning Commission what we can do about prices and have taken some steps towards implementing the idea of socialism.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

314. Letter to a Congressman and former Governor of Punjab; address: 419 Shaniwar, Poona 2. NMML, N.V. Gadgil Papers.

92. To L.M. Singhvi: Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan³¹⁵

May 20, 1963

My dear Singhvi,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of April 24.

We are all greatly concerned about the health of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.³¹⁶ Unfortunately, we are helpless in the matter and we can do nothing effective. In view of our relations with Pakistan, any step that we may take has the opposite consequences. We cannot press other countries, like Indonesia and the UAR to do anything in this matter because they are full of their own difficulties and do not wish to add to them.

I am sorry to send you this very ineffective reply. All I can say is that the matter is very much in our mind and if we see any way out, we shall take it.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

93. To G. Brahmayya: Problems in Congress³¹⁷

May 20, 1963

Dear Shri Brahmayya,

I must apologise to you for the delay in answering your letter of the 30th April. Unfortunately, I was so heavily occupied that I could not adequately deal with my correspondence.

I have now read your letter carefully. I do not quite know what I can do about it. I do not normally interfere in Congress organisational matters. I do not even know at what stage your process of elections has reached.

Normally, I forward all letters addressed to me about organisational matters to the President of the Congress, Shri Sanjivayya. Your letter contains itself a complaint about the President. That makes it difficult for me to deal with. However, I think that even so the matter should be brought to the notice of the

315. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Independent; address: Minerva Bhavan, Jodhpur. A similar letter was written to Ansar Harvani, MP.

316. Nationalist leader from North West Frontier Province, also known as Frontier Gandhi.

317. Letter to the President of the Andhra Pradesh PCC.

President of the Congress. I am, therefore, sending your letter to him. I hope you do not mind my doing so.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

94. To D. Sanjivayya: Tensions between AICC and Andhra PCC³¹⁸

May 20, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

Among my papers, I find a letter from the President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee, this is rather an old letter and unfortunately I have delayed dealing with it as I was heavily occupied.

The letter which I am sending you contains a complaint against you or those who support you in the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee. I feel sure that this complaint may not have any basis. I still think that the matter should be referred to you so that you might be good enough to deal with it and remove any apprehensions that some people in the PCC and specially the President of the APCC have. I hope you will write to him and try to remove these misapprehensions.

I find another letter among my papers. This is addressed by the President, APCC, to Indiraji. She has forwarded this to me with a small note in the margin. This is a much older letter and I do not know if it is at all relevant now. But I am distressed at this impression in the mind of the President of the APCC that there are strained relations between the AICC and the APCC. Such an impression, if it exists, does harm to our organisation all round. I do hope you will try to straighten out these matters and make the APCC President and his colleagues believe that there is no question of strained relations and that we must all cooperate together.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

318. Letter to the President of Congress.

95. To N.S. Hardikar: Meet in Goa³¹⁹

May 21, 1963

My dear Hardikar,

I have your letter of the 19th May.

I am always glad to meet you, but I must confess that my programme in Goa is very full during my stay there. It is difficult for me to fix any time from here to meet you, but if you come there, I shall certainly try to find some time for the purpose. This will probably be in the evening or even at night.

I shall be reaching Goa on the 22nd. You can see me on the 23rd or 24th.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

96. To D. Sanjivayya: Amroha and Farrukhabad Defeats³²⁰

May 26, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

I need not tell you how shocked I was at the result of the Amroha election.³²¹ I was disappointed also at the Farrukhabad election,³²² but it was Amroha that was much more surprising.³²³

I have only been back one day in Delhi from Goa, but already I have had a great many reports about this Amroha election. The reports are of two kinds; one is about the election malpractices; the other is about the utter mis-management or lack of management on our side. The people who are supposed to organise this election for the Congress apparently did not trouble themselves to do so. Indeed, it almost appears that some of them deliberately sabotaged the election.

319. Letter to former Rajya Sabha MP and Congress Seva Dal leader ; administrator, Karnatak Health Institute; address: Karnatak Health Institute, Ghataprabha, Distt. Belgaum, Maharashtra. NMML, AICC Papers, F.No. Correspondence between JN and Hardiker, NMML, Box 11A.

320. Letter to the Congress President.

321. In the by-election in Amroha, Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim was defeated by J.B. Kripalani of the PSP.

322. B.V. Keskar was defeated by Rammanohar Lohia of Socialist Party in Farrukhabad.

323. See SWJN/SS/81/section Politics subsection Indian National Congress, especially items 73, 75, 76, 80.

I cannot conceive of such a big majority against Hafiz Saheb³²⁴ unless something had gone hopelessly wrong.

I think it is necessary and desirable for a proper enquiry at a high level to be made into this election at Amroha. Ajit Prasad Jain³²⁵ is anxious to have one; so also is Lal Bahadur Shastri.³²⁶ The only question is as to who should undertake it. I think this should be done by a thoroughly independent person from outside our various offices. We cannot leave this to the PCC.

I should like you to think over this matter and then we can discuss it.³²⁷

There is some chance of an election petition being filed.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

97. To C.B. Gupta: Amroha and Farrukhabad Defeats³²⁸

May 26, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

The Amroha election result has come as a total surprise and a shock. The Farrukhabad election is also disappointing but, to some extent, my mind had been prepared for it. But Amroha was different and I just cannot conceive of how Hafizji³²⁹ could have lost by 50000 votes in such a constituency.

I have had all kinds of reports from and about Amroha. These reports are of various kinds. One thing seems to me completely clear that those who were in charge of the organisation made little or no effort. Whether this was just total inefficiency or was deliberate, I cannot say, but the fact remains that vast areas in the rural part were not approached at all by the so-called organisers. The first impression is that some people indulged in deliberate sabotage.

324. See Nehru's appeal on his behalf, item 77.

325. President of the UP PCC.

326. Home Minister.

327. On 6 June, the CWC recommended the appointment of a probe committee "to find out organisational deficiencies and also to see whether recent by-elections were fought on political and party issues." On 8 July 1963 by D. Sanjivayya, the Congress President announced a seven-member Committee, headed by Gulzarilal Nanda, to enquire into the Congress reverses with C. Subramaniam, H.C. Dasappa, Surendra Mohan Ghosh, Sadiq Ali, Mahavir Tyagi and Amarnath Vidyalankar as members. See *The Tribune*, 9 July 1963, p. 1 col. 1.

328. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

329. Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim.

Then there was the violence indulged in by Kripalani's³³⁰ supporters. I have seen reports already from thirty or forty villages complaining of this violence. There are also reports of the Election Officers not showing complete impartiality.

What then are we to do about it? There may be an election petition. I do not like such petitions, but where grave charges are made, one cannot; easily ignore them.

What I am concerned with, however, is a proper enquiry into this election. This can only be undertaken by the Congress. In view of the importance of such an enquiry, I think it must be undertaken at the highest level. It is not good enough to send some official of the PCC or the AICC to conduct it. This election has attracted all India attention and any enquiry will equally attract such attention. We must therefore carefully consider how this is to be done and who is to do it. I want you to give thought to this matter. I have written on the same lines to the Congress President.³³¹

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

98. To Sri Krishna Gupta: Memorial to Abul Kalam Azad³³²

May 29, 1963

Dear Shri Gupta,

I have your letter of the 27th May.

There are several worthy memorials for Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in India. It would certainly be a good thing if a suitable memorial is put up at Ranchi. But I do not know what I can do about it.

You will remember that Maulana Azad as well as some of his colleagues, including me, were kept in the Ahmadnagar Fort for nearly three years, but there is no memorial there.

In regard to the Ranchi Memorial, the initiative must come from the public. The kind of memorial will depend upon how much the public subscribe to it.

330. J.B. Kripalani defeated Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim in the Amroha by-election.

331. D. Sanjivayya. See item 96.

332. Letter ; address: "Students Paradise", Habibur Rahman Road, Ranchi.

Perhaps Government may also help if necessary, but Government cannot take the initiative in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

99. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Resignation from Cabinet³³³

May 30, 1963

My dear Hafizji,

Thank you for your letter of May 30 offering your resignation from the Ministership in the Central Cabinet.³³⁴ I think that you are perfectly right in offering to resign, but I do not propose to accept your resignation at present. There is no hurry about it, and I want certain important work that your Ministry is doing to be fully dealt with before you leave the Ministry.

In two days' time, the President is going abroad to the USA and the UK. His tour will last about three weeks. I think that the proper time to consider your resignation and to recommend its acceptance by the President would be after he returns from his tour. Anyhow there is no hurry about it and I do not, as I have said above, propose to take any action on your letter now.

Even after you have resigned, there will be no necessity for you to leave your house immediately. You will be entitled to remain there for some months. So you need not worry about it.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

100. To M.J. Kanetkar: Congress Election Defeats³³⁵

May 30, 1963

Dear Shri Kanetkar,

I have your letter of May 29th. I agree with you that we must pay particular attention to the state of Congress organisation and draw such lessons as we can

333. Letter to the Minister for Irrigation and Power.

334. See items 96 and 97.

335. Letter to journalist and author ; address Canal Road, Nagpur.

from the recent election defeats. But, at the same time, I should like to remind you that in the host of bye-elections that have taken place in the last few months, far the great majority of them have been won by the Congress. These are rather overshadowed by the three elections to which you refer. Nevertheless, we must look inwards and try to get rid of our failings.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

101. To H.K. Mahtab: Election Failings³³⁶

May 30, 1963

My dear Mahtab,

Your letter of the 28th May. I agree with you that the Congress certainly should not do anything which is in the least improper in the course of election campaigns. If a Moulvi from Orissa was summoned for it, that was not very desirable or, for the matter of that, effective. But it is rather difficult to lay down rules that Moulvis cannot participate in election campaigns.

As for the National Book Trust of India, I do not know what part this took in the elections. I know that the Gandhi Ashram took a leading part and had hundreds of its workers canvassing for nearly a month for Kripalaniji.³³⁷

The communal touch to the elections was given chiefly by the opponents of Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim.³³⁸ Most of their canvassing was done on this basis as an appeal to the Hindu voters. Obviously it cannot profit a minority candidate to give a communal bent.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

336. Letter to a former Chief Minister of Orissa.

337. J.B. Kripalani in Amroha.

338. Minister of Irrigation and Power. See items 96, 97 and 99.

102. To C.B. Gupta: Farrukhabad Election³³⁹

May 31, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

Your letter of May 29th about the complaints of forcible collections to the National Defence Fund at Farrukhabad. I have read the papers you have sent me.

I find it a little difficult to accept the explanation given by the District Magistrate completely. Directly or indirectly it is the District Magistrate who is partly concerned in this matter and his report can hardly be considered objective and impartial.

The fact remains that there is a widespread feeling in Farrukhabad that the City Magistrate misbehaved in this matter. That is the general impression and any number of persons who have come to me from Farrukhabad have told me so. The fact that there is such a general impression, even apart from the actual occurrences, does little credit to the District Magistrate or the City Magistrate.

We have received a large number of reports from a number of persons in connection with the recent election there. One of these reports refers to the activities of the officials there, which, according to reports, were not impartial and seemed to be deliberately meant to aid the opponent of the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

103. To Diwan Chand Sharma: Congress Factions³⁴⁰

June 3, 1963

My dear Diwan Chandji,

Indira Gandhi has shown me your letter of May 3rd. You refer in this to an article appearing in the *Indian Express*. This newspaper as well as some others in Delhi are constantly taking up a line definitely opposed to Government's policy.

You know best what is happening in the lobbies of Parliament. It is unfortunate that some of our Members should lend themselves to this kind of talk. It is for you and other Congress Members to set the right tone. So far as I am concerned, I have kept out of this business, as I kept out of the Congress Party elections. It is clear, however, that we should be fully cognizant of what is happening and try to put our policy and our case as fully and frankly as we

339. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

340. Letter to Lok Sabha MP; address: 19 Windsor Place, New Delhi. Sent from Dehra Dun.

can. I can only do so in public meetings as well as party meetings. I do not like the groups that are functioning in our party.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

104. To Debotosh Das Gupta: Congress Woes³⁴¹

June 4, 1963

My dear Debotosh Das,

Your letter of the 31st May, which I have read with interest. I agree with much that you have written. There appears to be an increasing polarisation in India and many of the opposition parties with a variety of progressive names, are lining up with conservatives and reactionaries.

It is true also that the Congress organisation is in many respects in a bad way and requires toning up in many directions.

Many things that you have suggested may be worthwhile. Nevertheless, the question is how to improve the Congress both organisationally and in content, and make it a standard bearer of the ideals that we proclaim. We want both practical work and idealism.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

105. To Purushottam G. Mavalankar: Amroha Election³⁴²

June 5, 1963

My dear Purushottam,

I have your letter of the 3rd June. I was glad to meet you and your wife when I was in Ahmedabad recently.

It is true that communalism played a considerable part in the Amroha election, but that was hardly the fault of Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim. This was exploited by his opponents. Hafizji was chosen right at the beginning as the

341. Letter to the General Secretary of the Shanti Sena ; address: Central Santi Sena Committee, 21/B D.L. Roy Street, Calcutta 6. Sent from Dehra Dun.

342. Letter to the Director of the Harold Laski Institute of Political Science, Mavalankar Haveli, Bhadra, Ahmedabad 1.

Congress candidate. He would not agree then. At the last moment he agreed, and his name was put in.

I do not know when the General Elections in the United Kingdom will take place. Probably not till sometime in the next year. It might be a good thing for you to watch them and write about them. But I cannot say how far our Finance Ministry will agree to provide foreign exchange for the purpose. They are very strict about it.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

106. To Pratap Singh Daulata: Election Petition³⁴³

June 5, 1963

Dear Pratap Singhji,

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd June. I am glad to learn that you have succeeded in your election petition, and more especially that this is on the ground of communalism and religion and language being made the issues by the other contesting candidates. I hope that in case this matter goes up to the Supreme Court, you will succeed there also.³⁴⁴

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

107. To A.M. Tariq: Congress Organisation³⁴⁵

June 6, 1963

Dear Tariq,

I have your letter of June 6th. I do not think the two questions you wish to ask, are appropriate for the Executive Committee to consider. So far as the elections are concerned, we may discuss them generally. The Working Committee has

343. Letter to former CPI MP of Lok Sabha ; Bungalow No. 2, Sector 2-B, Chandigarh.

344. Daulta lost from the Jhajjar parliamentary constituency to Jagdev Singh Sidhanti in the 1962 general elections and filed a petition in the Punjab High Court on 31 May 1963 ; the case was decided against Daulta in 1964 in the Supreme Court, see <https://indiankanoon.org/doc/1797006/>, accessed on 21 June 2019.

345. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Congress; address: 19 Rakabganj Road, New Delhi.

asked the President³⁴⁶ to appoint a Committee to enquire into the organisational deficiencies.

As for your second question, there are other ways of finding out than putting it before the Executive Committee.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**108. To Ajit Prasad Jain: Disruption in Jalaun Zila
Parishad Elections³⁴⁷**

June 11, 1963

My dear Ajit,

I enclose a letter I have received from Chaturbhuj Sharma.³⁴⁸ I do not quite know what can be done in regard to the dangers he has pointed out. But obviously we must be prepared to face all such contingencies.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

346. Presumably of the Congress, D. Sanjivayya.

347. Letter to the President of the UP Pradesh Congress Committee. NMML, A.P. Jain Papers, Sub. File No. 13.

348. Minister of Cooperation, Uttar Pradesh. Extract from letter of 9 June 1963: "A very serious situation has arisen in our State and, especially, in my district in connection with Zila Parishad elections. We have fixed June 16, 1963 for selecting a Congress candidate for the Zila Parishad, Jalaun. The list of electors, that is, members of the Congress party, will be finalised on June 12. Unfortunately, the entrance was too easy for anyone with the result that all opposition members, especially, Swatantra Party members headed by Raja Virendra Shah in my district, who throughout their life have been opposing the Congress in every election, have applied to be taken in the Congress party with the main object of disrupting the Congress organisation and getting out of it after the voting takes place on June 16. Such news are coming to me from other districts also." NMML, A.P. Jain Papers, Subject File No. 13.

109. To Gopal Singh: Political and Administrative Changes³⁴⁹

June 19, 1963

My dear Dr Gopal Singh,

I have your letter of June 17. As you must realise, I am deeply grieved that a very old colleague of mine, Hafiz Mohd Ibrahim³⁵⁰ and even an older colleague who has done such good work, Shri K.D. Malaviya,³⁵¹ shall have to leave Government. An unfortunate change of circumstances have led to this.

As for having a Ministry of Population, I do not think, in spite of Julian Huxley,³⁵² that such a Ministry would do much good. You combine two things in it; the limitation of population and the use of manpower. The two are completely different. We can strengthen our department dealing with family planning. It has been fairly active, but things of this kind naturally take many years to show results. As for manpower, there is a special directorate and a special committee to deal with it.

It is certainly unfortunate that many of our important newspapers should be opposed to our policies and write against them. I rather doubt if we can convert them into trusts and even so, their policy may remain much the same.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

110. To Kameshwar Prasad Sinha: No Recommendation for Political Post³⁵³

June 21, 1963

Dear Kameshwar Prasadji,

I have two of your letters dated the 5th and the 8th June lying with me. You will appreciate that it is not easy for me to deal personally with all the correspondence that comes to me. Hence the delay. Your letters are often rather long and that is another reason why they are put by for a moment of leisure.

349. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Nominated ; address: 90 Grand Hotel, Simla. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

350. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, former Minister of Irrigation and Power.

351. Former Minister of Mines and Fuel.

352. British evolutionary biologist and President of the British Eugenics Society, 1959-1962.

353. Letter ; address: M2 Type Flat No. 1, Sri Krishnapuri, Boring Road, Patna. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

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You need not ask me to approve of the statement that you wish to make to the press. That would add too much of a burden on me.

In one of your letters you ask me to commend your name for inclusion in the State Cabinet or to the Congress Working Committee. I am afraid, I cannot do so for you or for any other person. This would not be proper and as far as I remember I have not done so previously for any person. I do not understand why service should be limited by joining cabinets and the like. In fact we shall have to find some way to make it clear that the field of service is much larger and that sometimes it is much more important to work outside the grooves of cabinets for good service to the people.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

111. To Shankar Lal Sah: Purchase of G.B. Pant's House³⁵⁴

26 June 1963

Dear Shankar Lalji,

I have your letter of June 21st.³⁵⁵

I agree with you that it would be fitting that the house so long occupied by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant should be kept as a memorial to him. While that is desirable, it is difficult for Government to take any action in the matter. I do not think it would be right to suggest that Government should acquire the house. Nor can the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi do so. If it is to be done it should be by the money raised by public subscription.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

354. Letter to Pant family agent, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 53(39)/61-70-PMS, Sr. No. 8-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

355. Appendix 20.

112. To Jagannath Rao Chandriki: Funds for Patel Memorial Fund³⁵⁶

June 30, 1963

My dear Chandriki,

I enclose a letter from Shrimati Rani Tandon³⁵⁷ who is apparently in charge of the Patel Memorial Fund in the UP. Evidently she has exhausted the money with her and asks for the amount in the Central Fund which may be earmarked for the UP. Will you please enquire into this matter and deal with her directly?

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

113. To K. Kamaraj: Chandrasekhar wants Rajya Sabha Seat³⁵⁸

June 30, 1963

My dear Kamaraj,

Dr Chandrasekhar³⁵⁹ came to see me today with a letter from my sister, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. I enclose this letter.

He spoke to me about his desire to be elected for the Rajya Sabha. Apparently there is going to be some vacancy in Madras. I replied to him that a man of his ability would be welcome in the Rajya Sabha. This was a matter, however, which had to be decided chiefly by the Chief Minister of Madras. All I could do was to draw his attention to this.

You will do as you think best.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

356. Letter to a General Secretary of the AICC.

357. Daughter-in-law of P.D. Tandon.

358. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madras.

359. Dr Sripati Chandrasekhar, elected to the Rajya Sabha in April 1964 from Madras as Congress MP.

**114. To A.M. Tariq: Calumny against
Tarakeshwari Sinha³⁶⁰**

June 30, 1963

Dear Tariq,

Last night I received your letter of the 29th June. I am glad to learn that you are deeply interested in our maintaining the highest standards of conduct. It is not clear to me, however, how these standards are supposed to be maintained by our Members making all kinds of charges and insinuations and generally creating an atmosphere of scandal and corruption.

On receipt of your letter last night, I sent it to Tarakeshwari Sinha.³⁶¹ This afternoon she came to see me and I also received a letter from her brother Girish Nandan Singh. A copy of this letter is enclosed.

It seems to me that there is nothing suspicious about this whole transaction.

I am, however, deeply pained at the way you and some others bring fantastic charges against Ministers and others. In the latest number of the *Blitz* there is a story of "the treasures of Tarakeshwari". This is based on a theft in her house of two transistors and three time-pieces. I am disgusted with this kind of journalism which in the name of serving the country and keeping up high standards indulges in ridiculous charges and insinuations.

Our politics are gradually sinking into the mire with most people charging each other with corruption and other offences. This indicates a mind which is not at all admirable.³⁶²

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

115. To S.V. Inamdar: Seva Dal Flame³⁶³

July 8, 1963

My dear Inamdar,

Your letter of the 8th July.

The idea of taking a flame from Delhi to various States appears to be a good one. But the dates you have suggested are dates when nearly all the opposition

360. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Congress ; address: 19 Rakabganj Road, New Delhi.

361. Deputy Minister of Finance.

362. See also item 117.

363. Letter to All India Organiser, Congress Seva Dal. NMML, AICC Papers, F. No. Seva Dal, Box 11A. 1968. Also available in NMML, S.V. Inamdar Papers and JN Collection.

parties propose to put up big scale demonstrations against the Government. Also, the AICC is meeting on the 9th and 10th August. Parliament will meet on the 13th. We are likely to have a difficult and heavy programme during all these days of August. I rather doubt if that is the right time to organise this flame. Certainly I shall be terribly busy and will not be able to promise to take part in any function then.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

116. To Sushila Nayar: Inaugurating Conferences³⁶⁴

July 8, 1963

My dear Sushila,

Your letter of the 8th July about a conference of the Local Self-Government Ministers and also a conference of Ministers of Town and Country Planning. I would gladly inaugurate these two conferences, but that will be the time when Parliament will be sitting and there will be all kinds of problems and worries. However, I shall endeavour to attend your inauguration.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

117. To Tarakeshwari Sinha: *Blitz* Slander³⁶⁵

July 11, 1963

My dear Tarakeshwari,

Your letter of the 11th July.

I saw the report in the *Blitz* and I wrote strongly about it in a letter which I believe was communicated to the Editor of the *Blitz*.

It is true that some people appear to be interested in defaming and slandering you. I am not sure if it will be worthwhile for you to refer this matter to the

364. Letter to the Minister of Health.

365. Letter to Deputy Minister of Finance.

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Executive Committee of the Party. If however you desire to do so, I have no objection.³⁶⁶

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

118. To S.N. Mishra: Congress Policy Objectives³⁶⁷

July 16, 1963

My dear Shyam Nandan,
Your letter of July 16.

I agree with you that it is more necessary than ever for us to be clear about our social and economic philosophy and objectives. I think there is much vagueness and confusion about these. It is necessary that we should try to clear this up.

At the next meeting of the AICC I think that we should avoid losing ourselves in a discussion of trivial details but concentrate on basic discussion dealing with our policies and with constructive suggestions about our working.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

119. To Bhishma Arya: Functions of Congressmen³⁶⁸

July 23, 1963

Dear Shri Bhishma Arya,

I have your letter of July 19 with which you have sent me a large number of questions to answer. I am afraid I am quite unable to do so as answering all these questions will take a great deal of time which I can ill spare.

I would, however, add that I think it should be the function of Congressmen to remain in intimate touch with the people and generally to judge every issue from the point of view of the common people. As for criticisms of Government policies, there is a difference in criticising them in a friendly and constructive

366. See also item 114.

367. Letter to Congress MP; address: 185 South Avenue, New Delhi.

368. Letter to the Assistant Editor of the *Nava Bharat Daily*, Nagpur. Sent from Rashtrapati Nilayam, Bolarum, Hyderabad.

way and merely running them down. Above all, we should keep the basic principles and policies of the Congress in view and strive to further them.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

120. To D. Sanjivayya: Sharda Bhargava for Rajya Sabha³⁶⁹

July 30, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

I enclose a letter from Sharda Bhargava. At our special request, she opposed the Maharani of Jaipur during the last General Election. It was a difficult contest for her, and we told her then that we would try to provide for her in the Rajya Sabha when opportunity arose. As a matter of fact, we did not do so when this opportunity arose.

I think she has a legitimate claim, and we should keep her in mind for the next vacancy in the Rajya Sabha, especially from Rajasthan.³⁷⁰

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Social Groups

121. In New Delhi: On Caste³⁷¹

Paying a tribute to Thakkar Bapa³⁷² who dedicated his life to the service of the Adivasis and the depressed classes, the Prime Minister made a strong plan for the abolition of economic and social disparities which stand in the way of the achievement of the goal of the socialist pattern of society. Making a reference to Gandhiji's work for the abolition of untouchability, Shri Nehru said that politics was not the basic consideration for Gandhiji. He regarded it as a means

369. Letter to the Congress President.

370. Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan, 22 August 1963-April 1966.

371. Summary of speech in Hindi, 5 May 1963, on unveiling Thakkar Bapa's statue at the Harijan Colony, Kingsway Camp, Delhi. PIB.

372. A.V. Thakkar, social worker, associated with Harijan Sevak Sangh and Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh.

to achieve his basic goal, which was regeneration of Indian society. The Indian nation had sunk low, due to the distinctions of caste and untouchability. He knew that the nation could rise again only when the submerged section of the society was uplifted.

Shri Nehru said that caste distinctions are an anomaly in the present age. In a democratic and socialist society, distinctions of birth and caste have no place. The progress of the nation could not be measured by big buildings or large factories. The real yardstick of progress is the uplift of the depressed and backward sections of the society. He conceded that there had been considerable improvement and legislative measures had been taken to abolish untouchability. But untouchability had to be removed from our heart and social life also. The Prime Minister said that the depressed classes had to be provided with the fullest opportunities for education and employment. This would enable them to rise on their own strength, for ultimately people had to depend on their own intrinsic vigour and strength. Non-official institutions and social workers could help by providing them opportunities for education.

Shri Nehru said that the weakness of the nation was partly due to caste distinctions and to the extent caste disappears our human resources would grow. The nation would advance, when millions of our people would develop skills and engage themselves in agriculture and industry. Our nation would become strong only when caste is abolished and all the people are enabled to participate fully in social and national life. Caste, he said, is an evil which debases those who practice it. A man is not born great. Princely birth does not confer greatness. Man becomes great by his work. It is work and the spirit in which one works, which confers greatness.

122. Meeting with Papal Internuncio³⁷³

[Note, 6 May 1963, for R.K. Nehru, the SG, and M.J. Desai, the FS, begins]

The Papal Internuncio³⁷⁴ came to see me this morning and gave me two copies of the English translation of the latest Encyclical letter.³⁷⁵ (I have kept one of these).

373. Noting, 6 May 1963. MHA, File No. 6/81/63-F. I, pp.1-2/c. Also available in the JN Collection.

374. James Robert Knox.

375. *Pacem in Terris* (Peace on Earth), Encyclical issued by Pope John XXIII on 11 April 1963 on establishing universal peace in truth, justice, charity and liberty, see <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/john23/j23pacem.htm>, accessed on 3 June 2019.

2. This Encyclical is, I believe, a very interesting document and deserves careful study.

3. The Internuncio told me that he had wished to go to the Deoli Camp to visit the Chinese internees there, among whom were a number of Catholics. But he was not allowed to go. I do not see why we should put any difficulty in his way in this matter. Most of the internees in the Camp have gone, but a number still remain there. If he wishes to go, I think, he should be allowed to go for a while.

4. The Internuncio also told me that some of the Catholic clergymen who come here on Tourist Visas are asked to give a declaration not to do any missionary work while in India. Usually, this is done at the airport. He said that this was not a good thing to do. It seems to me also undesirable practice. The visits of these people on Tourist Visas is for a short time and it may be embarrassing to all concerned to have this kind of a declaration made. Please ask the Home Ministry if they know anything about this and whether they have issued any such instructions. It seems, possibly, some subordinate officials are indulging in this practice. Anyhow, it is not a good practice for us as it irritates people who, when they go back, criticise our Government and India.

5. The Internuncio also said about the difficulty of getting visas, occasionally, for somebody who is required to take up their work in one of their institutions here. They are eager to Indianise all these institutions but sometimes it is not possible to get trained men for it. They are expediting this process, but occasionally some persons are needed. I think we might not be so rigid about these matters. A few Catholic priests coming here for special work need not be objected to.

6. The Internuncio also told me of the big Ecumenical Congress that is apparently going to be held in Bombay in October or November, 1964, when a large number of Catholic priests will come to attend it.³⁷⁶ I believe we have agreed to this. Many of these persons would like to go to Goa on that occasion and the relics of St [Francis] Xavier would be displayed there.

376. 38th Eucharistic Congress—an international gathering of Roman Catholic laymen and churchmen was to be held from 28 November to 6 December 1964 in Bombay and the Pope was expected attend. <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/10/15/archives/pope-paul-will-travel-to-india-to-attend-eucharistic-congress.html>, accessed on 25 March 2019.

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7. I enclose an extra copy of this note which might be sent to the Home Ministry.

8. I am sending the Papal Encyclical.

J. Nehru
6-5-1963

SG
FS

[Note, 6 May 1963, for R.K. Nehru, the SG, and M.J. Desai, the FS, ends]

[Note by M.J. Desai, 6 May 1963, begins]

Reference para 3 of PM's note dated 6.5.63.

I explained to PM that the Papal Internuncio is both a diplomatic representative of the Pope and a dignitary of the Catholic Church. If we allowed him to visit the Deoli camp, the Chinese Government will make an issue of it and insist that their diplomatic representative should also be permitted to visit that Deoli Camp. They will also exploit the Papal Internuncio's visit to Deoli Camp for propaganda purposes and say that the Government of India has been employing the services of the Catholic Church to prevent overseas Chinese in India who are at the Deoli detention Camp from returning to their motherland. I told PM that after the 600 and odd detenus who have opted to go to China leave about the 27th of this month, we intend to wind up the Deoli Camp. Director (W) should explain this position to the Papal Internuncio or his First Secretary.

2. The practice of asking a declaration referred to in para 4 of PM's note requires to be stopped. After all, they are on tourist visas and if they do anything prejudicial to our interests, it should be easy enough to refuse to extend the visa or to terminate it. There is no need to take these declarations which only result in annoying the good people amongst these clergyman tourists. Those who misbehave can only be dealt with by termination of the visas regardless of the declarations made.

3. Home Ministry may note PM's orders in paragraph 5 for guidance.

4. Director (W) should show the papers connected with the Congress, referred to in paragraph 6 of PM's note, to SS and Dir (Goa & Pondicherry). It is important that St [Francis] Xavier's Church which houses these relics should be declared a "Protected Monument" and immediate action taken to see that it is properly maintained.

5. I have sent a copy of this note, with copy of PM's note, to Secretary, Home Ministry, and Shri Fateh Singh, for further action on points with which the Home Ministry is concerned.

M.J. Desai
6 May 63

Dir (W)

123. German Missionaries³⁷⁷

I enclose a letter from Minister Subramaniam with which he has sent various papers about German Missionaries doing philanthropic work in India.³⁷⁸ This matter was especially brought to his notice by the President of West Germany.³⁷⁹

Please send these papers to the Home Ministry. I am inclined to think that the Home Ministry has been much too rigid in the matter of such even lone missionary workers who want to come here. I do not understand why we are so terribly afraid of a few missionaries coming to India, more especially when they are competent and experts in technical and economic field.

124. To C.B. Gupta: Temple Construction on Public Land³⁸⁰

May 9, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

Complaints have reached me about the building of a large number of temples on the public footpaths in Lucknow. Such temples have also been constructed in the inside compounds of Government buildings. This is not only undesirable in itself, but leads to congestion of traffic. I hope you will look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

377. Note, 7 May 1963, for R.K. Nehru, the SG, MEA. MHA, File No. 12/29/63, F.I, p.13/n.

378. Appendix 4.

379. Heinrich Lübke.

380. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

125. To A.K. Sen: Muslim Personal Law³⁸¹

May 9, 1963

My dear Asoke,

I had a deputation from the Jamiat-ul-Ulama today about the proposal we had to appoint a Committee to consider the question of any change in the Muslim Personal Law. These people were rather agitated on the subject. I told them that we do not wish to make any change except such as are approved by Muslims. That is to say, we do not wish to use a non-Muslim majority for any laws affecting the Muslims only in this respect. It was some Muslim scholars who had suggested that we should appoint a Committee for this purpose. If and when such a Committee is appointed and they make any recommendations, we shall naturally consult Muslim organisations about it before taking any further step.

I enclose a paper they gave me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

126. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Pakistan on Evictions of Muslims from Northeast³⁸²

May 20, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

The Pakistan papers are full with reports of Muslims being pushed out of Assam and Tripura. I was under the impression that this eviction had stopped for the time being, or being postponed. What is the position? I think it will be unwise to carry on with this at the present stage.

I enclose a cutting from the *Pakistan Times*.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

381. Letter to the Law Minister.

382. Letter to the Home Minister.

127. Parsis³⁸³

I enclose a letter from Shri Homi Taleyarkhan, Minister of the Government of Maharashtra.³⁸⁴ In this he refers to the Irani Zoroastrians in Bombay and how they are harassed with constant enquiries. Why should this matter not be cleared up. Those who are Indian Nationals should be treated as such and not harassed in any way.

128. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Ahmedias of Qadian³⁸⁵

June 20, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

I enclose a letter from the Ahmedia people of Qadian. They have addressed a representation to the President of which they have sent me a copy. The President will, no doubt, on his return, refer this to me so I am sending it to you straightaway.

I do not remember all the facts, but I do remember that this matter came up before me some years ago and it was referred to your Ministry. I hope you will have this looked into carefully.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

129. To K.L. Shrimali: Poor Performance by Muslim Students³⁸⁶

June 21, 1963

My dear Shrimali,

A year or two ago, I wrote to you about the very small percentage of Muslim boys and girls passing the Higher Secondary Examinations in Delhi. I have received a note on this subject in regard to the figures for the year 1963. In this also the Muslim percentage is very low.

383. Note, 16 June 1963, for R.K. Nehru, the SG, MEA. MHA, File No. 6/177/63-F.I., p. 1/n.

384. Appendix 17.

385. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

386. Letter to the Minister of Education, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

I think some internal enquiry into this matter is desirable. Do fewer Muslim boys and girls appear for these examinations or go to school or the number who failed in the examinations is comparatively much larger?

This matter deserves looking into so that we might find out the causes behind it. It will continue to create problems for us in future unless we curb it now.

I enclose two papers; one is a note for me and the other an English translation of an article in the daily *Al-Jamiat*.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

130. To C.B. Gupta: Shia Institute in Lucknow³⁸⁷

June 30, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

Recently when I was in Kashmir, Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed³⁸⁸ gave me the attached letter. He was much concerned about the matter which, he said, was exercising the Shias even in Kashmir. He told me that he had himself visited this institute in Lucknow and had a good opinion of it.

I do not know the facts. But it surprises me that an old educational institute should have its structure dismantled and its land vacated. Normally educational institutions are helped. In this case especially, reaction of the Shias will be fairly far-reaching. I hope you will look into this matter.³⁸⁹

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

387. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

388. Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

389. This refers to the Jamia Sultanul Madaris, a Shia Theological School in Lucknow. See also item 136.

131. To Jivraj N. Mehta: Harrassment of a Poor Muslim³⁹⁰

July 6, 1963

My dear Jivraj,

I enclose a bunch of papers about one Mohammad Adam Badanga who lives at Godhra in Panchmahal District of Gujarat State. Some time ago, he came to see me and told me his story. I shall not go into it but I was impressed by it and I referred the matter to our Home Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri. I think he communicated with the Gujarat Government.

It seemed to me then that this man was unnecessarily harassed by the police and the attempt made to push him out to Pakistan was wholly unjustifiable. This is, I suppose an offshoot of the Godhra troubles, as also of the inequitable Evacuee Properties Act etc. which we passed soon after the Partition. His family has lived in Godhra throughout, but he went to Pakistan to fetch his wife who was there at the time. This evidently gave a handle to some authorities to declare him as a Pakistani.

Whatever was done then, I think it will be completely unfair to pursue him all this time and this matter must be ended completely. Indeed, I thought this had been ended previously, but he tells me that the police still pursue him and his wife.

He is, I believe, a poor man and is suffering from various disorders and illnesses. His wife is also ill. I do not know why it is necessary to pursue him still and demand all kinds of certificates from him. Whether he is ill or not ill, he should be allowed to remain where he is and no police action should be taken against him.

I hope you will kindly look into this matter and take the necessary action.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

390. Letter to the Chief Minister of Gujarat; address: Camp: New Delhi.

132. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Ahmadiyas³⁹¹

July 6, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

I have written to you some days ago about Qadian, and you replied to me and said that you were enquiring into this matter.

I today received another communication from the Qadianese, which I enclose.

I would remind you that the Ahmadiya community is spread out in many parts of the world. Their missionaries are spread out in Europe and Africa and part of Asia. From the political point of view, it is desirable to be a little generous to them and not have to face their ill-will everywhere.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

133. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Ahmadiya Properties³⁹²

8 July 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of the 8th July about the properties of Ahmadiyas. I presume all these properties are situated in Qadian.

I think that you should send a letter to the representative of the Ahmadiyas, telling them that you have considered this matter with special care and sympathy, and have reduced the normal demands which have been made to these properties very considerably. Unfortunately, at the last meeting you had with their representatives, they did not agree to the proposals you had made even though these were very fair and far less than what the normal demands might have been.

You should then give the original normal demands and how you reduced them. You might also mention that you offered that the sum involved can be paid over a period of five years.

I gather from your note that you have handed over the Trust properties already to the Anjuman.

What I want you to do is to send them a clear statement of the position as it is, pointing out the very considerable reductions that you have made and ask

391. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation.

392. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation.

them to accept your proposals put forward to them. On receipt of their reply, we shall consider this matter and decide.

You might also point out to them that you have been pained to notice that in spite of the sympathetic attitude taken by the Government, they have carried on a malicious propaganda in regard to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

134. For the Asprushyata Nivaran Day³⁹³

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the observance of Asprushyata Nivaran Day which is being organised by the Maharashtra Government. It is rather sad that even sixteen years after independence, some trace of untouchability should continue. We must try our utmost to get rid of this completely. It is wholly out of place in a State devoted to democracy and socialism.

135. To Y.B. Chavan: Injustice to Muslim Cadet³⁹⁴

July 11, 1963

My dear Chavan,

The Vice-President³⁹⁵ asked me to see him today and when I went to his house, he spoke to me about a young man, Syed Ishrat Husain. He had known him a little when he was Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University.

This young man offered himself for Regular Commission and after the interview, health examination, etc. was selected. He joined the Indian Military Academy in January 1963 and went through their course. On the very last day, after this course was over, he was told that he had to withdraw from the course and go back to his hometown. On enquiry from the Commandant about the reasons for his withdrawal, it was suggested to him that police verification had not been received and perhaps something else in the University.

As a matter of fact, Ishrat Husain had very good certificates from his University and had had no trouble at all during his student days. As for the

393. Message, 9 July 1963, forwarded to Nirmala Raje Bhonsle, Minister for Social Welfare, Maharashtra. PMO, File No. F 9/2/63-PMP, vol. III, Sr. No. 93-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

394. Letter to the Defence Minister.

395. Zakir Husain.

police, the Superintendent of Police of Aligarh has told him that they had nothing against him and, in fact they had sent the character verification previously.

In view of all this it seems very curious that he should suddenly have been withdrawn from the course at the last moment. There may be some mistake about this matter or merely on somebody's unjustified complaints this might have been done. In any event, this would be a bad thing, but in this particular case of a young Muslim student coming from Aligarh, this is particularly bad.

Ishrat has felt this very much and wept copiously before the Vice-President.

I am sending you some papers which the Vice-President gave me. I do hope that you will kindly have this matter enquired into very soon and take such steps as you may consider necessary.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

136. To G.M. Bakhshi: The Sultanul Madaris of Lucknow³⁹⁶

July 17, 1963

My dear Bakhshi,

When I was in Srinagar, you spoke to me about the Sultanul Madaris of Lucknow³⁹⁷ and the proposal of the UP Government to take possession of the land of this institution. I wrote to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. He has sent me a note prepared by his office about this institution. I enclose a copy of this note.

You will see that there is no question of suddenly dispossessing the Sultanul Madaris. Where they are situated now is very inconvenient for the growth of the city and the Medical College and a large part of the area is lying in waste condition. It was because of some breach of conditions about this land that a case was started.

The proposal now is that a new building should be put up for this Arabic School and the institution should shift into that new building. Only then would the question of occupying and perhaps demolishing the old building arise. The new building would be not only much more modern but more commodious and useful for the purposes in view.

It seems to me that this suggestion is quite a good one.

396. Letter to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

397. A Shia madarsa for higher religious education, situated near Medical College, Lucknow.

I might mention that the Shias of Lucknow are themselves divided up into different groups. Some agree with these proposals; others criticise them.³⁹⁸

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Language

137. To Hukam Singh: Parliamentary Behaviour³⁹⁹

May 1, 1963

Dear Mr Speaker,

Hem Barua⁴⁰⁰ submitted a Motion of Privilege to you today. You were pleased to disallow it. I am, however, writing to you to give some of the facts about what I said to a number of young men who came to my house on the 30th April evening.

These young men had come to my house to meet me and I addressed them for a short while. I spoke in Hindi. The gathering was not a public meeting, nor was I aware of the fact that anyone was taking notes of what I said.

In the course of my remarks, I expressed my deep regret at the growth of certain undesirable tendencies and behaviour in our public life. Unless this was checked, this would do deep injury to our democracy. In this connection I referred to what had happened in several Provincial Assemblies and, even in Parliament recently on the occasion of the Official Languages Bill when action had to be taken by the House in regard to some Members. This behaviour seemed to me little short of goondaism.

In criticising some Members' action in the Assemblies and Parliament, obviously I did not imply in any way that Parliament was to blame, nor did my remarks refer to any but some persons against whom action was taken. In fact it was my deep concern for parliamentary democracy and decent behaviour that led me to say this.⁴⁰¹

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

398. See also item 130.

399. Letter to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

400. PSP.

401. Nehru was talking to over sixty Congress youth leaders who had come from various parts of the country to attend the All India Youth Training Camp. See *The Hindustan Times*, 1 May 1963, p. 3 col. 6.

138. In the Rajya Sabha: Official Languages Bill⁴⁰²

The Prime Minister (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr Chairman, this question which is before the House has been discussed in the other House and in the country for some considerable time.⁴⁰³ Criticism has been made, I believe, in this House also of the fact that this does not fulfill or carry out the assurances or pledges that I gave. I confess, Sir, that I am wholly unable to understand that criticism. What is this Bill? It is essentially a Bill removing a certain barrier in the Constitution which laid down that English would practically cease to be the official language of the Centre after 1965. It removes that barrier. It does not put another date even except to say that in ten years' time there should be consideration of how Hindi has progressed and other questions like that. I should have thought that that in itself was as much as one could expect from any point of view, and it was suggested that one should put in, in the form of a statute, when this matter comes up, that it should only be decided by representatives from the non-Hindi States in India. I have been unable to understand how this kind of thing can be put down in a statute. That would create an extraordinary situation and would be a wrong precedent, I think. But what I said was—I do believe in it, I have repeated it there and I wish to repeat it here that any change which affects the South, any change in the language policy which affects not the South only but the non-Hindi speaking areas, should have their assent, or to put it differently, no change should be made in this respect which puts a handicap on those who do not know Hindi. Now, we at the present moment are dealing with Hindi and English as official languages of the Centre. It must be recognised, and I entirely agree with Mr Annadurai⁴⁰⁴ when he said that India is a multilingual country, and to some extent also there are various ethnical differences, but they overlap so much that it is very difficult to draw a line. Even in this multilingual country we know that there are two groups of languages, one derived in the North from Sanskrit and relatively resembling each other fairly closely and a group in the South of which Tamil is the most ancient, very ancient language, coeval, I believe, with Sanskrit, which, although entirely different, has added to it a number of words from Sanskrit. I believe an attempt is being made to retain what is called the purity of the Tamil language. It is not for me to say anything about it except to venture to say that it is always a good thing for any

402. Interventions during the debate on the Bill, 4 May 1963. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLIII, Nos. 9-17, 1st to 11th May 1963, cols 2088-2102.

403. Introduced in the Lok Sabha on 13 April 1963, and in the Rajya Sabha on 2 May 1963, by the Home Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. For Nehru's interventions on 24 April 1963, see SWJN/SS/81/item 158.

404. C.N. Annadurai, DMK.

language, whatever it may be, to absorb words from other languages, whether classical or other. It is a sign of the life and the richness of the language, it is the capacity of it to absorb words from other languages. Only the dead languages stop absorbing words. That is a sign of their not being alive. The English language which has spread and grown greatly and is probably the most widespread language in the world today has an amazing capacity for absorbing words, adapting words for its own use from other languages. Therefore, it is not for me to say what should be done to the Tamil language because I am no scholar in Tamil, but I would be sorry to learn that any language has shut its door to outside words. I think the process which is already going on in North India certainly and to some extent in the South too of absorbing words from other languages and giving its own version of words of other languages is a happy one, is good for all the languages. It makes them richer and brings them somewhat closer.

We have decided, and perhaps the House knows, that as far as possible all technical and scientific words should be based on international usage, maybe with certain minor changes in them to make them fit in with the genius of the language, but it should essentially be international words. If that is done, as I hope it will be done and it is being done, that means two or three things. One is that we keep in touch with an international language which is growing very fast dealing with technical and scientific terminology, adapting that terminology in India with minor variations. We bring the Indian languages close together in regard to that terminology, whether it is Tamil or whether it is Bengali or Hindi or Marathi or Gujarati or any other language. As a matter of fact the proportion of technical and scientific words in all the advanced languages is growing very rapidly. In numbers alone they are almost overwhelming. The other parts of the language probably will go on in the world as they are. So, all these efforts to bring the languages of India somewhat closer together are to be welcomed therefore, and any effort to keep them apart, to keep them rid, to keep them unabsorbing of other words is to weaken them, to prevent their growth. To some extent I have had some opportunity of observing these forces at work as President of the Sahitya Akademi which is interested not in one but in all the languages of India and as a matter of fact we have included English also in our list. It has made me happy to see this interchange going on. Books are being published in all the Indian languages and the same books are being translated from one language into another, and thus the contacts of the literary figures are brought closer and the languages also are brought closer.

Now, what is our policy? We have said in our Constitution that there are fourteen national languages of India including Sanskrit. We have given them all the honour of being national language of India. Some may be more prevalent

than others. The only thing said about Hindi was that in future it should be the link language, the language for official purposes of the Central Government. Essentially the national language character would apply to all the languages. Today I think Mr Annadurai said that Tamil is the official language of Madras State. I welcome that, and I do not see why all other languages should not be official languages in their respective regions, and they are, in fact, becoming both in education and official and other purposes. That is bound to grow. If they grow as they are bound to, what should be their contacts with each other? That is a point we have to consider. How can they influence each other? How can they deal with other parts of the country? For official purposes how can people go about from place to place and be links between different areas? Thus far English has been such a link language, and presumably it will continue to be that link language for some considerable time. I do not know, I am not prepared to put a limit to that. I do not know how long it will be. It may gradually, while being still a link language, become perhaps a little less so in use, although it is so, it can be so, nothing to prevent it. But the main difficulty as was pointed out is, if Hindi is made such a language, it will mean a grave handicap to the non Hindi speaking people. That is a valid point and I think that any change which should be made should keep in view that it creates no handicaps for large sections of our people in the interests of the services and in other ways. But, first of all, after much thought and much discussion and argument, we decided to give it a special place in our Constitution. I think, if I may venture to say so, that the decision taken then was a right decision. Anyhow, it was a decision taken and we cannot deal with it lightly. But when we find that to some extent at this stage it comes in the way that particular decision, that is, not to allow English to continue as such, so far as this Bill is concerned, indefinitely or till some other action is taken. Or it may be that the other action, while possibly encouraging Hindi, may also give a place to English. I do not know myself. My own conception is that in some form or other, English is likely to be used in India apart from foreign purposes, for link purposes also, for a considerable time. I do not like the idea, as has been suggested by some friends, that English should be made the official language of India for these purposes more or less forever. It is not that; I hope that I am not too narrowly nationalistic in this matter, but I do think that we would create a big barrier between the English-knowing people, however big in number they might be, and the other masses of India, and that is not a good thing. The masses of India will really come into contact with the regional language, that is true, they should come into contact with the link languages too—a sufficient number of them, not all. I do think that we will not weaken the minds of our masses if we continue to function basically in the English language. It is not the functioning in the English language that I object

to but it is the psychology surrounding it which I think is a bad psychology. I say so without offence to anyone because I have myself suffered from that psychology, being a member of what is called the new caste that arose in the nineteenth century which has continued even now, the English-knowing caste in India, which considered itself somewhat superior to those people who did not know English. It is a fact; even today it is so unfortunately. I do not mind, and I would like English to be as widespread as possible, and I think it is going to be; because English is now the compulsory second language in our schools, probably far more people will know English in future than they have done in the past. But however much they may know, it cannot spread to the hundreds of millions of our people, and this kind of feeling, this kind of a vested interest even in our social life, even in other things, apart from the official life, is a bad thing. It has a limiting factor and it limits the growth of our own languages to some extent and gives a rather spurious importance to persons who know bad English to put their heads over the people who know very well the other languages of India. I do not think that is right. Therefore, I do believe that however much we may consider English important, however much we may encourage its teaching and use, English cannot be described as a national language of India, it should not be. How then are we to face the present situation? All the national languages develop. They should develop and that is the right way for even Hindi to develop in its own States which are widespread, and these create a certain strong basis for its being used for other purposes, even inter-State purposes. That is all right. But, nevertheless, as a link language, should we develop it, should we use it progressively or not? Everyone knows it. At least I do not think anyone claims that Hindi is a far superior language to the other national languages of India; in some ways the other languages are better. So far as the South is concerned, as I said Tamil is much more ancient, coeval with Sanskrit but because of various circumstances, Hindi is not only a widespread language in India not only in numbers but in other ways Hindi has developed and is developing. Without any official patronage, Hindi is a kind of lingua franca, not perhaps for the peasantry, all of them, but in cities one can get on with Hindi. And I mentioned the other day that even our cinema world was helping to propagate Hindi. There are so many factors working for it. It is not conceivable for me that any other language could progress as much as Hindi has done in extent and in numbers. You will remember, Sir, that some time ago we suggested the three language formula in which was suggested the regional language plus Hindi plus English. Where the regional language was Hindi, he was asked to learn some language of the other areas in India especially the South. All this was based upon the idea of spreading the knowledge of the various languages in India as much as possible, to bring them nearer to

each other. It is quite extraordinary that we in India object to learning another language. It is a most ordinary thing in Europe and other places for a person to learn at least three, if not four languages. And I can mention the countries. Everybody knows the cases of Switzerland and Yugoslavia where they have two or three scripts, I think four or five languages, all official. So, I do not see any difficulty about it, about persons in the north learning the languages of the south and the people in the south learning the languages of the north. Of course, education, though it opens out many doors, is sometimes a bit of a burden to carry but it is a desirable burden, and we should carry it.

So, who are the critics of the present Bill? They are the Hindi critics and the anti-Hindi critics, on both sides. The Hindi critics think that extending the life of English is not necessary, is not desirable, is harmful. Well, I entirely disagree with them. In the circumstances as we are situated today, I think this is inevitable, that has to be done. But I go further than that. I may say, if Hindi has got to progress and it applies also to other languages of India it can only progress really in the modern world, not because it has got some very fine masterpieces of literature in it of the past, which is so, but modern ideas have come to India practically only in the nineteenth century through the English language, chiefly. A few translations have not brought them; through the English language they had to come to our writers and others. Hindi has progressed more in the nineteenth century than through long periods previously because of its contact with the foreign living languages, with foreign ideas. And so others. Bengali which has made tremendous progress, which is a very rich language, has progressed because of the ideas that have come to it from the West, because the West happened to be a living, dynamic place in the world, changing rapidly, and we were rather static. Therefore, I believe that a language, not English particularly but any language, representing the modern world is an essential thing for us to know, to vivify, to encourage, to strengthen and to make Hindi dynamic. That applies to every language in India, I think. Therefore, some kind of association with English is, I think, essential for the development of Hindi. Otherwise, we shall fall into the position, which we had been in for a long time, not from the language point of view, but generally in life, being cut off from the modern world, cut off from the modern ideas, and living an inward looking life of our own, without taking advantage of the changes in the world. We want to become dynamic; we are becoming dynamic. Language plays a very important part, and therefore, I consider it important from the point of view of both the growth of India and the association of India with the modern world, which is so important for the languages of India to remain in close contact with the dynamic languages of the Western countries which represent this new world today. Of those languages it so happens that we are more acquainted with

English than any other language. I am equally happy to be acquainted with and I would like large numbers of people to be acquainted with French or Russian. They are all dynamic growing languages, but English is obviously easier for us and we drew on it. Therefore we keep it and use it over though we may do progressively more and more work in Hindi or Tamil or Bengali or whatever the language might be. It seems to me a very vital point that if we continue psychologically attached to English practically, I do not mind what the attachment is, and I think it should remain, but psychologically attachment to English, which brings about certain complexes in our minds, social groups, etc., which will come in the way of the growth of our languages, well, that, I think, is bad. Therefore, I do not want to give that place of English permanently although, in practice, I would welcome its association in some way, and it is bound to be associated in some way, whether you call it from official association or not. Thus, Sir, whether you look at it from the point of view of those who are protagonists of Hindi, or that or those who are afraid that Hindi will mean a handicap for them, I think the way we have suggested in this Bill is as happy a compromise between extreme views as is possible in this imperfect world. I do not say it is perfect, and in some things, even now, I admit that at least in some of the States where sometimes bilingual people live on the borders and other places difficulties arise, difficulties not created by the language, but difficulties in working and implementing it, and objections are raised. Well, that is a Governmental matter which should be looked into and should be remedied. But I do not think that, in the general approach of this Bill, or the actual propositions laid down, there is anything which can really be criticised unless one takes up an attitude, say, from the Hindi side, that we must remove English completely from this country, which I entirely disagree with, and I think Hindi will suffer more. Hindi may be used, of course, by more clerks and others in offices. That is possible. But the progress of a language does not depend on the number of clerks and the like using it, but on the inner growth, the dynamic growth of a language. I think Hindi has got enormous capacity for that dynamism provided it does not keep its mind and windows closed—that is very important—which it has always tended to do in the past. Hindi can become ever so much stronger as a language by keeping its mind open to English words, to Urdu words, to Persian words, to Tamil words whatever it may be also Russian words. It will thus become stronger and bigger keeping the basic framework of the Hindi language but accepting words from some other languages which can be fitted into the genius of the Hindi language. This applies to every language. But this narrow outlook of thinking that Hindi will grow merely by pushing it into an office—I can understand, it may be done gradually, will be done, no doubt—that way, the language will not grow. The

language will probably remain a stilted language as it had tended to become in the early years since independence. It had made rapid translations of vocabularies producing words which have no history behind them, which have no meaning except for the elite and that, I think, injured and harmed Hindi more than anything else. A language is a living, dynamic, growing language; it is like a beautiful flower which grows. You cannot pull it out of the ground expecting it to grow more rapidly, and I am afraid Hindi has been much misused in this manner by the very people who want it to grow. We all, I hope, want it to grow. I certainly want it to grow, because I think it is a fine language and it has the makings of an infinitely richer language. Although I think that foreign languages are necessary for our scientific and technological development, even then I believe that, essentially, scientific education in our schools must be given in the regional languages because, otherwise, the burden on the child of learning a foreign language so as to learn something else, is too great. At a somewhat later stage, if he wants to learn scientific or technological steps a little more, he will have to learn some other language there is no help for it. Every scientist knows at least three, if not four, languages. Otherwise he cannot get on. At the present moment about 50,000 new books are appearing every year for the scientific and technological subjects. It is not a question of translation. No translation bureau can cope with this situation. Therefore, I submit, Sir—I cannot bind down, I cannot say what will happen in the future, but I do think—the circumstances existing in India have been created and are being further created by us, that is, by Parliament, by Government, etc., which makes it next to impossible for any major step to be taken, which will put a big handicap in the way of any part of India over the language issue. Certainly, as I have said, you must always bear in mind that no change is made which puts that handicap, and do not think any such change will be made. After all, the major languages being the national languages, they develop. They come into contact with each other and people get to know more than one language, and in addition we have used all other languages also. We are encouraging, for instance, the use of French in the Pondicherry area. Why? Pondicherry area is a small area, but it has got a background of French education, French learning and French speaking there. We want to develop that language, one of the great languages of the world. We want to develop it, not only for its own sake, but so that it may influence our own languages, whether it is Hindi or any other language, more especially Tamil, which is there because languages have an enriching effect by keeping in contact with another language, and I do not understand the narrow-minded outlook which is afraid of another language and thinks that if the other language grows, it will limit somehow the growth of its so-called rival languages. This rivalry in languages is a wrong approach to this question,

especially in India. It is a big country; it has many languages, fortunately closely allied to each other, and even those which are not closely allied are, in some basic ways, allied. Some of my friends have suggested that Sanskrit should have been made the national language of India. Now, I have great respect for Sanskrit, and I think Sanskrit embodies, more than anything else, the great culture of India, culture and thought of India, but I do not agree and cannot agree to calling it a national language of India. It will be as bad as calling English a national language. Not psychologically, but practically asking millions of people to know Sanskrit will be a terrible thing. I should like more and more people to learn Sanskrit, and I hope they will do so because that will enrich their own languages.

So, I feel, Sir, that the opposition to this Bill is more sentimental on either side than logical. I do not think this is going to harm—certainly it will not harm—the progress of Hindi. What I am apprehensive about is that Hindi will be harmed by the strong advocates of Hindi; I am really apprehensive about that. They will make it a stilted language, and they will make it a narrow-minded language representing a narrow-minded people.

Sir, language is the biggest expression of the kind of people we have. I believe Milton has written somewhere, “Show me the language of the people, and without knowing them at all, I can tell you what they are” whether they are people of character, people of learning, people of ability, because a language represents that. If you bring up a language full of artificial words, stilted phrases, you really affect the character of a people, and I am afraid our character has been affected in the past few generations by this kind of thing plus also the dominance of English. I do not like this dominance of English affecting our character and mind. I do think it is important for us to derive benefit from English, for Hindi and Gujarati and Marathi and Tamil, if I may say so, all these languages to derive benefit from their association with English as from their association with French or German or Russian.

Again, I beg to say that this particular Bill is really limited to indeed removing a barrier which come in the way of English not being continued after 1965. If anybody is opposed to that, then, of course, he should express himself and vote against it. But if anybody agrees with that, and especially those who wanted English to continue, I do not understand at all how they speak against the Bill or oppose it. At the most it can be said that they accept this Bill. But they are not quite happy at what might happen in the future. All one can say about the future is that we can create conditions which will govern the future but we cannot control the future. All kinds of curious things are happening in this world. We are passing through enormous revolutionary changes all over the world chiefly because of scientific and technological developments. And that

is why it is most necessary that we should take no steps, linguistically even, which limit knowledge of these developments scientific and technological, from coming to us. And that makes it necessary for association with foreign languages. But at the same time it is equally important and most important that our people must have a sense that we are using their own languages and that we are not depending on a foreign language however much we may take its help. So, we have to steer between these two. And I think what is suggested in this Bill is eminently right from that point of view. It is not a kind of artificial compromise between two extremes.

Sir, I can well admit that sometimes an extreme view or the view of some extreme people is the right one. A compromise is not always a good thing; it may have no virtue in it. We have just a mean of both the extreme views. And I think that this is not a compromise in this sense but a very reasonable, logical and practical way of looking at the problem that we have to face, because the problem of languages is always a difficult one.

We have seen the difficulties come up even between two States after this linguistic States Reorganisation Committee. I think our Constitution has dealt with it very wisely, recognising all these languages as national languages and providing for link languages also. What the distant future will be, I do not think anyone in this House can say.

Sir, I mentioned the other day in the Lok Sabha a certain new development which does affect language. Because of the growth of scientific and technological phrases and words a new language is developing which is very largely a language of symbols. It is quite extraordinary to open a book and find that probably three fourths of the book is of symbols and nothing else, except a quarter, may be a few words here and there. Those symbols are common throughout the world for scientists and people who understand technology. And they read it. So in a sense a common script of a symbolic type is developing, is bound to develop. Now, that was the reason why when the Constitution was being made, it was decided, and wisely decided, that international figures should be used by us for official purposes and the like, the international figures being, of course, in their origin Indian figures. Perhaps some people do not realise that one of the biggest discoveries of Indian thinkers was the discovery of the Zero sign, discovery of the metrical sign system which spread from here to Arabia and from there to Europe and were called Arabic numerals, the Arabic numerals being essentially Hindi numerals, of Indian origin. Those numbers and numerals have developed and developed into tens of thousands of symbols today representing various forms of mathematical and scientific thought. And if we stick to the old ways, we shall be left behind and not participate in the progress of the human race. Therefore, I submit, Sir, that it is right, as of course

this Bill says, that English as an additional or associate official language should continue to be there, and meanwhile we should do all that we can to encourage the regional languages because it is through them only that we can reach the people. It is very important that education should spread. And education will ultimately spread certainly if the schools teach only through the regional languages, whether they are Hindi, Bengali or Tamil, it does not matter. They have to be encouraged.

Thirdly, we have to encourage and make it easier for Hindi to occupy the place gradually as a link language. We should do all we can for that purpose but, again, whatever we do should be done not in a forcible way, in a forceful way to coerce other people to accept it as an all India language. But let us go into that. There are all kinds of forces in India at work which are making it grow, but by overdoing it we will spoil that growth as we shall spoil it by obstructing it. Therefore, Sir, I beg the House to consider this Bill as a good Bill and to pass it with as great a majority as possible.

139. To E.V.K. Sampath: Hindi Bigots⁴⁰⁵

May 6, 1963

Dear Shri Sampath,

Thank you for your letter of the 4th May.

You are right in saying that some people have adopted a very bigoted and wrong attitude in regard to Hindi, but you need not think that their attitude is representative of most others living in the Hindi speaking areas. I can assure you that I am not the only person who thinks like this.

I am sure that the assurance I have given will be honoured in the future.

405. Letter to President, Tamil National Party ; address Central Jail, Madras. PMO, File No. 52(12)/57-63-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 135-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

Sampath's other address in his letter was 1A, B.M.K. Iyer Street, Thiyagarayanagar, Madras – 17. He was in jail in preventive custody. He was replying to Nehru's letter of 26 April 1963, SWJN/SS/81/item 159.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Meanwhile I agree with you that we should all work for consolidating the unity of India.⁴⁰⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

140. To K.L. Shrimali: Fate of Sindhi Language⁴⁰⁷

May 21, 1963

My dear Shrimali,

I enclose a letter from Shri Jairamdas Daulatram⁴⁰⁸ about the Sindhi. I do not know exactly what decisions have been taken by the Board of Higher Secondary Examination, but it does appear to me rather unfortunate that Sindhi should be excluded from the list of subjects, when Sindhi is taught in various universities and is a language of a considerable number of our people.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

141. To R.K. Dutta: Language Policy⁴⁰⁹

June 20, 1963

My dear Shri Dutta,

I have your letter of the 17th June. The present position is that English will continue to be used for official purposes in the Centre after the date which limited its use till 1965. That meets all possible objections. For us to say that English should be the only official language in the Centre, more or less permanently, is something which I consider wholly undesirable. Our decision is, in fact, in favour of English continuing as an additional language.

406. Sampath expressed his anxiety and confidence in this manner: "It is my humble opinion that the only serious impediment that now remains in the way of consolidating the unity of India is the ambition on one side and fear on the other of Hindi imperialism. And, I am equally certain of the fact that there is none but you, who is both respected and accepted by all the people of India as their leader, who can successfully resolve this vexatious question in a manner that is fair and equitable to all the linguistic nationalities of all India." PMO, File No. 52(12)/57-63-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 132-A.

407. Letter to the Education Minister.

408. Former Governor of Bihar and Assam.

409. Letter ; address: 8/1 Abdul Rasul Avenue, Calcutta-26. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir,

All the 14 Languages listed in the Constitution, are official languages. There is no doubt about it, but it is obviously not possible to use all of them as languages to be used by the Centre. They will naturally be used in their regional areas and we shall be further encouraging their knowledge in other areas too. It is these regional languages in their respective areas that will, to a large extent, displace English, although we are making English a compulsory second language in all our schools.

I think the decision we have taken is an eminently reasonable and feasible one for all the language areas and in fact is in favour of English.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

142. To C.S. Rawat: Use of English⁴¹⁰

June 21, 1963

Dear Rawat,

I have your letter of June 6. I am glad you wrote to me and told me what you think about the internal conditions in the country. There is no doubt that these conditions are at present not good and require effective treatment.

You refer to the language controversy. So far as we are concerned, we have taken a step and the controversy should end. That step had to be taken because of the Constitutional bar to the use of English after 1965.

You also refer to the question of prices and the necessity of their being controlled. I agree with you, though an attempt to control them by compulsion is not always successful.

We have to face in many ways difficult situations. The first thing to do is to realise the situation, assess it and then try to seek and apply remedies. Those remedies must be such as are not only effective but are generally appreciated by the public.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

410. Letter ; address: Council House, Lucknow. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

143. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Language Question and Madras⁴¹¹

July 28, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

Subramaniam has given me a note on the language question. With this note are attached several annexures which give the various memoranda prepared by the Madras Government on this question from time to time.

It would be seen from these memoranda that the first one, I think, was prepared with this consent of all parties in the Madras Assembly. Further that the actual steps we have taken in Parliament have been in consonance with the Madras memorandum.

Subramaniam suggests that this fact should be mentioned and emphasised to show that the present agitation in Madras has no justification.

He further says that in regard to any steps that might be taken to increase the use of Hindi in Government offices and also in the recruitment of people to Government service might be taken after consultation with some of the States. Perhaps a small committee for that purpose might be appointed.

I would suggest your having a talk with Subramaniam on this subject.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Laws and Administration

144. To Y.B. Chavan: IAF at Charbatia⁴¹²

May 6, 1963

My dear Chavan,

Your letter of May 6th. I agree with you that it will be better to have IAF personnel for this work at Charbatia. There will probably be some difficulties, as you have pointed out, in mixing IAF people with others. I think the idea of civilian personnel being used was largely made because it was thought that IAF personnel might not be available in adequate numbers. The Unit can be kept separate, as you have suggested.

411. Letter to the Home Minister. Sent from Rashtrapati Nilayam, Bolarum, Hyderabad.

412. Letter to the Minister of Defence.

This matter can be settled with the Chief of the Air Staff.⁴¹³

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

145. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Preventive Detention⁴¹⁴

May 6, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

Here is a letter from some lawyers with a bunch of legal opinions about preventive detention under the Defence of India Act. Yesterday I sent you Setalvad's⁴¹⁵ opinion. All these others support that opinion, and some go a little beyond that.

It appears from the letter I am sending you that this matter is going to be discussed in the Rajya Sabha on the 9th May. I shall in any event not be here then as I shall be going to Gujarat.

I do not think we can ignore all this mass of legal opinion. We shall have to give thought to this. I had suggested in my last letter to you to get the Law Ministry to examine this and tell you their views. If necessary, it can further be examined by the present Attorney-General.⁴¹⁶ In all likelihood, he will support the other views.

When then are we to do is a matter for us to consider carefully.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

146. To P.C. Sen: Charges against Suniti Kumar Chatterjee⁴¹⁷

May 7, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

Your letter of the 1st May with a number of other letters and papers. These are in regard to the complaint made by Shri Satiranjana Sen against Dr Suniti

413. Aspy Engineer, Chief of Air Staff, 1 December 1960-31 July 1964.

414. Letter to the Home Minister.

415. M.C. Setalvad, Attorney General till March 1963.

416. C.K. Daphtary.

417. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Kumar Chatterji⁴¹⁸ and others. After the talk I had with Chatterjee, I came to the same conclusion as you have done, that the charges against Dr Chatterjee were not justified.

Why do you want me to have an investigation through the Central Intelligence Department? Surely if an investigation is necessary, your State Intelligence people could carry it out.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

147. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Pensions for UPSC Members⁴¹⁹

May 16, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

Dr Mahajani⁴²⁰ and Dr A.T. Sen, both of the UPSC, came to see me this morning and spoke to me on the question of pensions for the non-official members of the UPSC. They gave me a paper which I enclose.

The question came up before us some time ago, when Pantji⁴²¹ was the Home Minister, and the principle, I think, was agreed to. Since then the matter has been pending. I think that the case made out for giving these pensions is a good one. The persons involved are only four.

Then there is the question of the State Public Service Commissions. Some of these States have provided pensions for non-official members. It would be desirable to have a uniform system.

I hope you will get this matter expedited.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

418. See also SWJN/SS/80/item 152.

419. Letter to the Home Minister. PMO, File No. 35(15)/56-76-PM, Sr. No. 18-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

420. G.S. Mahajani.

421. Govind Ballabh Pant.

148. To K.C. Reddy: Vivian Bose Enquiry⁴²²

May 17, 1963

My dear Reddy,

D.L. Mazumdar, Secretary of the Department of Company Law Administration, has sent me a note on the latest position regarding the action taken on the report of the Vivian Bose Enquiry Commission. I have read this note.

So far as the amendments of the Company Law are concerned, these will, no doubt, be considered by the Cabinet and appropriate action taken.

But I must say that I am rather concerned at the way people who have been so thoroughly exposed in the Vivian Bose Enquiry report and about whom there is widespread public opinion, including ours, as to their misbehaviour, should get off. This will create a very bad impression in the public and it is, in fact, a bad thing to do. If the law is not good enough, the law should be changed.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

149. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Coercion in Defence Fund Collections⁴²³

May 21, 1963

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

I enclose a letter that I have received from V. Raghaviah⁴²⁴ of Nellore. This makes serious charges in regard to the collection for the National Defence Fund, in Nellore District. The letter is rather a long one and I am sorry for the delay in sending it to you. Probably, you have received a copy of its previously. Anyhow, this matter does require to be enquired into fully. I understand that the *Blitz* of Bombay has also referred to this.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

422. Letter to the Minister of Commerce and Industry.

423. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

424. Congressman and labour leader from Nellore.

150. Vivian Bose Commission Report⁴²⁵

A Cabinet sub-Committee was formed some months ago to consider the Vivian Bose Commission's Report. This sub-Committee consisted of Sardar Swaran Singh, Shri K.C. Reddy, Shri Asoke Sen and Shri N. Kanungo.

2. I should like you to add the Home Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri to this Committee.

3. I have asked Shri Kanungo to attend the next meeting of the Cabinet and to make a brief report about the meeting of this Sub-Committee.

4. About seven weeks ago, Shri S.P. Chopra was appointed to examine the books and papers of a number of companies associated with the Sahu-Jain organisation. I was told today by Shri N. Kanungo that ever since then no decision had been made about the staff to assist Shri Chopra. This is rather an extraordinary example of negligence and delay in a matter of urgency. It appears that the delay has been caused both in Shri Kanungo's Ministry and the Finance Ministry who apparently think that the staff asked for is not necessary.

5. This staff is a temporary staff for a few months of which nearly two months have already passed. Meanwhile Shri Chopra cannot do the work properly without the necessary help.

6. This matter was brought to the notice of the Home Minister who was present in my room when Shri Kanungo came. He knew nothing about it.

7. Will you please have steps taken to expedite the decision about staff.

151. To Sri Prakasa: Income Tax of Married Couple⁴²⁶

June 1, 1963

My dear Prakasa,

I must ask your forgiveness for the great delay in answering your letter of April 10th. In this you have asked me about the question of husband's liability for payment of income tax on the income of his wife in a joint partnership.

My PPS⁴²⁷ referred this matter to the Central Board of Revenue. He has been told that there is a definite law on the subject, which has been in existence for the last 40 years. Whatever may be the circumstances in which the partnership has been entered into, the income of the husband and the wife are clubbed

425. Note, 31 May 1963, for the Cabinet Secretary S.S. Khera. File No. 47/34/CF/62, Vol. I, Cabinet Secretariat, Rashtrapati Bhavan, p. 50. Also available in the JN Collection.

426. Letter to former Governor of Maharashtra and Madras; address: 9 Ballupur, Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh.

427. Kesho Ram.

together for purposes of payment of income tax, the only exception being in the case of a husband or wife who are medical practitioners or lawyers and who have a joint partnership. In their case separate income tax is charged on their respective incomes.

I am going to Dehra Dun tomorrow for three days. I hope to have absolute rest during this period. I hope, however, to be able to see you during one of these days.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

152. To Homi J.H. Taleyarkhan: Response to Complaint⁴²⁸

June 1, 1963

My dear Homi,

I have your letter of the 31st May. I sent you the complaint I had received not because I had the slightest doubt about it, but because it is my custom to forward such complaints to the persons concerned. This always helps in clearing up any matter.

I am glad you have written at some length about this. There the matter ends as far as I am concerned.

I am sorry to learn what you have written about Shankarrao More's⁴²⁹ speech.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

153. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Friction with Judiciary⁴³⁰

June 5, 1963

My dear Ananthasayanam,

I have just received your letter of the 31st May with which you have sent a copy of your letter to the President and its enclosures.

428. Letter to Maharashtra Minister.

429. Lok Sabha MP, Congress.

430. Letter to the Governor of Bihar.

I must say that I have been deeply grieved at this most unfortunate controversy. When I saw in the papers some report of your speech, I felt that it was unhappy in the circumstances. The speeches of the two High Court Judges made later were certainly undesirable and intemperate. I thought then of writing to you, but, ultimately, decided not to do so.

As you have written to the President, he will no doubt give careful consideration to your letter. But it is not clear to me what even he can do in the matter. High Court Judges are, as you know, practically beyond the reach of any person unless the matter is raised in Parliament under the Constitution. I doubt if it will be advisable to raise it in Parliament.

I am forwarding the papers you sent me to our Home Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

154. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Office Space⁴³¹

June 10, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

Will you please refer to your letter No. 1(3)/63-HM/625 of May 10, 1963? We have looked carefully into the matter but regret that we find it difficult to agree to your suggestion. The accommodation offered in the annexe to Pataudi House in place of Kapurthala House, would not be suitable in quality or extent, either for our offices that would be displaced or for our Library. The Ramakrishnapuram proposition is equally unacceptable, as the new buildings are much too far away and the process of shifting would involve much dislocation in our work without any compensating advantage. The best course would be to proceed apace with the project to restrict North and South Blocks to the four Ministries of External Affairs, Home, Defence and Finance, and to build separate accommodation for the rest.

This Ministry is about the worst housed in the Government of India, being spread over seven or eight buildings. The Emergency has led to an expansion in our activities and therefore of staff. We hope it will be possible to provide us with some additional accommodation near South Block in accordance with the proposals which we sent to you some time ago.

As regards the Punjab Government's problem, we are looking into the question of asking the Chinese Embassy to resume construction work on their

431. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation.

buildings in Chanakyapuri which they unaccountably interrupted some six or eight months ago. It should then be possible for them to release Jind House in view of their reduced staff.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

155. To S.K. Dey: Abid Hussain in Turkey⁴³²

June 10, 1963

My dear Dey,

On return to Delhi today, I have seen a file about Abid Hussain whose services as a Community Development expert were given to the Government of Turkey by us. He had gone there for a year. Now the Turkish Government as well as the UN Representative in Turkey are anxious to have an extension of his deputation for another year that is, till the end of May 1964. This request has been personally supported by the Prime Minister of Turkey,⁴³³ who has stressed his desire that Abid Hussain should continue in Turkey for another year. A number of other high officials have said likewise and so has the Resident UN Representative in Turkey.

In view of this strong desire of many people in Turkey, from the Prime Minister downwards, I think it would be unwise for us to refuse that request for some internal reasons of ours. I gather that the first reaction of your Ministry has not been in favour of allowing an extension. I feel, however, that in view of all the circumstances and the very special request of the Turkish Government, we should allow Abid Hussain to stay on in Turkey for another year. I hope you will agree. He has evidently done good work there which may be affected by his coming back now. Politically also, it is desirable for us to accept the proposal of the Turkish Government and the UN Representative.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

432. Letter to the Minister for Community Development.

433. İsmet İnönü.

156. To B. Gopala Reddi: Early Retirement of AIR Chief Engineer⁴³⁴

June 15, 1963

My dear Gopala Reddi,

Brahm Perkash⁴³⁵ saw me yesterday and mentioned the case of Ramchandani,⁴³⁶ Chief Engineer of AIR, who apparently is being retired at the age of 55. I do not know him myself, but Brahm Parkash said that he was a competent man and when we were rather short of competent engineers, it was a pity to retire a man like him at the age of 55. I pass on this on to you for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

157. To V.B. Gandhi: Economic Advisory Council⁴³⁷

June 19, 1963

My dear Shri Gandhi,

I have your letter of June 17 suggesting the formation of an Economic Advisory Council for the Prime Minister.⁴³⁸ There is force in what you say, but I am not at all sure that such a Council in India, at present, would be as helpful as we would like it to be. Duplication of committees and councils sometimes adds to the confusion. There is also, as you know a Planning Commission and an Economic Committee of the Cabinet. You are right in saying that these bodies do not consider the whole picture and hence their advice in regard to particular matters is not quite up to date.

I do not know whether the American example would help in India at present but there is certainly some force in what you say and we shall have your suggestion examined.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

434. Letter to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

435. Lok Sabha MP, Congress.

436. A.C. Ramchandani.

437. Letter to Lok Sabha MP; address: 22 Perry Cross Road, Bandra, Bombay-50, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 17(550)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A; also Planning Commission, Coordination Branch, File No. 1/117/63-CDN. Also available in the JN Collection.

438. Letter not reproduced, but available in the NMML, JN Collection.

158. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Appointing an Acting Chief Justice⁴³⁹

June 21, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

Your letter of June 19 about the Chief Justice of India⁴⁴⁰ being given leave for 33 days. I agree with you that some other Judge of the Supreme Court will have to be appointed as Acting Chief Justice for this period. Normally Syed Jaffer Imam would have been so appointed, but in view of his health and till this matter is cleared up, it would not be desirable to appoint him now for this period.

In these circumstances the next senior Judge i.e. Shri S.K. Das, should be appointed the Acting Chief Justice during the absence of the Chief Justice.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

159. To Udham Singh Nagoke: Corruption and Resignation⁴⁴¹

June 21, 1963

Dear Udham Singhji,

I have your letter of the 12th June. I have read it carefully.

I am afraid, I do not agree with your analysis of the situation or what you say about our military reverses in NEFA. So far as the military situation is concerned, I think, much of what you have said has no relation to fact. I think still that the foreign policy pursued by India was not only good but continues to be good. Some variations have been made in it and to suit the circumstances, but the vital principles underlying that policy are not only in principle correct but have been acknowledged to be so both in India and abroad.

As for the domestic situation, there is much in it which is disturbing and requires careful attention but this has nothing to do with the agrarian policy laid down by the Planning Commission. You refer to what you call "Permit", "Quota" & "Licence" Raj and refer to what I have said that the rich have grown richer while the poor have become comparatively poorer. I did not make this

439. Letter to the Home Minister, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

440. B.P. Sinha.

441. Letter to Swatantra Party leader; address: Village and P.O. Pheruman, District Amritsar, Punjab. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir,

remark in connection with permits or licenses, but to a fact that in a developing economy, there is a tendency for that to happen which should be checked. Certainly every care should be taken in the granting of licences etc. The fact that the rich had grown richer is not due to licences.

You then refer to corruption in the administration. That is true to some extent and should be tackled with vigour. We are endeavouring to do so.

I do not quite know what you mean by saying that communistic policies have been pursued by our Government. There is precious little communism about our policies, unless you refer to the development of the public sector. The Public Sector is a feature in all countries, including those which are called capitalist countries. Our public sector has been, on the whole, remarkably successful. Many of our difficulties have come from the private sector.

I am afraid I cannot discuss in this letter all the matters to which you have generally referred to. Your suggestion that I should relinquish the office I hold is rather odd, coming from a party which has the smallest representation in Parliament and elsewhere.⁴⁴² Evidently you do not believe in the democratic process. I have no desire to hold on to any office but before I leave it, I must be satisfied that my departure from the Prime Ministership will do good to the country or will be generally approved of by the country. I have no such feeling. Till I have that feeling I shall continue to serve the country to the best of my light.

The real question before us is one of major policies. We should discuss those major policies and try to get the goodwill of the country in favour of any policy which has to be adopted.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

160. To Yudhvir Singh: Forwarding Charges⁴⁴³

June 28, 1963

My dear Yudhvir Singh,

I have received a letter, probably from a man who has given a wrong name which contains many charges against you. As it concerns you chiefly, I am

442. Swatantra Party.

443. Letter to the Chairman of the Industrial Advisory Board. NMML, Yudhvir Singh Papers, Acc No. 372.

sending it to you. Could you kindly let me have the facts? I should like to have the enclosed letter returned to me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

161. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Raj Sarin's Woes at Ashoka Hotel⁴⁴⁴

June 29, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

I enclose a letter which my Secretary has received from Brigadier Raj Sarin, Managing Director of the Ashoka Hotel. He is evidently unhappy and wants to see me. As soon as I have the time I shall send for him.

I should like to know however what has happened to put him in ill humour. He has done good work, so far as I know.⁴⁴⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

162. To R. Sankar: Action against T.C.M. Pillai⁴⁴⁶

June 29, 1963

My dear Sankar,

I enclose a note prepared by my office and a letter from the Chief Secretary⁴⁴⁷ of your Government. This is in regard to Dr T.C.M. Pillai.

It appears that Dr Pillai has not acted in full accordance with his undertaking to the Kerala Government. At the same time, it seems to me that the Kerala Government have acted vary harshly towards him. We have to use all our trained

444. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation. PMO File No. 2(141)/61-72-PMS, Sr. No. 27-A.

445. *Eastern Economist* carried the following in their issue of 25 October 1963, page 859: "The Ashoka Hotel is in the news, what with the resignation of its popular Managing Director, Brigadier Raj Sarin (who, by any reckoning, has done a fine job), a threatened strike on the part of a section of its staff and an acrimonious conflict between two rival unions which divide the allegiance of the Hotel employees."

446. Letter to the Chief Minister of Kerala.

447. N.M. Patnaik.

personnel properly. If Dr Pillai could not utilise his special subject in Kerala, what is he to do? Anyhow, to take legal action against him seems to me rather improper. I should like you to look into this case.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

163. To Morarji Desai: Geoffrey Kendal's Income Tax Problems⁴⁴⁸

June 30, 1963

My dear Morarji,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Geoffrey Kendal⁴⁴⁹ who brought a Shakespearean team to India and gave a number of performances here. I know nothing about what has happened to his team. The letter which I enclose makes it appear that he has been asked to pay Rs 8000 for income-tax for the past years. Meanwhile, it appears he is unable to leave India.

Could you kindly have this matter looked into? It seems obvious that he can earn nothing by sitting here and being prevented from going abroad. His company is broken up.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

164. To Jagjivan Ram: Delayed Pension⁴⁵⁰

July 5, 1963

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

I enclose a letter from Frank Anthony.⁴⁵¹ I hope you will expedite this matter of pension of a person who retired from Government service in January last. It appears that he is in great difficulties. We should normally avoid these delays

448. Letter to the Finance Minister.

449. British actor and manager of Shakespeareana Company.

450. Letter to the Minister of Transport and Communications.

451. Lok Sabha MP, Nominated.

in giving pension. In this particular case, he suffers from a heart complaint and his aged mother has to be supported by him.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

165. To M.C. Davar: Tackling Corruption⁴⁵²

July 6, 1963

Dear Dr Davar,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th July.

The Home Minister and I are very much concerned about the reports of corruption. It is true that many of these reports are not correct or are greatly exaggerated. But still we realise that the matter has to be dealt with effectively.

The Congress has already got a rule that Ministers and others should send annual balance sheet of their properties, etc.

A committee has been appointed to consider and draw up rules about receiving subscriptions for the Congress.

It will be rather absurd to ask Ministers and others to sign a pledge against corrupt practices. As a matter of fact, the oath they have to take on being appointed Ministers in a sense includes integrity in their work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

166. To Krishna Hutheesing: Chavan will help⁴⁵³

July 6, 1963

I have just received your letter of the 5th July. I spoke to Chavan⁴⁵⁴ yesterday about this matter again. He said that he had it very much in mind and was trying to expedite it. He had hoped that it would be done by the end of June, but some

452. Letter to a homeopath and Congressman; address: 32 B Block, Connaught Place, New Delhi. NMML, M.C. Davar Papers. Available in the JN Collection also.

453. Letter to sister; address: Anand Bhavan, 20 Carmichael Road, Bombay 26. Salutation not available.

454. Y.B. Chavan, Defence Minister.

difficulty had apparently arisen. Anyhow, he will continue to look into it and try to have it finalised as soon as possible.

I am sure Chavan is doing his best. I told him that the policemen or others had said to you that they could leave the place immediately if they get orders to do that. Chavan told me that these people probably said this to you to please you. Anyhow, the matter is being dealt with, and he hoped that it will be finalised soon.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

167. To Vichitra Narain Sharma: Explaining Exit from Gandhi Ashram⁴⁵⁵

July 8, 1963

My dear Vichitra,

I have received the audited accounts of the Shri Gandhi Ashram for the year ending 31st March, 1962. As desired by you, I have signed the three statements and am returning them to you.

But I must confess that I feel awkward and embarrassed in continuing to be a trustee of the Gandhi Ashram and having to sign these statements without any knowledge of the affairs of the Ashram, except what I can gather from the audited accounts.

I have often told you previously that I do not think it is proper for me to continue as a Trustee of the Gandhi Ashram. I have dissociated myself from other concerns ever since I became Prime Minister, and I should have done the same thing in regard to the Gandhi Ashram. I think, therefore, that my resignation from the trusteeship should be accepted and my name removed from the list of Trustees. I am enclosing separately a resignation from the Trustees.

Apart from the basic reason which leads me to resign, certain other developments have taken place which leads me to the same conclusion. The workers of the Gandhi Ashram have been taking a prominent part in political affairs and in elections. This makes it still more embarrassing for me to be associated in this way with the Gandhi Ashram.⁴⁵⁶

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

455. Letter to the General Secretary of the Shri Gandhi Ashram, Lucknow.

456. See also item 168.

168. To Vichitra Narain Sharma: Resigning from Shri Gandhi Ashram⁴⁵⁷

July 8, 1963

Dear General Secretary,

I am writing to you to convey my resignation from the trusteeship of the Shri Gandhi Ashram. I have pointed out to you previously that I do not think it proper for me, as Prime Minister, to be associated as a Trustee with any organisation of this kind. My association has, in fact, been of a faint and trivial character. All I have done for the last few years is to receive the audited accounts and statements and sign them. I think even that is not proper for me.⁴⁵⁸

I would, therefore, request that my resignation from the trusteeship be accepted.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

169. To G.P. Hutheesing: Recovering Property⁴⁵⁹

July 10, 1963

My dear Raja,

I have your letter of the 9th July. As you know, I have spoken to Chavan several times about this business of land. Last time he again assured me that he had it very much in mind and was trying his best to deal with it. He said then that he had hoped that the land would be vacated by the end of June, but, unfortunately, there has been some delay.

It is natural for Betti [Betty]⁴⁶⁰ and you to feel irritated at these delays. But I am sure Chavan has nothing to do with this. If he had been in Bombay, he might have pursued it more expeditiously. But he is here and over-burdened with responsible work. I can hardly go on pursuing him again and again. Unfortunately, our Government moves slowly, especially in the lower rungs of the ladder.

I am sorry to learn about Krishna's health. She can, of course, come here whenever she likes. I shall be here till the 21st of this month when I go to

457. Letter to the General Secretary of the Shri Gandhi Ashram, Lucknow.

458. See item 167.

459. Letter to brother-in-law; address: Anand Bhavan, 20 Carmichael Road, Bombay 26.

460. Pet name of Krishna Hutheesing, Nehru's sister.

Hyderabad for a week. The President is going there and he especially wants me to be with him at the time.⁴⁶¹

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

170. To N.C. Limaye: Bose Commission and Mundhra affair⁴⁶²

July 12, 1963

Dear Shri Limaye,

I have your letter of the 10th July. I am afraid your facts are all wrong. The Bose Commission, to which you refer, had nothing to do with the Mundhra affair. It was appointed to investigate the affairs of the Dalmia-Jain Group of Industries. Neither Shri Morarji Desai nor Manubhai Shah is mentioned in the Bose Commission's report.

The report of the Bose Commission was placed before Parliament and has, therefore, been published.

There are no doubt many very capable women in India. Indeed, they are occupying high places in various parts of the country. As for Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, she has been in our Foreign Service for many years and has acquitted herself with remarkable ability. You may or may not know that she was chosen the President of the United Nations General Assembly. Shrimati Indira Gandhi has not occupied any post in Government. She has occasionally been appointed to some Committees.

If the *Maratha* gives publication to such facts, it evidently evolves them from its own imagination, without any relation to truth.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

461. See item 166.

462. Letter to an advocate in Sholapur.

171. S.S. Khera's Book on District Administration⁴⁶³

The Cabinet Secretary, Shri S.S. Khera has sent me the manuscript of a book he has written on District Administration in India. He had previously written a booklet on this subject which was published by the Indian Institute of Public Administration. Now he has enlarged this into a bigger book.⁴⁶⁴ He has sent this manuscript to me for the permission of Government for its publication.

I am afraid I have no time to read through this and I am therefore sending it to you for the purpose. I do not suppose there is or can be anything which we may perhaps object to in this typescript. Khera knows very well what he should write and what he should not. Also the subject is not easily capable of anything being written to which we might object. Anyhow I am sending this to you. Would you kindly deal with this as you think best and then have the necessary permission given to Khera, returning the typescript to him.

Serajuddin Inquiry**172. To C.K. Daphtary: Serajuddin⁴⁶⁵**

May 5, 1963

My dear Daphtary,

You were good enough to give me your letter and note about your views regarding the papers etc. seized from Messrs Serajuddin & Co.⁴⁶⁶ I have shown your opinion thus far to the Home Minister⁴⁶⁷ and also to Keshava Deva Malaviya,⁴⁶⁸ and to no one else.

I am consulting the Chief Justice of India⁴⁶⁹ as to what further steps should be taken in this matter.

I would especially request you to take care that any copy of your opinion does not reach any one else. I say so because it has become quite a frequent occurrence for leakages of secret papers to take place. A few days ago you sent us your and Shri Viswanatha Sastri's⁴⁷⁰ opinion about the Vivian Bose report.

463. Note, 21 July 1963, for Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Home Minister.

464. *District Administration in India* (Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1964).

465. Letter to the Attorney-General.

466. A partnership firm based in Calcutta, with Mohammad Serajuddin as one of the partners.

467. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

468. Minister of Mines and Fuel.

469. B.P. Sinha.

470. Former judge of Madras High Court and later senior advocate in the Supreme Court.

We had decided that only the second part of the report should be laid on the table of the House and not the first part. We stated as much in Parliament. One of the Members, however, produced a copy of the first part of the report in the Rajya Sabha and the Chairman asked the Minister concerned if this was a correct copy. Subsequently we found that it was a correct copy. As a result of this, there is no point in our not placing this before the House as they had already got it. Tomorrow morning, therefore, a copy of the first part will be placed on the table of the House.

This is unfortunate and against our wishes, but there is no help for it now. We have had enquiries made as to this leakage. It is fairly clear, however, that a copy of the report reached Shanti Prasad Jain⁴⁷¹ and he had it duplicated and sent to various Members of Parliament. It is evident that he thought this might help him.⁴⁷²

I propose to make a brief statement in Parliament on the 7th of May about the Serajuddin matter. I shall not place your opinion before Parliament. I shall state, however, the general conclusion you have arrived at on the materials before you.⁴⁷³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

173. In the Rajya Sabha: Serajuddin and Company⁴⁷⁴

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, as I have already informed the House previously, I had arranged for the Attorney-General⁴⁷⁵ to see the papers which had been obtained by the Criminal Investigation Department from Messrs Serajuddin and Company as well as some connected papers and to advise me as to what, if any, further enquiry or action might be taken. The Attorney-General did not and could not, in the circumstances, carry out any full enquiry. He had to proceed on the limited materials before him. On the basis of these he has advised that a full enquiry should be made in regard to the entries in Serajuddin's papers relating to Shri

471. Industrialist.

472. On Vivian Bose Report, see items in SWJN/SS/81/section Politics subsection Laws and Administration.

473. See items 173 and 174.

474. Statement, 7 May 1963. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLIII, Nos. 9-17, 1-11 May 1963, cols 2461-2468.

475. C.K. Daphtary.

Keshava Deva Malaviya.⁴⁷⁶ I informed Shri Keshava Deva Malaviya of this advice of the Attorney-General. He welcomed the idea of a fuller enquiry into the facts and papers, many of which were not before the Attorney-General. I have requested the Chief Justice of India⁴⁷⁷ to suggest the name of a judge of the Supreme Court who might be entrusted with this fuller enquiry.

A.B. Vajpayee (Uttar Pradesh):⁴⁷⁸ May I know, Sir, whether pending the enquiry, Shri Keshava Deva Malaviya will be asked to resign, to submit his resignation?

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

A.B. Vajpayee: It is not for the Congress Members to say "No".

Some Hon. Members: Why?

A.B. Vajpayee: The question has been put to the Prime Minister.

Hon. Members: It is not for you to say.

A.B. Vajpayee: No. I am entitled to put a question and the reply should come from the hon. Prime Minister. This is not the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting.

Arjun Arora (Uttar Pradesh):⁴⁷⁹ This is not a demonstration of the RSS.

Chairman:⁴⁸⁰ Order, order.

A.B. Vajpayee: In view of the fact that there are apprehensions in the public mind that no free and impartial ...

Arjun Arora: There are no apprehensions in the public mind.

A.B. Vajpayee: He is again interrupting me.

476. Minister of Mines and Fuel.

477. B.P. Sinha.

478. Jan Sangh.

479. Congress.

480. S. Radhakrishnan.

Chairman: Order, order. This is very bad. Let him finish.

A.B. Vajpayee: In view of the fact that no fair and impartial enquiry is possible, unless the Minister of Mines is asked to submit his resignation. May I know whether the hon. Prime Minister will consider the desirability of asking for his resignation?

Bhupesh Gupta (West Bengal):⁴⁸¹ Sir ...

Chairman: Let him give a reply.

Bhupesh Gupta: Let the Prime Minister hear me. May I ask a question? Then, both the questions can be dealt with. My question is: Is the Prime Minister aware that this report about Mr Malaviya taking Rs 10,000/- from Serajuddin for a particular Congress election in a constituency is being sought to be utilised to carry forward an attack against him? Therefore, may I know whether the Prime Minister has sifted evidence in such a manner as not to allow extraneous political consideration, which is nothing but a continuation of a political witch-hunt coming in the matter of propriety or otherwise of a particular transaction? I want to know from him whether he himself considered the material and if it were a question of merely taking money for the Congress election, then I believe many Congress Ministers do such things. I do not like it, I make it clear. Then, what a precedent is being created in this particular case? Will I be wrong if I assure from this that due to the campaign in the Press, especially in the Birla and other Press, that Mr Malaviya should be ousted from the Government, the authorities now should yield to this kind of pressure from Big Business because the oil industry and others are writing?

Raghubir Singh Panj hazari (Punjab):⁴⁸² What is the question.

K. Santhanam:⁴⁸³ No insinuating remarks.

Bhupesh Gupta: Why should he get angry? Does he want Mr Malaviya to be ousted? Let him say so. I am not blaming the Prime Minister for it.

Mr Chairman: You are not blaming anybody. Please put your question.

481. CPI.

482. Congress.

483. Congress.

Bhupesh Gupta: I would like the impression not to gain as if the Opposition is united over this what I called political witch-hunting, which is going on over this matter ...

A.B. Vajpayee: Everybody knows Mr Bhupesh Gupta. Mr Bhupesh Gupta is united with Mr Malaviya.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do think it is totally irrelevant, what the hon. Member opposite has said. It has nothing to do with this matter. He is discussing all kinds of questions, political and otherwise, which may be relevant in some other place, but not at this moment.

Bhupesh Gupta: Why? I would like to know. [Interruption]

A.B. Vajpayee: What about my question?

Lokanath Misra (Orissa):⁴⁸⁴ May I know whether there has been an interim report submitted.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no interim or other report. I have had a note—call it a report or whatever—it is from the Attorney-General in which he has given me his advice, as I have stated.

Now, in answer to the hon. Member, Shri Vajpayee, I might state that about five weeks or five and a half week ago, when this matter first came up before me and I put it to him—these Serajuddin papers—his immediate reaction even then was: “I am prepared to resign if you wish it.” And I told him that the question did not arise at that moment and he should continue. I do not think that the question arises even now. It is up to me as Prime Minister to consider that whenever it arises. I do not think it arises now. This enquiry is very largely an enquiry of looking at papers, files, etc. Maybe, it might be that some person—I cannot think of it, but I am merely saying that it might be conceivable—is examined too. But it is largely an enquiry on papers and records. There is no question, therefore, of the enquiry being affected in the slightest. And as I said, Mr Malaviya himself had urged right at the beginning to offer his resignation.

Now, as for the matter that the hon. Member, Shri Bhupesh Gupta, has raised, he said many things. But I should like to point out that he has referred to an item which is more or less an agreed item, about Rs 10,000/-, which was

484. Swatantra Party.

not paid to Mr Malaviya, which was paid to some candidate in Basti. This was prior to the general election, the 1957 election. Mr Malaviya had sent someone with a letter to Mr Serajuddin, which has appeared, suggesting that he might help him. Then subsequently Mr Serajuddin paid that sum to that man. It did not come to Mr Malaviya at all. That is not a question for enquiry, I mean the facts are clear. It may be a question for consideration as to its propriety, and that is for me and for us to consider. The propriety we can consider, and lay down rules as to what should be done and what should not be done, but it does not come within the scope of any such enquiry.

A.D. Mani (Madhya Pradesh):⁴⁸⁵ Sir, may I rise on a point of clarification? While I personally welcome the decision of the Government to entrust this enquiry to a judge of the Supreme Court who will be appointed by the Chief Justice of India, I should like to ask the Prime Minister whether in consonance with British parliamentary practice this will be an open judicial enquiry or the kind of enquiry which was conducted into the Mundhra deal. Secondly, what will be the terms of the reference of this enquiry? Thirdly, would the Prime Minister place the report of the Attorney General, however brief and confidential it may be on the floor of the House, because it is one of those connected papers on which the public must form its judgment whether an enquiry is justified or not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I might point out to the House that the Attorney-General right in the beginning and even lately expressed his strong opinion that if his notes and advices and opinions are placed on the Table of the House, it will be very difficult for him to function properly in the future, he cannot send his frank opinions. In fact in regard to certain other papers not connected with this, when they were placed on the Table of the House, he was not at all happy, and he made it clear in this matter too that he would not like it to be placed. As for the further enquiry, enquiry might take place. The Chief Justice of India has written to me almost, if I may say so, as a condition that a Judge of the Supreme Court will only take this up if his future advice is not subjected to public discussion in Parliament or elsewhere. He made that almost a condition. It is not normal for a Supreme Court Judge to take up this kind of work, but as a matter of public duty he will do so, but he does not want to have a Supreme Court Judge's opinion, etc., subjected to this kind of discussion.

485. Independent.

M.S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore):⁴⁸⁶ Sir, I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether a *prima facie* case has been made out in the note by the Attorney-General in regard to Mr Malaviya which requires the institution of a further enquiry. Secondly, I would like to know in what way it is considered that the suggestions made by the Chief Justice of India in regard to the enquiry should not be discussed by the Houses of Parliament. Whether this position is acceptable to the Prime Minister or to the House I do not know, but I feel that it has to be made clear to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court that this matter has to be discussed in both Houses of Parliament. We cannot be denied this right.

Chairman: The matter can be discussed but not his advice.

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I point out that I do not quite agree with the hon. Member? I am asking for some help and advice, whether it was from the Attorney-General or from a Judge of the Supreme Court, and it will be his advice to me. It is for me, having regard to all the circumstances, to consider and the circumstances include the wishes of the person giving that advice whether that should be published or placed on the Table of the House or not. Of course the conclusion I shall place. Essentially as Prime Minister I am responsible for what should be done in regard to this matter, and these are advices of vey eminent people, whose advices I am supposed to accept; that will be given to me. So, I do not agree to any kind of assurance that I shall place those papers when they come to me on the Table of the House.

174. In the Lok Sabha: Serajuddin and Company⁴⁸⁷

The Prime Minister, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, as I have already informed the House, I had arranged for the Attorney-General⁴⁸⁸ to see the papers, which had been obtained by the Criminal Investigation Department, of Messrs Serajuddin and Co., as well as some connected papers, and to advise me as to what, if any, further inquiry or action might be taken. The Attorney-General did not, and could not, in the circumstances, carry out any full inquiry. He had to proceed on the limited materials before him. On the basis of these, he has advised that a full inquiry

486. PSP.

487. Statement, 7 May 1963. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XVIII, April 25-May 7, 1963, cols 14207-14215.

488. C.K. Daphtary.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

should be made in regard to the entries in Serajuddin's papers relating to Keshava Dev Malaviya. I informed Shri Keshava Dev Malaviya of this advice of the Attorney-General. He welcomed the idea of a fuller inquiry into the facts and papers, many of which were not before the Attorney-General.

I have requested the Chief Justice of India⁴⁸⁹ to suggest the name of a Judge of the Supreme Court who might be entrusted with this fuller inquiry.

Hari Vishnu Kamath:⁴⁹⁰ Judicial inquiry.

Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):⁴⁹¹ We welcome the statement of the Prime Minister that the Chief Justice of India has been asked to make a thorough inquiry into this whole affair. At the same time, I would like to know whether by this time, the Prime Minister has received the report of the inquiry that was being conducted by the Central Intelligence Department or is the inquiry still proceeding?

Jawaharlal Nehru: About what?

Speaker: The inquiry into this matter by the conducted by the Central Intelligence Department—whether any report had been received?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. I had received some papers. When I referred this matter to the Attorney-General, I sent them on to him. Since then, I have received nothing from them.

Surendranath Dwivedy: It was stated here that this matter was being referred to the Attorney-General. I put the question to the Home Minister,⁴⁹² because earlier the Prime Minister stated that he had referred this matter to the Central Intelligence Department to inquire and make a report. I asked the Home Minister whether that full report of the Central Intelligence Department had been received and it was stated that the report was not received when the reference was made to the Attorney-General. Now I wanted to know whether by this time that particular report, after a full investigation, has been received by Government.

489. B.P. Sinha.

490. PSP.

491. PSP.

492. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no report; there has been no question of any such report. I do not understand the hon. Member. The Central Intelligence Department send us such particulars as they find from time to time. Ever since this matter had been referred to the Attorney-General, I have had no connection with them. They deal with them directly.

Priya Gupta (Katihar):⁴⁹³ The Prime Minister seems to be unnerved while replying.

S.M Banerjee:⁴⁹⁴ The Prime Minister has stated that he has asked the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to name a particular Judge for a fuller enquiry. I would like to know whether the enquiry will also deal with other shady things in connection with Serajuddin, or only with Shri K.D. Malaviya, or also the ex-Minister of Orissa and the present Chief Minister of Orissa⁴⁹⁵ who are also involved in it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The matter referred will be in regard to the entries in Serajuddin's papers. We are not having a wandering enquiry all over.

Renu Chakravartty:⁴⁹⁶ All entries?

Jawaharlal Nehru: All entries that have been pointed out. Thus far, a few entries have been pointed out to me. I cannot ask anybody to examine a huge accounts book and examine all entries.

Renu Chakravartty (Barrackpur): The entry as stated by you was only with regard to Shri K.D. Malviya. We want to know whether it is also dealing with entries of moneys given, substantial amounts given, also to the ex-Minister of Orissa and the present Chief Minister of Orissa.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not aware of any moneys being given to the ex-Chief Minister of Orissa or the present Chief Minister of Orissa.

S.M. Banerjee: That is why we want an enquiry.

493. PSP.

494. Independent.

495. Bijayanand (Biju) Patnaik.

496. CPI.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously, I cannot ask a Supreme Court Judge to have a roving enquiry.

Surendranath Dwivedy: May I submit that when the entry made in Serajuddin's private book is being referred to a judicial enquiry it should be in respect of all entries there, not only the particular matter which had come to the notice of the Prime Minister, not only regarding Shri K.D. Malaviya, which may be one or two entries. But it is known that a search was conducted and a confession statement was received by the Special Police Establishment, that Rs 50,000 was collected by the Ex-Secretary of the Mines Minister. Besides that, there are entries against Ministers and other persons who have taken money over a considerable period. It is not one or two of these entries. It does [not] connect only Shri K.D. Malaviya. It connects several other persons. Are all these going to the referred? That is the question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member's sources of information appear to be greater than mine. I do not know about this latest thing that he has said. It may be true, may not be true. But one thing I should like to make clear. He used the words "judicial enquiry". There is going to be no judicial enquiry as such. This matter essentially is a matter for the Prime Minister to decide on the advice of eminent persons. It will naturally be a quasi-judicial enquiry, because there is a Supreme Court Judge. It is not a normal judicial enquiry, it is not that with judicial procedures and all that. It will be up to him to decide, of course.

Nath Pai (Rajapur):⁴⁹⁷ What are the terms of reference of the enquiry?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Terms of reference? They have not been quite prepared yet, but I shall naturally have to send them the terms of reference. But whatever he wants to find out from that, we shall help him in every way. Mostly it is a question of examining papers, files etc., in Ministries. If he wants to examine any individuals as witnesses or to give evidence, that will be up to him.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: On a point of order. You have been a Judge yourself. The Prime Minister says that it will be a quasi-judicial inquiry. Is the House to understand that the Judge, whoever may be appointed later on, will be free, completely free, to decide the procedure for himself without any sort of interference from the Government?

497. PSP.

Speaker:⁴⁹⁸ That is exactly what follows from that.

Nath Pai: Will the hearing be open?

Speaker: Has the Government given any direction whether the enquiry would be open or closed?

Jawaharlal Nehru: When I referred this matter to the Chief Justice, the Chief Justice told me that it was not the function of Supreme Court Judges to go about holding enquiries. Nor do they at all approve of anything, any resultant conclusion or result they reach, being made public and being discussed in Parliament or elsewhere. Therefore, even initially he said that any report that the Judge might make should not be published and should not be placed before Parliament.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Does it mean an in camera enquiry?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Very much so.

Speaker: Whatever it is, he has said that this is the enquiry that will be instituted.

H.N. Mukerjee (Calcutta Central):⁴⁹⁹ If the Prime Minister chooses in Parliament to make a public statement that he is having a judicial enquiry into the alleged conduct of a particular Minister, is it open to him after all that to say that after all it will be done in whatever fashion he likes, he is not going to divulge? If he is going to have a purely private investigation of his own, it is not his business, his duty, to come to Parliament and announce it. If he announces in Parliament the enunciation of an investigation by a very high judicial functionary, surely Parliament has certain rights in this regard.

Speaker: That does not arise just at this moment; as the Prime Minister has stated this is between him and that enquiry that is being made. After he gets that report, then perhaps he may decide what action he wants to take and how he wants to proceed. That would be the time. Now, at this moment, how can this be said [Interruption]

498. Hukam Singh.

499. CPI.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Renu Chakravartty: All sorts of leakage take place; some come in the press. Some may be true and some may be untrue. So, it is much better that Parliament is appraised of it.

Speaker: Just at this moment it will not arise.

M.S. Aney:⁵⁰⁰ I want to say one thing. If the services of a Supreme Court or any Judge are hired on the condition that the report of the enquiry shall not be placed before Parliament for discussion then it would be impossible after receiving the report for the Government to take any decision at all ... [Interruptions]

Speaker: He says that if the condition is put that the report to be made by him would not be placed before Parliament, probably that would not be in the interest of the enquiry itself and those people would be handicapped because they would be conscious that it is not going to be placed before the House.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I pointed out what the Chief Justice had written to me on this subject. I had not enquired from him. He said: I take it that this will be a private, unobtrusive enquiry without any fuss. Whatever recommendations the Judge gives will be sent to me. There has been some feeling among the Judges and even the Attorney-General about the opinions they give to Government being placed before Parliament because they feel that every opinion that they give, they may not give exactly in form; they may not be frank about it, about the language or whatever it is. Normally such opinions are secret and confidential opinions. The result is given; the result of the opinion but not the argument and other things. Only recently some papers have been placed here—opinions of the Solicitor-General, and he was rather embarrassed by it ... [Interruptions]

[Omitted: Exchanges on procedure]

Jawaharlal Nehru: So, the Chief Justice pointed out that this is not the normal practice of the Supreme Court Judges that anybody should sit in judgment on them, even Parliament.

500. Independent.

Frank Anthony:⁵⁰¹ I do not think it is permissible under the Constitution to enlist the services of a Judge without the previous permission or specific sanction of the President of India. The President of India has to satisfy himself that he is functioning essentially in a judicial capacity, otherwise he will not be entitled to pay and allowances. How can he be appointed as private investigator although an eminent person as the Prime Minister may require it. I do not think it will be permissible at all.

Surendranath Dwivedy: Action is different but the enquiry must be open judicial enquiry.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It has been clearly stated—I wish to repeat it—this work of the Judge will not be an open enquiry. I want to make it quite clear. Further Professor Mukerjee also talked about judicial enquiry. I have just stated that it will not be a normal judicial enquiry. It will be conducted by a high judicial personality. That is true. In that sense it is a judicial enquiry because a very high judicial person is conducting it, but he will not follow those procedures exactly. They will be entirely up to him to decide as to what procedures, etc. are to be adopted.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: Sir, the Prime Minister at one stage said that it would be a quasi-judicial inquiry. Now he says that it will be a private unobtrusive inquiry, if I heard him a right. How can you reconcile these two positions, quasi-judicial on the one hand and private and unobtrusive on the other? There is a precedent in our country. Mr Justice Chagla held an open enquiry into the Mundhra affair.

Speaker: That was different thing altogether. The Prime Minister has explained ...

Hari Vishnu Kamath: How do you reconcile the two?

Surendranath Dwivedy: May I seek a clarification?

Speaker: That would not end at all. I would not allow any further questions.

The Prime Minister has explained that it would not be a judicial enquiry, but because a high judicial authority, a Judge, is being appointed, in that sense, it may be called semi-judicial or quasi-judicial. That is all.

501. Nominated.

Mahavir Tyagi:⁵⁰² The question has been raised that a Judge cannot be appointed for this purpose. What is the answer to that? Why can't the Prime Minister himself decide these cases?

Speaker: Order, order. That is not the point before the House now.

Surendranath Dwivedy: He has stated what you have repeated. At the same time, he has also stated that it would not be an open enquiry. Again he has stated that it is for the Judge to decide how he would conduct this enquiry. Anyhow, he has said that it would not be open. What remains for the judge to decide?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have merely repeated the very thing that the Chief Justice of India has told me. In a sense, he has not made this a condition, but he has said that this is the proper way to proceed in this matter, because he considers that in this matter, the Judge is not exactly deciding any issue, but is giving his opinion or advice or recommendation to the Prime Minister. [Interruptions]

175. To S.N. Dwivedy: Serajuddin Inquiry⁵⁰³

May 9, 1963

Dear Shri Dwivedy,

I have received your letter of the 9th May. I had hoped to meet you this morning but I was told that you were away.

So far as the enquiry by the Supreme Court Judge is concerned, all the entries directly or indirectly concerning Shri Keshava Deva Malaviya in Serajuddin's books were sent to the Attorney-General and have now been sent to the Chief Justice. As far as I remember there are five or six of them.

The procedure of the enquiry will be entirely decided by the Judge, I do not know what you mean by a judicial enquiry unless it is in regard to certain formalities. A Supreme Court Judge is the highest judicial officer that we can appoint for this purpose and he is at full liberty to carry on the enquiry as he thinks proper.

As for the Orissa entries, so far as I know there is not much dispute about the facts. We are further enquiring into these matters. I do not think it will be

502. Congress.

503. Letter to Lok Sabha MP from Kendrapara, Orissa, PSP; address: 21 Canning Lane, New Delhi.

helpful to add these to the enquiry now proposed into allegations in regard to Shri Malaviya.

So far as any officials are concerned with these matters, they will be proceeded against in the normal way after full investigation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

176. To K.D. Malaviya: Serajuddin Inquiry⁵⁰⁴

May 27, 1963

My dear Keshava,

I have received another letter from Surendranath Dwivedy.⁵⁰⁵ I enclose a copy of it. I have not answered his last letter, nor do I at present intend answering this letter.

I suppose his reference to your opposition to the Orissa Government's suggestion to take over the mines is not correct.

The only question is whether I should send his letter to Justice Das.⁵⁰⁶

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

177. To Banamali Patnaik: Serajuddin's Help to Orissa Congress⁵⁰⁷

June 10, 1963

Dear Shri Patnaik,

I have your letter of June 7th. It is true that there is a general impression that Serajuddin helped the Orissa Congress frequently with contributions. I cannot, without a full enquiry, indicate the years when this may have been done. I suppose the best course would be to find out from the books of the Orissa Congress.

504. Letter to the Minister of Mines and Fuel.

505. Appendix 10. See also SWJN/SS/81/items 30 and 68.

506. S.K. Das who was enquiring into this matter.

507. Letter to Orissa MLA from Khurda, Congress; address: Qrs. No. 11/1, Bhaum Nagar, Bhubaneswar.

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I think the President or the Secretary of the Orissa Congress sent some information on this subject to our Home Minister.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

178. To S.K. Das: Serajuddin Inquiry Report Confidential⁵⁰⁸

June 17, 1963

My dear Shri Das,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th June.

When the Chief Justice wrote to me about this matter, he said, as you have written, that the enquiry was a private, confidential and unobtrusive one and the report by a Judge of the Supreme Court should be treated as confidential and should not be subject to comment, criticism or debate by Parliament. This view of his seemed to me wholly correct. Thereupon I made a statement in Parliament to this effect.⁵⁰⁹ I was not thinking solely of your view in the matter, even though that had some effect, but rather of the general principle involved, to which you refer.

I still think that it would not be desirable, as a matter of principle, to publish your report. If any occasion arises, I shall make it clear what you have written in your letter, also, if for some reason it becomes necessary to give publicity to some parts of your report, I shall first consult the Chief Justice.

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

508. Letter to Supreme Court Judge; address: 10 Tees January Marg, New Delhi.

509. Items 173 and 174; see also item 10, section K.D. Malaviya's Resignation.

179. To H.C. Mathur: Publishing Serajuddin Inquiry Report⁵¹⁰

June 19, 1963

My dear Mathur,

I have your letter of the 17th June.

When I decided to refer the Serajuddin affair, or rather K.D. Malaviya's part in it, to a Judge of the Supreme Court, I wrote to the Chief Justice about it. I said that I wanted a confidential and a fairly quick enquiry from the data available to us. The Chief Justice⁵¹¹ replied to me that in the nature of things this will not be an enquiry under the various Acts for the purpose. He was reluctant to ask a Supreme Court Judge to undertake it if, in the circumstances, this enquiry was to be a public one and if the Judge's report, which was in the nature of advice to me, was to be published and placed before Parliament. This may involve naturally criticism of the report etc. He was averse to placing the Judge in that position. He further said that the procedure in regard to the enquiry should be completely in the hands of the Judge.

He also pointed out that if such private reports were to be publicised then it would be difficult for a Judge to undertake this kind of work. I agreed with him and we proceeded on that basis.

In view of all this it is rather difficult for me to go behind the assurances I had given to the Chief Justice and you will remember I informed Parliament also of this.⁵¹²

There is a possibility of judicial proceedings against some of the officers connected with this affair.

I shall naturally give thought to every aspect of it, as I shall have to make a statement to Parliament when it re-assembles.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

510. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 24 State Entry Road. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

511. B.P. Sinha.

512. Items 173 and 174.

180. To B. Patnaik: Muddying the Waters⁵¹³

July 6, 1963

My dear Biju,

I have been reading your various statements about Serajuddin's affairs and the various charges made in connection with them. I confess that, year statements have not clarified the issues. You have suggested that you will leave it to the Leader of the Opposition to enquire into them. You have also suggested that a number of persons who have been prominent in Orissa public life should meet some time in Delhi to enquire into them. These two suggestions do not seem to me to fit in. I should like to know what the position is.

The immediate result of your statements and those issued by Mahtab⁵¹⁴ has been rather confusing; these statements have not clarified the issues at all. Indeed, they have rather added to the public habit of making all manner of charges.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

181. To U.M. Trivedi: Biju Patnaik and Serajuddin⁵¹⁵

July 20, 1963

Dear Shri Trivedi,

On the 15th July 1963 you wrote to me a letter in regard to the Serajuddin affair and Bird & Co. I sent your letter to Shri B. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa. He has sent me a brief reply, a copy of which I enclose. He has also sent me long notes and accounts which deal with accounts of B. Patnaik Mines Private Ltd with Messrs Sarajuddin & Co and Indian Ferro Alloy Industries Limited. Also notes and detailed accounts with R. McDill & Co Private Limited.

I have sent all these notes and accounts to our Finance Minister.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

513. Letter to the Chief Minister of Orissa.

514. Harekrushna Mahtab, a former Chief Minister of Orissa.

515. Letter to the Lok Sabha MP, Jan Sangh; address: 28 Janpath, New Delhi.

182. To N.S. Hardikar: Using Ponkshe⁵¹⁶

July 30, 1963

My dear Hardikar,

I have your letter of the 28th July in which you write to me about H.D. Ponkshe. From the papers you have sent me, it appears that he is a competent young man with considerable practical experience. I think he can do useful work in India. I cannot obviously suggest any particular work at present. All I can do is to make enquiries.

You write to me that Ponkshe has already met our Home Minister⁵¹⁷ and our Defence Minister.⁵¹⁸ It is not necessary for him to come here straightway to see me. You have sent me enough particulars. If necessary, we shall write to you about him soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Media

183. To H.V. Kamath: Publication of Interview⁵¹⁹

May 29, 1963

My dear Kamath,

I was surprised to see in the newspapers a fairly full report of the interview you had with me the other day. There was nothing secret about that interview, but it is not usual for private interviews to be treated as press interviews. This kind of thing inhibits the personal talks that we have.

I have often pointed out to my personal interviewers that this should not be done. It, therefore, distressed me somewhat to see the interview you had given to the press.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

516. Letter to former Rajya Sabha MP from Mysore; started Congress Seva Dal; administrator, Karnatak Health Institute; address: Karnatak Health Institute, Ghataprabha, District Belgaum. NMML, AICC Papers, Box 11 A, SD Files 1968. Correspondence between JN and Hardikar. Available in the JN Collection.

517. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

518. Y.B. Chavan.

519. Letter to Lok Sabha MP; address: 127 Constitution House, New Delhi.

184. To K.C. Reddy: Trouble in the *Nagpur Times*⁵²⁰

July 11, 1963

My dear Reddy,

I wrote to you once some months ago about the *Nagpur Times* and I think you replied to me.

This morning Shri A.G. Sheorey who is Secretary of the Nagpur Times Trust, came to me and gave me a letter from Shri M.B. Niyogi, the Chairman of the Trust. I enclose this letter. You might perhaps consider this matter and, if necessary, meet Shri Sheorey and find out any facts from him that you wish to have.⁵²¹

I think that our Home Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, also knows something about the circumstances behind this conflict in the *Nagpur Times*. The Editor of the *Nagpur Times*, Shri Deshpande, had written some very objectionable articles in it some months ago. Because of these articles, the Home Ministry took some action against the paper and I think Government advertisements were also stopped.⁵²² Since then, the trustees took some action and removed Deshpande from the editorship. Now Deshpande has threatened them in various ways and is trying to break up the Trust.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

520. Letter to the Minister of Commerce and Industry. PMO, File No. 43/216/64/70-PMS, Sr. No. 14-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

521. Response from Nityanand Kanungo, Minister of Industry, 15 August 1963: "I have seen Shri A. G. Sheorey, who explained to me fully the present position of the case. I have also had a brief discussion with the Home Minister, but the case will have to be further examined in the light of the facts now contained in the letter of the Chairman of the Nagpur Times Trust, as Law Ministry may also have to be consulted. These consultations will be expedited and a decision taken as soon as possible." PMO, File No. 43/216/64-70-PMS, Sr. No.16-A.

522. See SWJN/SS/81/ item 137.

185. To Lalji Pendse: Languages for Transmitters⁵²³

July 20, 1963

Dear Lalji Pendse,

Your letter of the 19th July. I might inform you that the matter about the transmitter is still under consideration.

As for the languages to be used or not used, there was a proposal made to us that from that particular transmitter we should not use Bengali and Urdu broadcasts. This did not in any way come in the way of our using these languages through our other transmitters, which we are constantly doing. Anyhow, the whole matter is under consideration.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Andhra Pradesh

186. To D. Sanjivayya: Trouble in Andhra⁵²⁴

May 26, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

I enclose a letter I have received from Andhra and my reply to it.

I have received one or two other letters also complaining of all kinds of rumours in Andhra. I am distressed about this. We must put an end to this business, or else, our own structure will deteriorate and collapse.⁵²⁵

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

523. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, CPI ; address: 25 South Avenue, New Delhi.

524. Letter to the Congress President.

525. For similar letters later, see items 188 and 191.

187. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Prosecution of Nizam Trust Secretary⁵²⁶

You will remember my speaking to you about Mukarram Jah's⁵²⁷ letter to me concerning some prosecution which was going to be started against Financial Adviser and Secretary of the Nizam's Trust. I have received telegram from Mukarram Jah about this matter. I am replying to him that it would be improper for me to intervene in judicial matter. Further I have suggested to him to see you. I think you might send for him and explain the position to him.

188. To D. Sanjivayya: Rumbings in Andhra⁵²⁸

June 15, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

I enclose a memorandum which I have received from Andhra Pradesh. I have been somewhat distressed by reading this as well as other letters of the same kind that I have seen. The so-called facts given in it may be untrue or exaggerated. But even an impression of that kind is bad. I do not know how we can remove it.⁵²⁹

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

189. To C. Narsi Reddy: Visit to Kondapoor⁵³⁰

June 15, 1963

Dear Shri Narsi Reddy,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th June. I would be glad to visit Kondapoor and see the good work that you have done there. But I cannot say now whether I shall be able to do this. I hope to visit Andhra Pradesh in the second half of July when the President is also there.⁵³¹ My visit is partly to rest there and partly

526. Telegram, 10 June 1963, to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

527. Grandson and heir to Nizam of Hyderabad.

528. Letter to the Congress President.

529. For a similar letter, see item 186.

530. Letter to the President of the Panchayat Samithi, Dhanuwada, Mahbubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh.

531. See items 190 and 192.

to fulfil some engagements. I cannot say now whether within the short time at my disposal, I shall be able to visit Kondapoor. If I can do so, I shall be glad.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

190. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Visit to Hyderabad Rifle Coaching School⁵³²

June 21, 1963

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I received your letter of June 4 some days ago. I am anxious not to have too many engagements during my brief stay in Hyderabad. But, if a visit to the Rifle Coaching and First Aid Training School can easily be included in my programme, I shall gladly go there.

I have not fixed a definite date of my visit to Andhra Pradesh yet. I shall probably go there when the President is in Hyderabad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

191. To M.M. Hashim: Sanjiva Reddy Remains Chief Minister⁵³³

June 21, 1963

Dear Shri Hashim,

I received your letter of the 5th June some time ago. I am sorry to learn about any kind of propaganda against Shri Sanjiva Reddy. It is completely wrong that I, or any one else, to my knowledge, in Delhi, is against the continuance of Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy as Party Leader and Chief Minister in Andhra Pradesh. I

532. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Congress. Sent from Pahalgam, Kasahmir. PMO, File No. 8(252)63-P.M.P., Sr. No. 34-A.

533. Letter to Congress MLA; address: 11-3-835 Mallapalli, Hyderabad. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

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think that Shri Sanjiva Reddy has done well in the high office he holds. There has been no question of offering him a Governorship.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

192. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Hyderabad Visit⁵³⁴

July 5, 1963

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

I have more or less decided to come to Hyderabad on the 22nd July and to stay there about six days. This does not mean that you should make me rush about from place to place during my stay. Partly my visit is to take some little rest also. I shall be staying with the President who will be there then.

There are some engagements in Hyderabad itself which I have agreed to. One is connected with the Salar Jung Museum. Another is, I believe, related to the English Academy there, or whatever it is called. Possibly there might be one or two others. Apart from these, I am in your hands. Please send me a draft programme.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Bihar

193. To Kameshwar Prasad Sinha: Poor State of Bihar Congress⁵³⁵

May 16, 1963

My dear Kameshwar Prasadji,

Your letter of May 5, as well as your previous letters.

As for the proposed Ad-Hoc Committee, if the matter comes up before me, I shall consider the names suggested for it. It is not very appropriate for me to make suggestions to the President of the Congress at this stage.⁵³⁶

534. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. PMO, File No. 8(252)/63-PMP, Sr. No. 39-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

535. Letter ; address: M2 Type Flat No. 1, Shri Krishnapuri, Boring road, Patna 1.

536. See also item 194.

I have read the copy of the letter you have sent to Mr Dean Rusk.⁵³⁷ I am afraid, I do not like it. It is not the kind of a letter which should have been addressed to him.

I shall be away from Delhi for a greater part of the remaining half of May. In June also I shall be partly away. Apart from my engagements, I am very tired and I shall have to take some rest somewhere some time.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

194. To Mahesh Prasad Sinha: Poor State of Bihar Congress⁵³⁸

May 17, 1963

My dear Mahesh Babu,

I have your letter of the 16th May. I have noted with regret the controversy between the Judges of the High Court and the Governor of Bihar.

As for the proposal to appoint an Ad Hoc Congress Committee for Bihar, this matter came up before the Congress Working Committee some months ago, and the Committee decided to authorise the President of the Congress to appoint such a Committee. The President is thus completely in order to appoint such a Committee. As for the Bihar Congress organisation, including the PCC from all accounts that I have received, it is in a very bad state. You yourself say that no meeting has been held of the Bihar PCC for two or three years. This is most extraordinary.

You refer to democratic working of our Congress constitution. That is perfectly right, and it should be democratic. But in view of the fact that according to enquiries, the Bihar Congress organisation largely consists of bogus members, there is not much democracy left in it. No democratic constitution can function in these circumstances.

I must express my great regret at the way Bihar cannot get rid of its caste complex and group politics. Those have brought Bihar to a low level and it has become almost an example of what should not be done. All kinds of permutations and combinations take place among various groups which do good neither to the Congress nor to the State.

537. US Secretary of State.

538. Letter to a Minister in Bihar.

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I am leaving Delhi on the 22nd morning. You can come and see me on the 21st at 3.20 p.m. in my office in External Affairs.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

195. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Western Kosi Canal⁵³⁹

May 26, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a letter from the Chief Minister of Bihar about the Western Kosi Canal.⁵⁴⁰ It seems a pity that progress in this should be stopped and this should be hung up. It appears to be an important project yielding worthwhile results. Could you please look into this matter.⁵⁴¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

196. To B.N. Jha: Western Kosi Canal⁵⁴²

June 23, 1963

My dear Binodanandji,

You wrote to me on the 25th May about further developments regarding the Western Kosi Canal. I sent your letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.⁵⁴³ After fully considering the matter the Planning Commission has sent me a note on this subject which I enclose.⁵⁴⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

539. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. PMO, File No. 17(9)/59-69-PMS, Sr. No. 13-A.

540. Appendix 9.

541. Nanda's response, appendix 22.

542. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 17(9)-59-69-PMS, Sr. No. 16-A.

543. Gulzarilal Nanda. See also appendix 9.

544. See appendix 22.

Delhi

197. To Bhagwan Sahay: Buildings at Raj Ghat⁵⁴⁵

May 16, 1963

My dear Bhagwan Sahay,

Brij Krishna⁵⁴⁶ has written to me about some decision we are said to have taken regarding the Gandhi Peace Foundation having a building at Raj Ghat; also a hostel attached to it. I have a faint recollection about the Gandhi Peace Foundation being situated there, but I do not remember about the hostel. I think it will be rather unfortunate to have many buildings round about there.

Could you let me know what exactly the situation is? Surely, the hostel could be built elsewhere somewhere nearby.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

198. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Buildings at Raj Ghat⁵⁴⁷

May 16, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of the 16th May about the Raj Ghat Samadhi and its neighbourhood.

I have no recollection of this matter coming up before the Cabinet. Probably it did come up. In any event, I do not see why a hostel should be built there. I think the whole matter might be reconsidered by the Cabinet.

In doing so, you should suggest what alternative accommodation you can give nearby. Also if it is possible to allow the Peace Foundation to be there without hostels etc.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

545. Letter to the Chief Commissioner of Delhi. PMO, File No. 2(249)/61-62-PMS, Volume I & II, Sr. No. 62-A.

546. Brij Krishna Chandiwalla of the Bharat Sevak Samaj.

547. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and rehabilitation. PMO, File No. 2(249)/61-64-PMS, Volume I & II, Sr. No. 64-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

199. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Rain Baseras⁵⁴⁸

May 21, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a letter from Brij Krishna Chandiwal. ⁵⁴⁹ This is about constructing buildings to serve as Rain Baseras. He has already made considerable progress in this matter and I think he should be encouraged. Apparently he wants the Planning Commission to agree to this. I think you should agree.

Yours sincerely
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

200. To Mehr Chand Khanna: New Hotels in Delhi⁵⁵⁰

June 20, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of June 17 about Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim's ⁵⁵¹ house. First of all, I hope you will not ask Hafizji to vacate the house for some time. He has a right to stay there for some time longer.

It may be desirable, as you say, that we should not allot this house to any other Minister, but build a multi storeyed building there. As to whether it should be a hotel or a hostel or some other building, may be considered by us more fully. We have agreed to new hotels being put up in Delhi. Whether it will be necessary even then to put up a new hotel has to be considered by the Cabinet. Will you draw up a note on this subject for the Cabinet to consider.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

548. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

549. Of the Bharat Sevak Samaj.

550. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 45(7)/57-PMS, Sr. No. 11-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

551. Former Minister of Irrigation and Power.

201. To Mir Mushtaq Ahmed: Importance of Bhagwan Sahay⁵⁵²

June 22, 1963

My dear Mushtaq Ahmed,
I have your letter of 20th June.

We all know Bhagwan Sahay⁵⁵³ well and appreciate his work in Delhi greatly. I entirely agree with you in what you say about this work of his in Delhi. The decision to send him to Himachal Pradesh was not taken lightly. I would personally have liked him to continue in Delhi but various factors, among which an important one was his own wish in the matter, influenced us and we came to this decision.⁵⁵⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

202. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Importance of Bhagwan Sahay⁵⁵⁵

June 23, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,
I enclose a letter from Brahm Perakash.⁵⁵⁶ Several people have written to me from Delhi about this matter.⁵⁵⁷ My own desire was that Bhagwan Sahay might stay on in Delhi, but after talking to you and considering all the circumstances, I agreed to his going to Himachal Pradesh. I do not know what we can do in the matter now.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

552. Letter to Congressman from Delhi, elected President, Delhi PCC on 31 July 1963 ; address Aruna Hall, Urdu Bazar, Delhi-6. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. NMML, Mir Mushtaq Ahmed Papers.

553. Chief Commissioner, Delhi.

554. See also appendix 21.

555. Letter to the Home Minister, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. MHA, File No. 2/27/63-HM (Part I) p. 7/c.

556. Appendix 21.

557. See item 201.

203. To Mehr Chand Khanna: State Emporia in New Delhi⁵⁵⁸

July 13, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of the 13th July. As far as I am concerned, I have no objection to your proposal to allot some plots to various State Governments for the construction of their Emporia.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Goa

204. To Purushottam Kakodkar: AICC in Rajasthan not Goa⁵⁵⁹

June 11, 1963

My dear Purushottam,

Your letter of the 7th June. It is true that the Congress Working Committee decided to hold the next session of the AICC in Rajasthan. Goa attracted us greatly, but having regard to the grave problems before us, we find that the position in Goa at this time would not be suitable. We may go there somewhat later. This has to be a working session of the AICC and not a propagandist one. I do not think it will be possible to change the venue now.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

558. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing, and Rehabilitation. PMO, File No. 2 (682)/73-78-PMS, Sr. No. Nil.

559. Letter to President of the Goa, Daman, Diu PCC.

205. To N.V. Gadgil: Marathi in Goa⁵⁶⁰

June 26, 1963

My dear Gadgil,

I have your letter of June 24.

I do not understand the agitation for Marathi being recognised as the principal language of Goa or for Goa being integrated into Maharashtra. There can be no doubt that Marathi was and is largely in use in Goa. It will continue to be so and would no doubt be encouraged in every way. Konkani is, I believe, very widely spoken in Goa.

As for Kannada, I merely said that some people also spoke Kannada. I did not mean to compare it with Marathi.

As regards Goa being kept as a separate entity, I gave an undertaking many times previously about this matter and I think I should keep it, just as we are doing with Pondicherry. If some time afterwards it is the desire of the people of Goa to make a change, it is perfectly open for them to do so.

In either event Maharashtra or Marathi will not suffer. Their influence will be great in Goa.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Gujarat

206. To Tribhuvandas Patel: Charges against Rasiklal Parikh⁵⁶¹

July 21, 1963

Dear Shri Tribhuvandasji,

You sent me a copy of a letter dated 18th July addressed to the Congress President.⁵⁶² In this, you referred to the attitude and conduct of the Home Minister of the Gujarat Government, Shri Rasiklal Parikh, and made certain charges against him.

560. Letter to former Governor of Punjab. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. NMML, N.V. Gadgil Papers. Also available in the JN Collection.

561. Letter to the President of the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee.

562. Letter to D. Sanjivayya, the Congress President, not reproduced; available in NMML.

I spoke about this matter to the Chief Minister, Dr Jivraj Mehta, with whom you had already had a discussion. He did not agree with many of your comments. He said that he had asked you to send him some particulars of the charges so that he could enquire into them.

I think Dr Jivraj Mehta's request is reasonable. Action of the kind suggested by you can surely not be taken unless some kind of evidence justifies it. I hope that you will be good enough to give this evidence to Dr Jivraj Mehta.

I might add that Shri Masani⁵⁶³ had also made some charges against Rasiklal Parikh. I made an enquiry into them, and these charges were denied. A good deal of proof has been sent to support this denial.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Himachal Pradesh

207. For Himachal Pradesh⁵⁶⁴

I send all my good wishes to the people of Himachal Pradesh and to the new Ministry and Government set-up in this Union Territory which is being inaugurated on the 1st July.⁵⁶⁵ I am particularly attached to the Himalayan mountains and the people who live under their shelter. In the past, during British days, these areas were much neglected, except for a few hill stations. Lately, much has been done in Himachal Pradesh. Roads have been opened out. Schools and hospitals have sprung up in many places, and many other efforts have been made for the advancement of the people there. I hope this process will continue and will bring relief for the sturdy people of the Himalayas in many ways. The autonomy that has come to Himachal Pradesh, even as a Union Territory, will bring the opportunity to the people there and their leaders to develop self-reliance and to devote their energies to bringing about the advancement of this beautiful and historic area and its sturdy people. They must rely on themselves and their own efforts, though, of course, the Union Government will help them. Progress and advancement come ultimately by the efforts of the people themselves.

563. Minoo Masani, Lok Sabha MP from Rajkot, Swatantra Party.

564. Message, 25 June 1963, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

565. Himachal Pradesh was a Union Territory with a Territorial Council. The Government of Union Territories Act 1963 provided for an Assembly.

208. To Y.B. Chavan: Cars on Simla Roads⁵⁶⁶

July 17, 1963

My dear Chavan,

I have received many complaints of accidents happening on the Simla roads because of the indiscriminate use of motor cars. A very large number of people use them. It is proposed to ban the use of cars on the Mall Road in Simla except for the President and Vice-President of India, the Governor of the Punjab, the Lt. Governor of Himachal Pradesh and the Chief Ministers of the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh.

I am writing to you seeking your cooperation in this matter. There are a number of cars of military officers of the Western Command. I do not think it is at all necessary for them to use cars there on the prohibited roads. I hope that instructions will be issued accordingly.⁵⁶⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

209. To Partap Singh Kairon: Cars on Simla Roads⁵⁶⁸

July 17, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of the 16th July about vehicular traffic on the Simla roads. I entirely agree with you that strict restrictions should be placed on this traffic. It is totally unbecoming for people to go about in cars on these roads. The list you give towards the end of your letter seems to be adequate. I would suggest, however, that you leave the Prime Minister of India out of this list. I seldom go to Simla. You may discuss this matter with the Governor of Himachal Pradesh⁵⁶⁹ as well as the senior officer of the Western Command.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

566. Letter to the Defence Minister. PMO, File No. 27(85)A/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 5-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

567. A similar letter was written to the Lt. Governor of Himachal Pradesh, Bajrang Bahadur Singh of Bhadri, on 17 July 1963. PMO, File No. 27(85)A/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 4-A.

568. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab. PMO, File No. 27(85) A/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 3-A.

569. Bajrang Bahadur Singh of Bhadri.

Jammu and Kashmir

210. To Arjun Arora: A.M. Tariq's Expulsion from the National Conference⁵⁷⁰

May 15, 1963

My dear Arora,

Your letter of May 15th about Tariq.

I do not know all the facts about the expulsion of Tariq⁵⁷¹ from the Kashmir National Conference. That organisation is independent of the Congress and obviously we cannot interfere with its decisions. When I heard of this, I told the Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament⁵⁷² to enquire from the Kashmir National Conference about this matter and to find out what the facts were; also, to find out if any opportunity was given to Tariq to give an explanation of any charges that might have been framed. I do not know if any answer was received to this.

I saw Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed⁵⁷³ for a very short time some days ago. He referred to this matter and said that Tariq had been behaving improperly and had particularly avoided him whenever he came to Delhi. I could not have much more of a talk with Bakhshi Sahib, but he stated that this matter was entirely one for the Kashmir National Conference and it need not affect Tariq's membership of our Congress Party in Parliament here.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

211. To Bibhuti Mishra: Hemis Gumpa Fair Difficult for MPs⁵⁷⁴

May 16, 1963

My dear Bibhuti Mishra,

Your letter of May 16th. I rather doubt if it will be possible for any number of MPs to go to the Hemis Gumpa Fair in Ladakh. All our available aircraft are

570. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Congress ; address: 134 North Avenue, New Delhi.

571. A.M. Tariq, Rajya Sabha MP from Kashmir, 1962-65.

572. Possibly Bibhuti Mishra.

573. Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

574. Letter to the Secretary of the CPP.

busy carrying supplies and army personnel. Others going there take the place of these supplies. You may, however, ask the Defence Minister⁵⁷⁵ about it.

Hemis Gumpa is a place some miles away from Leh. The only way to go there is either walking or riding a pony from Leh.

Leh is an important base for our army people. The forward lines are far ahead of this and, in any event, it will not be possible to go to the forward lines because of the difficulty of transport etc.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

212. To G. M. Bakhshi: Return of Mir Waiz Yusuf Shah⁵⁷⁶

May 17, 1963

My dear Bakhshi,

During one of your recent visits here, you spoke to me, I think, about Nuruddin, the brother of Mir Waiz Yusuf Shah. You told me that he wanted to be allowed to go back to Kashmir, but that you were not agreeable to this.

I am told that he is continuing to try to get permission to go there and that quite a number of people in Delhi are recommending him for this purpose. The reason given by him for his return to Kashmir is the death of his father, but I gather that his father died last year.

I have had quite a number of reports about him which are not creditable to him and I fear that he might try to do mischief in Kashmir if he is allowed to go there. It is not beyond doubt that he may actually be sent there by our opponents for this purpose.

I am writing to you just to draw your attention to this matter. You will no doubt take such steps as you think proper.

The talks with Pakistan are over, but I have little doubt that, in some form or other, the Americans and the British will raise the matter again. We do not wish to encourage them.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

575. Y.B. Chavan.

576. Letter to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

213. To D.N. Kalhan: Arranging Meeting⁵⁷⁷

June 4, 1963

Dear Shri Kalhan,

Your letter of April 25th was placed before me only yesterday here at Dehra Dun. I do not know why this delay took place.

I have read your small note on "India's Case on Kashmir".⁵⁷⁸ I agree wholly with your approach.

I would gladly see you whenever an opportunity offers itself. I am now at Dehra Dun. On my return to Delhi, after two days I shall go to Assam. Thereafter, I shall go to Madras, coming back about the middle of June. I hope to go away again for about a week or so for rest somewhere, possibly Kashmir.

You will thus see that I shall be away mostly from Delhi during the month of June. About July, I am not quite sure.

If you come to Delhi when I am there, I shall be glad to meet you.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

214. To G.M. Bakhshi: Prithvi Singh Azad⁵⁷⁹

June 11, 1963

My dear Bakhshi,

I suppose you know Prithvi Singh Azad who has a long and interesting history. He was in the Revolutionary Movement; was sentenced and sent to the Andamans; escaped, went to Russia etc. Coming back, he went to Gandhiji who advised him to deliver himself up to the police, which I believe he did. Later he spent some time at the Ashram. Later still, he joined the Communist Party, but, after some experience of it, left it.

For the last few years he has been working for physical culture etc., especially among students. The last two or three years, the Punjab Government has employed him mostly to tone up the students. He has, I believe, done good work there which has been much appreciated.⁵⁸⁰

577. Letter to the Editor of *Searchlight*, Patna. Sent from Dehra Dun.

578. Not traced.

579. Letter to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

580. Prithvi Singh Azad, Director, Self Culture Institute, Chail.

I thought it might be a good thing for him to go to some other States and address the students. What he says interests them very greatly and tones them up. For this purpose he has visited a number of States already. I understand that he is going to Kashmir on the 20th June for a fortnight. May I commend him to you so that he can have facilities to go about Kashmir and Jammu and address students in schools and colleges?

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

215. To G.M. Bakhshi: Kashmir Programme⁵⁸¹

June 15, 1963

My dear Bakhshi,

Your letter of June 13th has just reached me. Thank you for the arrangements you are making for us to go to Pahalgam on the 19th.

If you so wish it, I shall gladly address the National Conference workers on the 18th afternoon.

I intend having a short course of Ayurvedic treatment in the shape of some kind of oil massage during my stay at Pahalgam. Shiv Sharma, the well-known ayurvedic physician of Bombay,⁵⁸² is sending two men for this purpose. They will probably travel with me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

216. In Srinagar: To National Conference Workers⁵⁸³

बख्शी साहब⁵⁸⁴ और भाइयो,

पार साल मैं आया था और मुझे मौका मिला था नेशनल कांफ्रेंस के कारकुन, उनसे मिलने का, उनसे कुछ कहने का।⁵⁸⁵ साल भर उसको गुज़र गया लेकिन वाक़िया यह है कि मालूम

581. Letter to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

582. Shiv Sharma became Independent Lok Sabha MP from Vidisha, Madhya Pradesh in 1967.

583. Speech, 18 June 1963. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 10931, 10932, 10933, NM No. 1911, 1922.

584. Ghulam Mohammed Bakhshi, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

585. See SWJN/SS/77/item 149.

होता है कहीं ज्यादा अरसा हुआ उसको यानी पिछले साल में जो-जो हमारे तजुर्बे हुए, जो-जो वाकियात हुए, वो ऐसे हुए कि वक्त कुछ इससे लम्बा मालूम होता है, कि इससे पहले का वक्त कई साल हुए हुआ था। खासकर मैं जिक्र कर रहा हूँ कि चीनी जब हमला हुआ, यकायक वो सितम्बर में हुआ था, अभी सात-आठ महीने हुए लेकिन उसने एक ऐसा असर हमारे ऊपर पैदा किया कि उसका अब सोचते हैं तो मुझे ताज्जुब होता है कि सात-आठ महीने हुए थे, मालूम होता है कि कहीं ज्यादा ज़माना हुआ था। वो एक बड़ी बात हुई, बड़ी बात से मतलब अच्छी बात नहीं बल्कि एक बड़े असर की बात, असर हमारे दिमागों पर, हमारे मुल्क के हालात पर, और बहुत बातों पर, कुछ किसी क्रूर दुनिया की सियासत पर।

चीनी हमला आप जानते हैं यकायक दो जगह हुआ, एक तो नेफ़ा की तरफ़ पूरब में और दूसरे लद्दाख़ में, एक साथ हुआ था दोनों जगह, सितम्बर-अक्तूबर में। तो उसका असर लद्दाख़ में हुआ और चुनांचे ज़ाहिर है जम्मू व काश्मीर में उसका असर हुआ हो, काश्मीर के हिस्से पर हुआ। अलावा उस असर के जो सीधा हुआ, एक दूसरा उसका असर हुआ वो पाकिस्तान के ज़रिए से कि एक नयी बात देखने में आयी कि पाकिस्तान वालों ने, पाकिस्तान की हुकूमत ने चीन से समझौता करने की कोशिश की और किया भी। नयी बात खासतौर से यह थी कि पाकिस्तान, आप जानते हैं अब तक वो दुनिया में जो मुल्कों में समझौते वगैरा हुए हैं उसमें पश्चिमी मुल्कों की तरफ़, अमेरिका और इंग्लैंड वगैरा की तरफ़ उनका साथी था, उनसे मदद बहुत मिली थी, फ़ौज वगैरा के लिए, इसलिए कि वो उनका साथ दे जो ठंडी लड़ाई हो रही है और बाद में अगर गरम लड़ाई हो उसमें, मुक़ाबला करने के लिए वो मुल्क जो दूसरे गिरोह में हैं। दूसरी गिरोह के मुल्क गिने जाते थे—रूस कम्युनिस्ट मुल्क, साम्यवादी रूस, चीन वगैरा वो गिने जाते थे, तो उनके खिलाफ़ यह मैदान में आने के लिए, तैयारी के लिए पाकिस्तान को मदद मिली थी अमेरिका वगैरा की। इसी शर्त पर मिली थी और कहा गया था बहुत कि यह किसी और काम में इस्तेमाल न करें, फ़ौजी मदद जो उनको दी गयी वो ख़ाली इसलिए है कि जब लोगों को, उनको, उनका जो इतिज़ाम है, जिन्होंने बनाये गये थे, मुल्कों के रिश्ते बनाये थे, सीटो [SEATO] और पहले बग़दाद पैक्ट [Baghdad Pact] था, फिर सेन्टो (CENTO) हुआ, और क्या-क्या, उसके लिए, बल्कि यह भी साफ़ कहा था अमेरिका ने कि हम नहीं समझते, हमारी राय नहीं है कि यह इस मदद को, हमारी फ़ौजी मदद को हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ़ काम में लायें। कहा तो था अमेरिका ने, और मुल्कों ने, लेकिन बाद में पाकिस्तान वालों ने साफ़ कर दिया था कि किसी रुकावट को नहीं मानते हैं, अपने, इसके इस्तेमाल की जहाँ ज़रूरत होगी।

ख़ैर, यानी वो दुनिया में जो दो गिरोह हैं, बड़े गिरोह हैं, पावर ब्लॉक्स [power blocks] कहलाते हैं उसमें खासतौर से बंधे हुए थे एक तरफ़ से यानी अमेरिका, इंग्लैंड वगैरा की तरफ़ से। हमारी हिन्दुस्तान में यह पोलिसी रही कि हम किसी के साथ बंधे नहीं हैं, हम दोस्ती करें हर मुल्क के साथ, लेकिन कोई लड़ाई के साथ समझौता किसी से न हो, हम नहीं फ़ंसना चाहते, हम आज़ाद रहना चाहते हैं और जो फ़ैसले हम करना चाहते हैं वो आज़ादी से मुनासिब जो समझो उसको करना चाहते हैं, यह नहीं कि कोई फ़ैसला

हम पर, दूसरे मुल्क के रिश्ते की मजबूरी से हमें करना पड़े। तो यह हमारी शुरु से, जब से हिन्दुस्तान आज़ाद हुआ यह हमारी पोलिसी रही और अब भी है और मेरा ख़्याल है रहेगी।

तो यह मामला कुछ उलट सा गया, पाकिस्तान जो कि उनका साथी था, लड़ाई में शरीक था अमेरिका वगैरा के, वो उस गिरोह को एकदम से मालूम होता था कि छोड़ दिया और चीन वगैरा जो मुल्क उनके करीब हो गया और उनसे समझौते करने लगा और हम, जो कि हम हर मुल्क के साथ दोस्ती करना चाहते थे हमारे ऊपर चीन ने हमला किया। आसानी से यह बात समझ में नहीं आती क्यों हुई? क्योंकि सब उससे उलट-पुलट हो गया, जो पहले नक्शे लोगों ने बनाये थे सब गड़बड़ा गये। अब अक्सर लोग मुझसे पूछते थे और [पूछते] हैं क्यों चीन ने हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला किया, क्या, क्या वजह थी? क्योंकि हमारा कमोबेश दोस्ती का ताल्लुक था उनसे, हालांकि पिछले दो-तीन बरस से कुछ न कुछ बहसें बढ़ती जाती थीं, कुछ न कुछ लद्दाख में वो बढ़े थे, वो हमें नागवार गुज़रा था और कुछ सख्त खत भी लिखे गये थे एक-दूसरे को, लेकिन फिर भी एक बड़ा फ़ौजी हमला करना, यह ख़्याल नहीं था कि होगा। क्यों उन्होंने किया और हिन्दुस्तान को इतनी तकलीफ़ पहुँचाई, परेशान किया कि उनको बजाए दोस्ती के दुश्मन बनाने की कोशिश उनको? कोई जानबूझ के दुश्मन बनाना तो अक्ल की बात नहीं। तो इसका जवाब देना मुश्किल है कि चीन ने क्यों किया? अक्सर लोग समझते हैं कि थोड़ी सी ज़मीन लेने के लिए नहीं किया बल्कि उनको नागवार गुज़रता था कि एक मुल्क हिन्दुस्तान ऐसा जो कि एक दूसरे रास्ते पर चले, उनके रास्ते पर नहीं, कम्युनिज़्म के रास्ते पर और उनकी सरपरस्ती मंज़ूर नहीं करे ऐसा मुल्क होना ही उनको नागवार गुज़रता था, उनके रास्ते में आता था और और जो एशिया के मुल्क हैं उन पर बुरा असर डालता था। उनकी राय में, नहीं तो उनकी सरपरस्ती में और मुल्क आ जायें।

आप जानते हैं चीन बहुत बड़ा मुल्क है, हिन्दुस्तान एक बड़ा मुल्क है लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान से भी वो मैं नहीं जानता शायद दुगुना है कि ढाई गुना है, कित्ता बड़ा है नापने में और आज़ादी में भी, कोई एक-डेढ़ गुने से ज़्यादा है। तो यह उन्हें नागवार गुज़रता था यानी तारीख़ में यह देखा जाता है कि जब चीन बड़ा है, ताक़तवर मुल्क हुआ है, उस वक़्त उसने फ़ैलने की कोशिश की और आसपास के मुल्कों को दबाने की कोशिश की और आसपास के मुल्कों को अपने दायरे में लाने की, या तो पूरीतौर से या यह जो वहाँ की, जो वहाँ की हुकूमत हो वो मान जाये, उनकी सरपरस्ती मान ले, उनका कहना मान ले और कुछ न करे। यह पुरानी बात है, चीन की आदत है। और इसी, इस सिलसिले में ऐसे ज़माने हुए हैं जबकि उनका असर अक्सर मुल्कों पर रहा है यानी इंडोचाइना [Indo-China] में या बर्मा पर या और मुल्कों में रहा है, एक कुछ थोड़े दिन तक नेपाल पे भी रहा है, जब वो ज़रा कमज़ोर हुए तो हटा दिए गये। अब जो उनकी ताक़त बढ़ी है तो फिर वो अपने पुराने दस्तूर पर चलने लगे और अपना असर बढ़ाने लगे और आसपास के मुल्कों पर और उनको और छोटे-छोटे ज़्यादातर मुल्क हैं, हिन्दुस्तान एक ज़रा बड़ा था और कुछ असर रखता था दुनिया में, एशियाई दुनिया में, अफ़्रीका की। तो यह शायद उन्होंने सोचा यह एक कांटा हमारे सामने है, इसे हटाना चाहिए, इसके असर को और इसलिए कोई ऐसी

बात करनी थी जिससे यह समझ जाये, और मुल्क भी समझ जायें कि एशिया में चीन हावी होगा, और कोई मुल्क नहीं होगा। हमारी कोई खास ख्वाहिश है नहीं कि हम एशिया में हावी हों, और मुल्कों पर, कोई नहीं थी, हम अपने मुल्क में अपना काम जो मुनासिब समझते हैं करना चाहते हैं, बढ़ना चाहते हैं, तरक्की किया चाहते हैं, और मुल्कों [में] कुछ दखल नहीं सिवाए इसके उनसे रिश्ता अच्छा रहे दोस्ती का, उनकी मदद करें। शायद यह एक बड़ी वजह हो, उनके हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला करने की। एक और भी बात है कि उनको बहुत नागवार गुज़र रहा था कि रूस हिन्दुस्तान की मदद क्यों करता है? मदद से मतलब हिन्दुस्तान में इक़तिसादी मदद, इकोनोमिक मदद बहुत सारी बातों की है, हमारे बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारख़ाने रूस की मदद से बने हैं, और भी बन रहे हैं। क्यों कर रहा है? क्योंकि वो चाहते थे कि सारी मदद जो रूस कर सकता है वो चीन ही को दी जाये।

कुछ बरस हुए, सात बरस हुए, आठ बरस हुए, दस बरस हुए चीन को बहुत मदद रूस ने दी थी, क्योंकि चीन के सामने सवाल करीब-करीब वही थे जो हमारे यहाँ हैं, पिछड़ा हुआ मुल्क नयी दुनिया के लिहाज़ से, पुराने ज़माने के तरीक़े वहाँ काम करने के, नयी दुनिया नहीं पूरी तरह से पहुँची थी, उसके लिए बहुत रुपया लगाना पड़ता है, कारख़ाने बनाने, खेती को बदलना, वग़ैरा-वग़ैरा। तो रूस ने बहुत मदद की थी, सैकड़ों बल्कि हज़ारों बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने कहिए जो कुछ वो यहाँ रूस के रुपये से लगे, वहाँ बने। फिर पिछले दो-तीन बरस में रूस में और चीन में नाइतिफ़ाक़ी हो गयी, उसूली नाइतिफ़ाक़ी, हालांकि दोनों दुनिया भर को देखिए, दोनों साथी हैं, एक गिरोह हैं, दूसरे गिरोह के खिलाफ़ हैं, फिर भी नाइतिफ़ाक़ी हुई। कही जाती है नाइतिफ़ाक़ी कुछ पोलिसी के ऊपर, बहुत गहरी पोलिसी पर, लेकिन यह आप देखेंगे हमेशा दो मुल्कों में ऐसी बातें होती हैं, तो उसके पीछे कुछ उन दोनों मुल्कों के जो क़ौमी ज़रूरियात हैं उनमें मुठभेड़ हो जाती है, नेशनल इन्ट्रेस्ट में। तो चीन में और रूस में कुछ न कुछ हुआ ऐसा और है, ज़रा दबा है, ऊपर से वो कहा जाता है कि आइडिओलोजी [ideology] में, उसकी बातों में फ़र्क़ है।

ख़ैर, वो हुआ। उसका नतीजा यह हुआ था कि रूस ने जो बहुत वहाँ मदद कर रहे थे, चीन को, वो ज़्यादातर बंद कर दी, बहुत कुछ अपने लोगों को, हज़ारों रूसी इंजीनियर वग़ैरा वहाँ काम करते थे उनको वापिस बुला लिया। यह बात बहुत नागवार गुज़री चीन को, उनका नुक़सान हुआ, क्योंकि बहुत ज़रूरत है, जैसे हमें हिन्दुस्तान में ज़रूरत है तरक्की की इस किस्म की, और यह और भी नागवार गुज़रा कि हमें तो मदद नहीं करते वो और हिन्दुस्तान को मदद जारी रखते हैं, हालांकि जो हमें देते हैं उनके मुक़ाबले में कम थी, लेकिन फिर भी। यह भी कहा जाता है, समझा जाता है कि यह वो दिखाना चाहते थे, रूस पर दबाव डालना चाहते थे कि उनकी यह बहुत ग़लत पोलिसी है हिन्दुस्तान को या ऐसे मुल्कों को मदद देना जो कि बिल्कुल उनके शरीक नहीं हैं। हम तो किसी के शरीक थे नहीं, हम तो दोस्ती करते थे, रूस से ज़रूर दोस्ती थी, अच्छी थी, और मुल्कों से भी थी, अमेरिका से भी थी, किसी गिरोह में नहीं थे।

अब यह उसूली बात है, मैं जाना नहीं चाहता उनकी उसूली बहसों में, लेकिन चीन की राय में पूरीतौर से अमन दुनिया में नहीं हो सकता जब तक कि उनकी जीत न हो

जाये, उनकी मतलब उनके और उनके साथियों की। और रूस यह कहते हैं कि दुनिया में तरह-तरह के मुल्क हैं, उनकी हमें बरदाश्त करनी चाहिए, हमारे कुछ उनकी राय कुछ खिलाफ भी हो और इस तरह से रहना चाहिए, हल्के-हल्के हम समझते हैं कि हमारी राय को वो स्वीकार करेंगे, मंजूर करेंगे, क्योंकि वाकियात के दबाव से, पीसफुल कोइगिस्टेंस [peaceful coexistence], जिसे उन्होंने कहा उसको मानते हैं, चीन नहीं मानता, और भी बातें हैं। गरज कि यह चीन ने यह समझा, यह कहा जाता है कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान को एक यकायक हमला करके कुछ हिला दें, कमजोर कर दें तो उससे उनकी राय में कहीं अच्छे असर होंगे। एक तो हिन्दुस्तान जिसको वो समझते थे कि आपस में बहुत झगड़े हमारे हैं तो हिन्दुस्तान कमजोर हो जायेगा, क्योंकि इसमें आपस में झगड़े हैं और घबरा जायेगा, कुछ वो डर जायेगा और दूसरे और मुल्कों को जो एशिया के हैं वो भी देखेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान इतने बड़े मुल्क को उन्होंने धमका दिया, डरा दिया, तो हम किस गिनती में हैं, तो वो भी घबरा जायेंगे। तीसरे रूस समझेंगे कि जिस पोलिसी पर वो चले थे, रूस की थी, जिसमें बहस उनमें थी, रूस में और चीन में, उसमें चीन की पोलिसी ज्यादा अच्छी है उनकी गलत है।

खैर, यह सब कहा जाता है, यह वजूहात थे जो उनके सामने थे, उन्होंने किया, जो कुछ उन्होंने किया, तिब्बत से हमले किए यहाँ, वो जाहिर है कि उसके लिए तैयारियाँ एक जमाने से थीं वहाँ यानी बरसों से थीं या कम से कम सात-आठ महीने से थीं, थीं अरसे से। क्योंकि तिब्बत में लड़ाई लड़ने की महज एक फ़ौजी बात नहीं है, यह मेरा मतलब ख़ाली एक फ़ौज की नहीं है, फ़ौज को खिलाना होता है, फ़ौज को सामान लाना होता है, फ़ौज को पहुँचाना होता है यानी कहीं वो न चाहे तिब्बत में तो बहुत खाने-पीने का सामान होता नहीं, न लड़ाई का सामान है, उसको उन्हें लाना पड़ता है कई हज़ार मील से, चीन से और कई हज़ार मील जहाँ के कुछ तो रेल है और कुछ सड़क है, कई हज़ार मील से लाना आप सोच सकते हैं काफ़ी तकलीफ़देह बात है एक बड़ी फ़ौज के लिए। चुनांचे बहुत कुछ लाके जमा करना होता है क़ब्ल इसके कि फ़ौज लड़े, महीनों जमा करना होता है। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए कि तेल है, पेट्रोल है, बहुत ज़रूरी चीज़ है लड़ाई के लिए आजकल, उसको भी जमा करना पड़ता है, रोज़मर्रा जो आये वो काफ़ी नहीं। चुनांचे हिन्दुस्तान पे जो उन्होंने हमला किया, वो जभी कर सकते थे कि जब महीनों पहले से वो जमा कर रहे थे सामान वहाँ अपने फ़ौज के इस्तेमाल के लिए, हर किस्म का लड़ने का सामान, खाने-पीने का, सब जमा कर रहे थे, तो फिर उन्होंने हमला किया।

तो यह मैंने आपको कुछ पुरानी बातें, हालांकि सात-आठ महीने की बातें हैं, बताईं। तो उसका एक नतीजा तो यह हुआ कि बजाए इसके जो वो समझते थे कि हिन्दुस्तान डर जायेगा, घबरा जायेगा कि पहाड़ की चोटियाँ पर हमने पीछे कर दिया उन्हें, तो उसका उल्टा असर हिन्दुस्तान पर हुआ बजाए इसके कि हमारे आपसी कुछ झगड़े बढ़ें, वो बिल्कुल बंद हो गये। जब एक बड़ा ख़तरा मुल्क के सामने आया तो सब लोगों ने सोचा, चाहे दक्षिण में आप जाइये, वहाँ मद्रास तक, वहाँ से लेकर ऊपर तक, मद्रास तो लद्दाख़ से, काश्मीर से डेढ़-दो हज़ार मील है, फिर भी वहाँ भी एक बहुत जोश चढ़ा कि चीनियों का मुक़ाबला करना है, अपने मुल्क को बचाना है और इस वक़्त आपसी बहसों को बंद कर देना है।

चुनांचे उसका नतीजा, चीनी हमले का जो वो समझते थे उसका उल्टा हुआ, हिन्दुस्तान की एकता बढ़ गयी, हिन्दुस्तान की यूनिटी, और काफ़ी लोगों की तवज्जोह गयी कि हम हर तरह से कोशिश करें अपने मुल्क को तैयार करने की कि इसका मुक़ाबला करें। यह बातें कई हुई, नेशनल डिफ़ेंस फ़ंड शुरू हुआ, ख़ाली रुपये जमा करने से कोई मुक़ाबला तो नहीं कर सकता, लेकिन वो निशानी थी [कि] लोगों के ख़्यालात उस वक़्त थे, क्या थे, क्या इसके जवाब देने के, आपने भी उसमें दिया। अभी बख़्शी साहब ने दस लाख रुपये और यहाँ जमा किए, दिए, उसके लिए शुक्रिया। हिन्दुस्तान भर में बहुत काफ़ी अमीर और ग़रीब ने मिलकर अपनी तैयारी दिखाई दी, पूरीतौर से करने को, फ़ौजें हमारी भर्ती हुईं वग़ैरा, वह सब होता रहता है।

फिर आप जानते हैं कि कुछ लोगों को ताज्जुब हुआ, थोड़े दिन बाद अक्टूबर में, फिर नवम्बर में उन्होंने बड़ा हमला किया और उसके बाद यकायक उन्होंने ऐलान किया हम वापिस जाते हैं, हम फ़ौजें अपनी वापस लेंगे बाज़ जगहों से, ख़ासकर नेफ़ा से। तो लोगों को ताज्जुब हुआ कैसे वापिस गये? एक फ़ौज, जो जीती हुई फ़ौज होती है वो वापिस तो नहीं जाती, मुझे कोई बहुत ताज्जुब नहीं हुआ था और मेरा ख़्याल था कि उस ज़माने में दो-चार-दस बीस रोज़ बाद ज़रूर रुकेंगे और फिर वापिस जायेंगे। इसलिए मुझे ताज्जुब नहीं हुआ क्योंकि, हालांकि वो दो-एक लड़ाइयों में जीते थे शुरू-शुरू में, दो बातें थीं—एक तो उनकी फ़ौजें ख़ास तैयार की गयी थीं बरसों से, ज़माने से पहाड़ी लड़ाई के लिए, तिब्बत में पहाड़ी लड़ाई होती थी, कुछ चीन में भी यानी पंद्रह-बीस बरस से उनका सिलसिला यही लड़ाने का था, काफ़ी सीखी हुई थीं। दूसरे उनको, तिब्बत में बहुत ज़्यादातर रहते थे बरसों से, तिब्बत ऊँची जगह है, कोई एक दस-बारह हज़ार फ़ीट में, आमतौर से उसकी ऊँचाई यहाँ से, काश्मीर से, श्रीनगर वग़ैरा से दुगुनी से ज़्यादा। चुनांचे वो आदी हो गये थे ऊँचे पहाड़ों पर रहने के, जहाँ कि आप जानते हैं एकदम से कोई ऊँचे पहाड़ पर जाये, दस हज़ार, पंद्रह हज़ार फ़ीट, ज़रा सांस लेने में दिक्कत होती है, वो बरसों से रहते थे, आदी थे। तो बिल्कुल ख़ास तैयार किए गये थे एक ज़माने से पहाड़ी लड़ाई के लिए।

हम पूरीतौर से तैयार नहीं थे, कुछ थोड़े से थे, लद्दाख़ वग़ैरा में कुछ थे लेकिन आमतौर से नहीं थे, हमने नयी फ़ौज भेजी, तो पहले दस-पंद्रह रोज़ तो उनको ठीक-ठीक सांस लेने की आदत होनी चाहिए, यह एक हमारी कमज़ोरी थी, उससे नुक़सान हुआ, उस वक़्त ख़्याल नहीं आया या एकदम आ गये थे, हम कुछ कर नहीं सके, जो कुछ कहिए। दूसरी असल बात यह जो मैंने आपसे कहा [कि] यहाँ लड़ने के लिए उनको बहुत तैयारी करनी होती है, चीज़ें जमा करनी होती हैं, अगर जमा न करें तो फिर लड़ाई लड़ने में तो बहुत जल्दी ख़र्च हो जाता है, लड़ाई का सामान, बारूद वग़ैरा महीने भर जमा कीजिए दो रोज़ में ख़र्च हो जायेगा वो, तेल है, पेट्रोल है वो भी ख़र्च हो जायेगा, जब फ़ौजें चलेंगी जल्दी ख़र्च होता है, उसको जमा करना है बहुत दिन से। तो पहले तो उन्होंने बहुत ज़ोर दिखाया, आ गये, लेकिन फिर उन्हें दिक्कतें पेश आईं, इसी बात की, सामान की कि अगर वो और आगे इस वक़्त बढ़ने की कोशिश करते तो वो उन ऊँचे पहाड़ों से ज़रा अलग हो जाते और जो उनको फ़ायदा था ऊँचे पहाड़ों पर लड़ने का वो नहीं रहता, ज़्यादा सख़्त

उनका मुक़ाबला होता, जिसमें शायद वो कामयाब नहीं होते, यह उनका ख़्याल हुआ। और दूसरे उनका सामान का जो सिलसिला था आने का वो कुछ बंद सा होता जाता था, ख़तम होता जाता, फिर जमा करने की ज़रूरत हो गयी। तो यह समझ के आइन्दा आगे जायेंगे तो फ़ंस जायेंगे और वो फ़ंसते ज़रूर, दिक्कतें आयेंगी, उन्होंने यह मुनासिब समझा कि पीछे चले जायें और सारी दुनिया में ऐलान करें कि हम तो एक अमन-पसंद आदमी हैं। [अब यह] तो ख़ाली एक बिल्कुल उल्टी कहानी कही है कि हिन्दुस्तान ने हम पर हमला किया था, हमने क्या किया? हमने तो अपने को बचाने की कोशिश की यानी बिल्कुल [शरअन] झूठ यह बात कही और देख लीजिए हम अपने मुल्क को दबा के हम वापिस आ गये, मुल्क को बचाने में हमारे यहाँ एक पचास-सौ मील आये आगे, यह किया, यह कैसे, इसका क्या जवाब था ज़ाहिर नहीं था।

ख़ैर, यह सब हुआ। इस सबसे ज़ाहिर हो गया हमें कि यह चीनी मामला कोई एक हमले का नहीं है, यह एक ख़तरा है जो हर वक़्त रहेगा और ढाई हज़ार मील की हमारी सरहदें हैं चीन से और तिब्बत से। चुनांचे शुरु में हमला हुआ था, उसके दो-चार रोज़ बाद मैंने रेडियो पर कहा था कि यह लम्बी चीज़ हमारे सामने आयी, मुक़ाबला करना, बरसों चलेगी, हमें इसके लिए तैयार रहना है। मेरा मतलब यह नहीं था कि बरसों लड़ाई होती जायेगी, लेकिन बरसों ख़तरा रहेगा, कभी लड़ाई हो कभी रुक जाये, ख़तरा रहेगा और इसके लिए हमें तैयार होना है। जो मुल्क अपनी हिफ़ाज़त नहीं कर सकता पूरीतौर से वो ज़ाहिर है उसकी आज़ादी बहुत दिन के ख़रीद नहीं होती। चुनांचे हमने यह ज़ाहिर है तय किया कि और दूसरा हो, जो कुछ था बोझा है उसको हम उठायेंगे और हम सब कोशिश कर रहे हैं अपनी ताक़त बढ़ाने की और इसमें ज़ाहिर है बोझा ज़्यादातर हमारे ऊपर है, हमारे लोगों पर है। उसी के साथ हमने दुनिया के सब मुल्कों से कहा था, उस वक़्त उनसे मदद माँगी थी कि आप मदद कीजिए, अपनी हमदर्दी दीजिए और सामान भी दीजिए जो हमें ज़रूरत हो। उसमें कुछ मुल्कों ने हमारी मदद की है, अक्सर ने, बहुतों ने हमदर्दी दी फिर भी हमने कहा कि हम कोई लड़ाई को पसंद नहीं करते, लेकिन हम इस तरह से नहीं रह सकते कि हर वक़्त हमें धमकी हो और उस धमकी के नीचे डर के मारे रहें, क्योंकि यह आज़ाद मुल्कों का रहने का तरीक़ा नहीं है।

बीच में कुछ ऐसे मुल्क आये, और मुल्क हैं एशिया के, अफ़्रीका के, दो अफ़्रीका के जो कि बीच में यह मैदान में आये नहीं, समझौता हो जाना चाहिए वग़ैरा-वग़ैरा। ख़ैर, हमारे दोस्त थे वो मुल्क, हमने कहा हमें तो लड़ाई पसंद नहीं है लेकिन समझौता जब हो यानी आरज़ी समझौता जब हो, जबकि वो जो और ज़मीन पर उन्होंने क़ब्ज़ा किया है उससे हट जायें यानी अगर उसको दबाये देते हैं तो हमसे बातें किस बात की करें। ख़ैर, आख़िर में वो कोलम्बो के मुल्क कहलाते हैं कई, उन्होंने एक तजवीज़ पेश की कि यह आरज़ी समझौता कैसे हो? समझौता तो एक बड़ी चीज़ थी क्योंकि उसमें असली जो उनके, हमारा और चीन का झगड़ा है उस पर ग़ौर होता, लेकिन किस तरह से हम और वो एक-दूसरे से बात करने को तैयारी हों इसकी बहस थी शुरु में और तो कोलम्बो के मुल्कों ने तजवीज़ की, यह बातें हों। उन्होंने कह दिया हम दो बड़े मुल्कों में समझौता नहीं कर सकते, वो

खुद करें, लेकिन हम रास्ता साफ़ किया चाहते हैं कि दोनों मिलकर आपस में बातचीत करें। हमने जवाब दिया था कि हम हमेशा मिल के बात करने को तैयार हैं बशर्ते कि जो उन्होंने इस नये हमले से फ़ायदा उठाया है, क़ब्ज़ा किया है, उसके वहाँ से हट जायें, तब उनकी नियत कुछ ज़रा साफ़ मालूम होगी, [फिर] हम बात करेंगे नहीं तो हम नहीं करते।

खैर, कोलम्बो के मुल्कों ने कहा कि जो बातें कहीं उसमें बहुत ग़ौर करके हमने उनको मंज़ूर कर लिया। चीन ने पहले कुछ कह के मंज़ूर करते हैं, आख़िर में नहीं किया यानी दो-एक बातें उसमें से नहीं कीं लेकिन जो पीछे अपनी फ़ौजें हटा लीं उन्होंने कुछ, बहुत कुछ वहाँ नेफ़ा में और कुछ थोड़ा सा लद्दाख़ की तरफ़। तो इस वक़्त मामला यह है कि चूँकि कोलम्बो के मुल्कों की सिफ़ारिशें मंज़ूर चीन ने नहीं की हैं पूरीतौर से, वो मामला वहाँ अटका हुआ है, हमने मंज़ूर कर ली हैं। यह सही है कि कई बातें कोलम्बो मुल्कों ने कहीं थीं, उस पर अमल हो चुका है। यह सही है कि इस वक़्त लड़ाई सरहद पर नहीं हो रही है और उन्होंने हमारे जो क़ैदी थे उनको वापिस किया है, यह सब बातें हुई हैं लेकिन कोई अभी तक हवा तैयार नहीं हुई है जिसमें हम और चीन के लोग मिलकर बातें करें। मैं नहीं जानता कब होगी, कब, यह उन पर है, जिस वक़्त वो चाहें कि वो मंज़ूर कर लें कोलम्बो की बातें। तो उसका अगला क़दम यह होगा, उस पर अमल होगा जो कोलम्बो ने कही हैं और तीसरा क़दम यह होगा कि हमारे नुमाइंदे उनके नुमाइंदों से मिलें, बातचीत हो। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि एकदम से हमारा फ़ैसला हो जाये लेकिन कम से कम एक सिलसिला शुरू हो जाये, उससे कुछ हो सके।

यह एक लम्बी कहानी है, मैंने आपसे कही। अब इसमें यह अजीब तमाशा नज़र आया कि पाकिस्तान का हिस्सा। पाकिस्तान याद रखिए एक चीन के बहुत मुख़ालिफ़ मुल्क था, उस गिरोह में था जो कि चीन के बिल्कुल ख़िलाफ़ है। चीन एक कम्युनिस्ट मुल्क गिना जाता था और है और पाकिस्तान ने समझौता किया था अमेरिका वग़ैरा से और उनसे बड़ी फ़ौजें उनके पैसे से बनाई थीं, सामान, हवाई जहाज़, इसलिए कि कम्युनिस्ट मुल्कों का मुक़ाबला करें जब ज़रूरत हो। यकायक पाकिस्तान को अजीब मुहब्बत हो गयी चीन से और उनसे तरह-तरह के, एक तो यह कि एक हिस्सा उनसे समझौता हुआ और एक बड़ा हिस्सा जम्मू व काश्मीर का उनके नज़र कर दिया, मंज़ूर कर दिया, जो उनके क़ब्ज़े में था चीन को दे दिया और महज़ वो नहीं हर तरह से चीन को, वो चीन के साथ हमदर्दी के इज़हार करें, उनकी तारीफ़ करें और यह कहें कि चीन सही है। जो बात चीन कहता है सही है और जो बात हम कहते हैं हिन्दुस्तान की वो ग़लत है, झूठ है, अजीब तमाशा यानी यह हालत हो गयी है कि जितनी चीन की तरफ़दारी करते थे वो चीन खुद अपनी नहीं करते थे जितना पाकिस्तान वाले करने लगे हैं।

तो यह तमाशा दुनिया के मैदान में हुआ सब, दुनिया को हैरत हुई और जो उनके दोस्त थे अमेरिका वग़ैरा उनको बहुत हैरत हुई, लेकिन उनको समझाया भी, कुछ झगड़ा भी उनका आपस में हुआ लेकिन वो अपनी पोलिसी पर चलते रहे, पाकिस्तान वाले। क्यों चले वो लोग? ज़ाहिर है कि उन्होंने सोचा कि चीन हमला कर रहा है इस वक़्त हिन्दुस्तान पर और हिन्दुस्तान ज़रा परेशान है, फ़ंसा हुआ है तो यह मौक़ा अच्छा है इससे फ़ायदा उठाने का

और हिन्दुस्तान को और परेशान करने का, खासकर कई बातें हैं लेकिन खासकर काश्मीर के मामले में, ऐसा मौक़ा शायद फिर हाथ में न आये, हिन्दुस्तान इतना फ़ंसा हुआ है। तो उन्होंने बहुत गुलशोर मचाना शुरू कर दिया, कई बरस से कुछ ख़ामोशी थी, लेकिन अब चीन ने जो हमला किया, अजीब बात थी क्योंकि मामूली तौर पर कोई और मुल्क होता, पाकिस्तान या कोई आसपास का, उसको, खासतौर से उसको बुरा लगना चाहिए था कि चीन ने हमला किया हम पर, आज हम पर किया, कल हम पर करे और उनकी आज़ादी भी ख़तरे में पड़ जाये, लेकिन नहीं, इसका उन्होंने कुछ ख़याल नहीं किया और पूरा चीन का साथ दिया और दे रहे हैं। पाकिस्तान के अख़बार आप पढ़िए तो रोज़ाना उसमें चीन की तारीफ़ें गायी जाती हैं, कितने अच्छे मुल्क हैं, कितने अमन-पसंद हैं वगैरा-वगैरा। क्यों? बात तो यह है कि पाकिस्तान की जड़ और बुनियाद बनने की है, कोई ख़ास काम करना नहीं, हिन्दुस्तान से दुश्मनी, हिन्दुस्तान से नफ़रत, हिन्दुस्तान से डर। हम हज़ार बार कहें उनसे कि आप नाहक़ घबराते हैं, हम चाहते हैं, आपका भला चाहते हैं, आप तरक्क़ी कीजिए, हमारे लिए भी अच्छा है और हमारा आपका रिश्ता हज़ारों बरसों का है, हम एक मुल्क थे, दो हो गये अब। मान लिया दो मुल्क हो गये, हमने मंज़ूर कर लिया लेकिन आप हम उसमें कोई ख़लल नहीं डालना चाहते, लेकिन रिश्ते होने चाहियें, लेकिन इतने भरे हुए हैं वो अपने बुगूज़ से कि कोई रास्ता निकलता नहीं।

हमने कई बातें की, वो नहरों के पानी के निस्बत एक बड़ा समझौता हुआ जिसमें हमने उनको बेशुमार रुपये देने का वायदा किया और दे रहे हैं सालाना,⁵⁸⁶ बावजूद इसके कि बहुत कुछ उनसे रुपया हमें मिलना है, अब तक पार्टिशन के बाद वो नहीं मिला है, हिसाब नहीं बढ़ा, फिर भी हम दे रहे हैं। हम समझे थे कुछ इससे कुछ दिमाग़ में असर होगा, कुछ दोस्ती के रास्ते पर चलेंगे, लेकिन नहीं, उनकी तो एक ही पोलिसी है वो हिन्दुस्तान से नफ़रत करने की और हिन्दुस्तान से डरने की। और हमने उनसे कहा, आपको याद होगा, बार-बार कहा कि हम आप यह तय कर लें कि किसी सूरत से हममें आपमें फ़ौजी लड़ाई नहीं होगी, हमारे आपमें कई सवाल हैं, बहुत सारे बड़े-बड़े सवाल हैं जो अभी तक तय नहीं हुए हैं, उसको तय करने की हम कोशिश करें, बहस करके, बात करके, समझा के, जो-जो भी तरीक़े हों, लेकिन लड़ाई से नहीं तय करें, यह तय कर लें कि लड़ाई नहीं होगी तो फ़ौरन हवा साफ़ हो जायेगी [और] हवा साफ़ होगी तो हमारा बात करना भी ज़्यादा आसान हो जायेगा, उन्होंने नहीं मंज़ूर किया। यह आज की बात नहीं यह करीब दस बरस से मैं कह रहा हूँ उनसे और अब भी फिर कहा है अभी, दो-तीन महीने में बार-बार कहा है, नहीं मानते वो और यह कहते जाते हैं उसी के साथ कि हिन्दुस्तान हम पर हमला करेगा। और हिन्दुस्तान जब आपसे कहता जाता है कि साहब आप इस बात को तय कर लें कि लड़ाई हो ही नहीं सकती, तय, एक हमारी एक ट्रीटी [treaty] हो जाये, जो कुछ हो और ट्रीटी ऐसी नहीं हमारे और आपके बीच में कि उसको युनाइटेड नेशन्स में जाके रख दें। और यूनाइटेड नेशन्स में रखने के माने हैं और मुल्क भी एक तरह से उसके गवाह हो जाते

586. This refers to Indus Waters Treaty, September 1960; see SWJN/SS/63/item 242.

हैं और अगर फिर कोई आप या हम कोई उसको तोड़ें [तो] सारी दुनिया की नाराज़गी हम पर होगी। नहीं, उन्होंने नहीं माना। यह अजीब बात है, [वो] कहते जायें कि हम हमला करते हैं, हम कहते हैं [और हम] इस बात को हटा दिया चाहते हैं कि इस बात की गुंजाइश ही न हो। अब उस फ़ैसले को हम नहीं करेंगे और कहे जाते हैं यह बात अजीब।

तो अच्छा उन्होंने यही समझा कि मौक़ा अच्छा है कि हिन्दुस्तान बहुत परेशान है चीनी हमला को, कि इस वक़्त काश्मीर का सवाल फिर से उठायें और ख़ास मौक़ा है। शायद यह भी उन्होंने सोचा था उस वक़्त कि उस वक़्त सवाल उठाना तो दूर है वो हमला भी करें हिन्दुस्तान पर उस वक़्त, यह समझ के कि मौक़ा अच्छा है। ख़ैर, पूरा हमला तो नहीं किया लेकिन और तरह से उन्होंने इस सवाल को उठाया, हमने उनको जवाब दिया था उस वक़्त भी कि हम तो, हमारी बुनियादी पोलिसी यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान पाकिस्तान मिलकर रहें, मिल के मतलब अलग-अलग मुल्क हैं लेकिन उनके रिश्ते रहें क्योंकि सैकड़ों-हज़ारों बरस के रिश्ते हैं और मिल के रहना अलग-अलग आज़ादी से, एक-दूसरे की मदद करें और यह लड़ाई की हवा, रंजिश की हटा दें। हम चाहते हैं और हम चाहते हैं फ़ैसले हो जायें जो सवाल हों। ख़ैर, बहुत उन्होंने कहा हम हमेशा तैयार हैं इसके निस्बत बातें करने को।

मैंने कोई एक साल भर पहले और कई बार वहाँ के सदर जो हैं फ़ील्ड मार्शल अयूब ख़ाँ साहब, उनसे यह भी कहा था हिन्दुस्तान आने को, बातचीत करने को, वो नहीं आये थे और बाद में उन्होंने कहा कि मैं ऐसे नहीं आऊँगा जब तक कि, एक माने कहें, उनसे पहले तय न कर लिया जाये कि फ़ैसला उनके हक़ में होगा तब वो आयेंगे बात करने, यह तो एक अजीब बात थी। ख़ैर, वो मैंने आख़िर में इस मौक़े पर अमेरिका के और विलायत के लोगों ने और बहुत दौड़-धूप करनी शुरू की कि भई क्यों नहीं उनसे बातचीत करते, क्यों नहीं होता, चीन हमला कर रहा है, चीन कि तुम पर हमला कर रहा है, कल पाकिस्तान पर आये और इसलिए हिन्दुस्तान व पाकिस्तान को मिल के मुक़ाबला करना चाहिए। यह बात तो उनकी बहुत दूर तक नहीं गयी क्योंकि बजाए पाकिस्तान के मदद करने के चीन के खिलाफ़, वो चीन की मदद कर रहे थे, वो उल्टी बात, शरअन ज़ाहिर थी। इस बात की उनको फ़िकर नहीं थी कि अमेरिका की दोस्ती उनकी कमज़ोर हो जाये क्योंकि वो तो दूर की दोस्ती थी न पास की थी, चीनी फ़ौजें, उनका ख़्याल था उनकी मदद उनको मिल जायेगी। लेकिन उनसे कहा था कि मैं, पूरी तौर से हम हमेशा तैयार हैं बात करने को, बात करने को, हमने कहा जितने, हमारे पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान के बीच जितने सवाल हैं, बहुत सारे सवाल हैं, ख़ाली काश्मीर का नहीं, सभी पर हम बात करने को तैयार हैं। अयूब ख़ाँ साहब का जवाब आया कि हाँ बात करें लेकिन ख़ाली काश्मीर पर हम करेंगे, और बातें नहीं करेंगे।

ख़ैर, आख़िर में उनकी बहस के यह तय हुआ [कि] लिखा जाये काश्मीर पर और और बातों पर भी, काश्मीर पर और उसके मुताल्लिक और भी जो बातें हैं उस पर। और यह सिलसिले, आप जानते हैं तीन महीने हुए—कित्ता हुआ—एक शुरू हुआ, तीन-चार महीने हुए, शायद ज़्यादा और उस सिलसिले में कोई कुछ नतीजा नहीं निकला। क्योंकि इस क़दर उनकी भूख बढ़ गयी थी चीनी हमले की वजह से, उनकी इतनी उम्मीदें बढ़ गयी थीं कि

अब तो जो हम कहेंगे कर लेंगे, क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान चीन के दबाव में है, चीन से डरा हुआ है, बातें बार-बार हुई, तीन-चार बार हुई, और उल्टी हो गई, फिर हुई, नतीजा कुछ उनका कुछ नहीं निकला, नामुमकिन था कुछ निकलता ऐसी हालत में। एक उनसे फ़ायदा हुआ कि हर पहलू पर यानी काश्मीर के सिलसिले में हर पहलू पर बहस हुई और हर पहलू पर हमने उनको अपनी राय बताई और उन्होंने अपनी राय बताई, कोई बात छिपी नहीं रही और उनकी तरफ़ से ये ज़ाहिर हुआ कि वो समझते हैं कि क्रिस्मत ने उन्हें खास मौक़ा दिया है कि हम परेशान हैं वो भी हमारी छाती पर बैठें, कोई वजह नहीं है कि कोई समझौता हम उनसे करें। अब यह ग़लतफ़हमी में वो थे कि हिन्दुस्तान इतना कमज़ोर मुल्क है कि धमकी में आ जाये। चीन बड़ा मुल्क है, ताक़तवर है, हम उनकी धमकी में नहीं आते, तो उनमें अगर पाकिस्तान मिल भी जाये तब भी हम नहीं आते, हाँ दोस्ती हम करना चाहते हैं, यों तो चीन से भी करना चाहते थे, उन्होंने हमें धोखा दिया। तो पाकिस्तान से तो और भी हम करना चाहते हैं और यक़ीनन कभी न कभी होगी। लेकिन यह तो एक दुनिया की पोलिसी में मिसालें हैं, कम मिलेंगी, क्या कहूँ ऐसे धोखेबाज़ी की कि यह चीन की तरफ़ हो गये और हिन्दुस्तान से मुक़ाबला करने लगे, अजीब धोखेबाज़ी की चाल और कोई इसमें उसूल की बात तो नहीं रही, इसको अंग्रेज़ी में ब्लैकमेल [blackmail] कहते हैं। तो ग़रज़ कि हमारे बावजूद बातचीत के हम जितने दूर तक जा सकते थे हमारी ख़्वाहिश थी कि समझौता हो जाये, अच्छा है, नहीं हो सका और उनकी भूख बढ़ती गयी और नामुमकिन था उसको। यह हुआ।

ख़ैर, वो बात ख़त्म हो गयी और इस वक़्त ख़त्म है, कोई और उसका सिलसिला नहीं है। हालांकि कुछ हमारे दोस्त जो हैं, अमेरिका में और विलायत में, इंग्लैंड में, वो कुछ न कुछ चर्चा करते जाते हैं, बावजूद पाकिस्तान से नाराज़ होने के फिर भी कुछ न कुछ चर्चा करते जाते हैं इस बात का कि अच्छा होता हिन्दुस्तान पाकिस्तान मिल जाते, चीन का मुक़ाबला कर सकें ज़्यादा ज़ोरों से वो कहीं जायें। हालांकि पाकिस्तान चीन के मुक़ाबले की बजाए उसका साथी हो गया है, जो एक मोटी बातें हैं, उसको देखते नहीं हैं और दोहराते जाते हैं, यह हालत है।

वाक़िया यह है कि बुनियादी बात कि आपको, हमको, सभी को समझ लेना है कि ज़माना आजकल का सख़्त है, आप ज़ोरों से नारे उठाते हैं, मुबारिकबाद के नारे लेकिन आपका नारा ज़रा भर फ़ायदा किसी को नहीं पहुँचाता यानी एक दुश्मन को नज़र आता है और अपने को डरा दे या अपने को ख़ुश कर ले और बात है। इस वक़्त सख़्ती है, मुल्कों के जीने और मरने का सवाल है, नारों से हल नहीं होता, वो हिम्मत से होता है, अक़ल से होता है, ईमानदारी से होता है, इन बातों से होता है और इस पर जितना आप चलेंगे उतने आप मज़बूत होंगे और आपकी मज़बूती की आजमाइश होगी और ज़बरदस्त आजमाइश होगी। और इस वक़्त मैं नहीं जानता नारे उठाने वाले कहाँ होंगे, मुझे ज़रा शक है कि जो ज़रा ज़्यादा नारे उठाते हैं वो समझते हैं कि आवाज़ी लड़ाई लड़ते हैं और कुछ नहीं कर सकते। ज़रा आप समझ लीजिए किस दुनिया में आप रहते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान के सामने क्या मामला है उसमें, काश्मीर के सामने क्या है, ज़बरदस्त। मैं नहीं जानता क्या-क्या

मुसीबतें हम पर आयीं, आयेंगी ज़रूर मैं जानता हूँ और उसका हमें सामना करना पड़ेगा और हम तो चाहते थे कि इस तरह से अच्छा है हमारे लिए, सभी के लिए कि पाकिस्तान से बातें [करके] हम फ़ैसला कर लेते और आखिर में भी जब बातचीत हुई। तो और अब भी जब यह अमेरिका वाले, वगैरा वाले [ने] उठायी बात [तो] उन्होंने कहा हम हमेशा तैयार हैं उनसे बात करने को, हम हर दरवाज़ा खुला रखना चाहते हैं उनसे समझौता करने का बशर्त, हमें कुछ शर्त कि बार-बार काश्मीर की बातें करने के कोई माने नहीं हैं ख़ाली काश्मीर अलग करके और बातों से, जो हमारे जितने झगड़े हैं हिन्दुस्तान के और पाकिस्तान के बीच में हम सभी के हों, सभी के हों।

एक तो यह बात है, दूसरे हमें हमारी बातचीत में भी उनको काफ़ी साफ़ कर दिया था कि काश्मीर के, वैली के टुकड़े नहीं हो सकते और काश्मीर में कोई, जिसको कहते हैं इंटरनलाइज़ेशन [internalisation] करना, और मुल्कों का भी दख़ल, बहुत सारे मुल्कों का भी दख़ल वो भी ठीक नहीं है, क्योंकि उसके माने ये हैं कि काश्मीर में अमन नहीं होगा, झगड़े होते जायेंगे तरह-तरह के, तबाही आयेगी, परेशानी होगी और बजाए अमन के हर वक़्त लड़ाई की हवा रहेगी, हमने बिल्कुल उनसे साफ़ कह दिया। तो अगर पाकिस्तान जो बातें कहते हैं, कहते जाते हैं आखिर वक़्त तक और धमकी के साथ कहते हैं, वो बातें तो ऐसी हैं कि बिल्कुल नामुमकिन हैं, उनसे कोई इस पर समझौता हो सके। हमने जो कुछ उनसे कहना चाहते थे दूर से दूर तक गये, उनसे कहा, मगर बहुत पसंद नहीं था लेकिन हमारी ख़्वाहिश इतनी थी ख़त्म हो बहस, यह हालत है।

तो मैं आपसे यही कहूँगा कि हमारे सामने, किसी क्रूर दुनिया के सामने भी, लेकिन ख़ासकर हमारे सामने, हिन्दुस्तान के, जिसमें आप भी हैं, यह ज़माना आ रहा है, यह सख़्त ज़माना है, मैं नहीं जानता कि चीन फिर से हमला करेंगे कि नहीं करेंगे, हमें तैयार होना है। मैं नहीं जानता कि पाकिस्तान क्या करे, क्या नहीं करे, लेकिन वो कुछ इस क्रूर उनकी उम्मीदें बढ़ गयी थीं, चीन का हमला हम पर देखकर कि उससे फ़ायदा उठायें और उन्हें कुछ मेरा ख़्याल है, कुछ थोड़ा सा रंज है कि उस वक़्त उन्होंने सोलह आने फ़ायदा क्यों नहीं उठाया, क्यों नहीं फ़ौजें चढ़ा दीं उन्होंने काश्मीर पर, पाकिस्तान ने। ख़ैर, चढ़ाते [तो] लड़ाई होती उनसे, ज़ाहिर है, कामयाबी नहीं होती उनकी, लेकिन मुसीबत उठानी पड़ती हरेक को, कोई कह ही नहीं सकता हम क्या करें, हर तरफ़ से हमें तैयार होना है।

अब तैयारी, अजीब बात है कि हम दुनिया में मशहूर हो गये थे कि हम एक अमन-पसंद मुल्क हैं, मेरी निस्वत ख़ासतौर से, जहाँ-जहाँ हम गये वहाँ कोशिश की दुनिया ने अमन की, सारी हमारी पोलिसी वैसी ही रही और कहाँ तो ये मशहूर और कहाँ हम फ़ंसे खुद चीन से इस लड़ाई में, पाकिस्तान से, इस कशमकश में चलती आती है दस-बारह बरस से। अजीब किस्मत का खेल था कि हम जो सबमें ज़्यादा अमन चाहते थे, मुल्कों से दोस्ती चाहते थे, हम ही इसमें फ़ंसे हैं। ख़ैर है, इसके माने यह नहीं हैं कि हम अमन-पसंद नहीं रहेंगे, हम दुनिया में अमन चाहते हैं, हम कोशिश करते हैं और करेंगे, दुनिया की लड़ाई हो, एटम बम्ब की, सारी दुनिया तबाह हो जायेगी। हम और भी किसी से लड़ना नहीं चाहते, लेकिन अगर कोई हम पर हमला करे [तो] यह अमन-पसंद होने की बात नहीं है

कि हम सिर झुका दें, उसे हमला करने दें और हम इनका इस्तक्रबाल करें उनके हमले का, उसका मुक्राबला करना होता है, होयेगा। फिर दो बातों को मिलाना हमारे सामने हो गया है कि हमारी जो आम पोलिसी रही दुनिया में अमन की, और मुल्कों से दोस्ती करने की वो क्रायम है लेकिन उसी की हिफ़ाज़त के लिए यह हमारे लिए ज़रूरी है कि जो हम पर हमला करें उसका हम मुक्राबला करें, अमन का, कमज़ोरी से, बुज़दिली से आप अमन की ख़िदमत नहीं कर सकते हैं। तो लाचार हैं हम, करते हैं।

पाकिस्तान अजीब, एक अजीब मुश्किल है, एक मुल्क है जो हमारे मुल्क का हिस्सा था कुछ दिन हुए, हज़ारों रिश्ते हैं, तवारीख़ी रिश्ते हैं, तरह-तरह के रिश्ते हैं लेकिन उनकी पैदाइश ही ऐसी हुई कि नफ़रत से, डर से, अदावत से, और उनको छोड़ा भी नहीं है उन बातों ने। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि वो बातें निकलें, छोड़ें, अमन से रहें, क्योंकि हम पड़ोसी हैं, न वो भाग सकते हैं हमारे पास से, न हम भाग सकते हैं उनके पास से, रहना है हमें पास और अगर लड़-झगड़ के रहना है ज़ाहिर है हमारा नुक़सान है, उनका बेहद नुक़सान है।

वो ज़माने गये, पुराने ज़माने के लड़ाई से मसले हल हों और चूंकि काश्मीर की ख़ास एक बड़ा हमारे उनके सवाल हैं, तो आपको चाहिए ख़ास दिलचस्पी है, हम सभी को दिलचस्पी है। हमने जिस क़दर कोशिश कर सकते थे आपस में सलाह-मशवरा करके कोशिश की कि कोई रास्ता निकले कि आपसी झगड़ा बंद हो, नहीं हो सका है और बल्कि वो और भी मुश्किल हो गया, झगड़ा ख़तम करना चीनी हमले की वजह से। क्योंकि हर वक़्त पाकिस्तान वाले समझते हैं कि चीन का दबाव हमारे ऊपर है तो वो भी हमें दबा सकते हैं, ग़लतफ़हमी है उनकी, ग़लत ख़्याल है, वो नहीं हुआ। चुनांचे हमें मज़बूती से अपने को तैयार करना है, जो भी बात हो और मज़बूती से तैयार करने [के लिए] आप सब लोग कोई फ़ौज में तो भर्ती नहीं होंगे, हालांकि उसके भी इंतज़ामात हैं, बहुत सारे फ़ौज में भर्ती हैं, होमगार्ड्स वगैरा-वगैरा। यह हो रहा है, काफ़ी हमारी फ़ौजें इधर से लद्दाख़ की तरफ़ जा रही हैं, वो सब तो ख़ैर तैयारी है ही लेकिन दूसरी तैयारी होती है, एक मुल्क को लड़ाई लड़ने के लिए भी ख़ाली एक सिपाही को बंदूक दे देना काफ़ी नहीं है, उसके पीछे, एक फ़ौज के पीछे बंदूक जो मैंने कहा, बंदूक कहाँ बनती है? बंदूक बनाना है, बंदूक उसे देनी है, कपड़े देने हैं, सामान देना है, खाने का सामान देना है, लड़ाई का सामान देना है, हज़ार बातें, हवाई जहाज़ वगैरा-वगैरा। यह कहाँ से आते हैं? या तो आप ख़रीद लें दूसरे मुल्कों में जा के, आप ख़रीदते जाइये, थोड़े दिन में दिवाला आपका निकल जायेगा। खुद बनाने से, खुद अगर मुल्क में हम बनायें तो रुपया मुल्क में रहता है नहीं, तो दीवाले निकल जाते हैं, उसके अलावा यह जो बात हिन्दुस्तान में हो रही थी पिछले दस बरस से, जिससे हम अपनी इक़्तिसादी हालत बढ़ा रहे थे, हम आजकल जो एक दुनिया का नया ज़माना है, मशीन का ज़माना उसको ला रहे थे, यहाँ और पढ़ाई-लिखाई बढ़ा रहे थे, सब एब सिलसिला था, उससे मुल्क की ताक़त होती है।

तो हमारे सामने चीनी हमले के बाद बड़ा सवाल हुआ कि हमें बड़ा ख़र्चा करना पड़ेगा अपनी फ़ौज के ऊपर और करना पड़ रहा है फ़ौज पर, हवाई जहाज़ पर, वगैरा-वगैरा, सैकड़ों करोड़ों रुपया ख़र्चने पड़ रहे हैं, जबकि हमारे ऊपर एक और बोझा है, वो अपनी

तरक्की का। तो तीसरे पाँच बरस के प्लान का, वो काफ़ी बोझा है, दोनों बोझें कैसे उठायेंगे? बाज़ लोगों ने कहा इस बोझ को आप मुलतवी कर दीजिए, तरक्की का हिस्सा, थर्ड फ़ाइव इयर प्लान। हमने जितना सोचा उतने ही हम इस नतीजे पर पहुँचे कि अगर हम उसको मुलतवी करते हैं तो यहाँ सख़्त ग़लती करेंगे क्योंकि वही चीज़ है जो हमारी ताक़त बढ़ाता है, मुल्क की ताक़त, क्या है? अपनी खेती को अच्छा करना, ज़्यादा पैदा करना, हम ज़रा भी मोहताज हुए अपने खाने के लिए और मुल्कों पर तो हमारी फ़ौज क्या लड़ेगी, कौन क्या लड़ेगा? हम खाना भी बाहर से मंगाएँ जब, हम और हथियार भी मंगाएँ, सब सामान, तो हमारे यहाँ क्या पैदा होता है? हम किसी दूसरे के सामने हाथ फ़ैला के खड़े हो जायेंगे तो हमारी आज़ादी कहाँ रही? तो यह ज़रूरी है, इसलिए हम इस दस-बारह बरस से हम उसकी कोशिश कर रहे थे, उसकी कुछ तैयारी हो भी गयी, इसलिए ज़रूरी है कि हम अपना पाँच बरस का प्लान ज़ोरों से चलायें क्योंकि वो सब चीज़ें मुल्क की ताक़त बढ़ाने की हैं, फ़ौजी ताक़त बढ़ेगी।

चुनांचे हमने यह नतीजा किया दोनों बोझें हम उठायेंगे और काफ़ी यह मुश्किल काम है। टैक्स वग़ैरा बढ़े, कुछ लोगों ने शिकायत की, ज़्यादातर लोगों ने—समझ गये कि इस वक़्त हालत नाज़ुक है—मंज़ूर किया और वो बात होती जायेगी, एकदम से यह ख़तरे तो हटते नहीं। तो हमारे सामने हालांकि यह लड़ाई वग़ैरा का सिलसिला, तैयारी है ही। असली चीज़, बुनियादी चीज़ है मुल्क को बढ़ाना, मुल्क की तरक्की करना, मुल्क की इक़तिसादी हालत हो जाती है तो उसमें बहुत कुछ हो सकता है कि नहीं हालत अच्छी है, यह बहुत ज़रूरी बात है। इसके पीछे हम उसी के साथ-साथ 'कर' ऐसे मौक़े पर जब लड़ाई की हवा होती है और यों भी यह ज़रूरी है कि हमारे सारे इंतज़ामात जो हैं गवर्नमेंट के और सब वो अच्छी तरह से चलें, पक्की तौर से चलें, ईमानदारी से चलें, इतिहा दर्जे ज़रूरी है। क्योंकि जब लड़ाई की हवा होती है, उसके साथ बेईमानी की एक हवा भी होती है, रुपया बनाने की, हरेक समझता है [इस मौक़े] में रुपया बहुत ख़र्च हो रहा है, हम बनायें और यह चीज़ यों भी बहुत कमज़ोर करती है मुल्क को और हमारे मुल्कों को तो बहुत नुक़सान पहुँचा सकती है ऐसे। तो बहुत ज़्यादा ज़रूरी हो गया, पहले से ज़्यादा कि इसकी तरफ़ तवज्जोह की जाये, हमें काम करने हैं तेज़ी से, लड़ाई में अगर वक़्त के बाद किया तो उसके माने नहीं। लड़ाई होने वाली है, वक़्त के बाद आपकी तैयारी हुई, लड़ाई हार गये, वक़्त के बाद आपकी तैयारी हुई तो आप क्या झक मारिये।

तो फिर क्या कीजिए आप? वक़्त से करना है, तेज़ी से काम करना है और यह एक ख़ास मौक़ा आ गया है कि सारी गवर्नमेंट के अप्रेंटिस [apprentice] हैं, इंतज़ाम हैं, मशीन है गवर्नमेंट ही, वो तेज़ी से चले और सच्चाई और ईमानदारी से चले। अगर इस वक़्त नहीं कोई इसमें काम होता है तो उसकी बरदाश्त नहीं, कार्रवाई करनी चाहिए, पहले बरदाश्त हो भी जाती है, कुछ ढील, कोई चीज़ नहीं तो मुल्क चल नहीं सकता। हमारे पे बोझें पड़े मैंने आपसे कहा लेकिन उसी के साथ एक इम्तिहान भी हो जाता है एक मुल्क का, क़ौम का इम्तिहान भी हो जाता है इन बातों से। इसी चैलेंज से मुल्क अगर उसको, उसका सामना करे पक्की तौर से तो मुल्क की तरक्की तेज़ी से होती है जो कि अमन से

बहुत ज़्यादा तेज़ी से होती है, कहीं ज़्यादा तेज़ी से होगी। इस तरह हम उसे देखें और इस मौक़े से फ़ायदा उठायें, ज़रा बोझा ज़्यादा उठाना है, ज़रा तकलीफ़ उठानी है लेकिन मुल्क को फ़ायदा भी हो सकता है इससे, हम करें तो भला होगा हमारे लिए और मेरा ख़्याल है दुनिया का भी भला होगा।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Bakhshi Saheb,⁵⁸⁷ Brothers,

I had come here last year and had the opportunity of addressing the National Conference Workers.⁵⁸⁸ A year has gone by but somehow it seems longer. The experiences and events of the last year have made it seem very long. I am referring to the Chinese aggression which occurred suddenly about eight months ago. It had such a profound impact on us that the eight months seem much longer. It was a big even, not in a good sense, but in the matter of the effort it had on our minds, on conditions in India and to some extent on world politics.

As you know, the Chinese attacked at two places simultaneously in September-October. One was in the NEFA, and the other in Ladakh. So obviously Jammu and Kashmir felt the impact. The other thing which came to light was that Pakistan had tried to come to an agreement with China and succeeded. This was a new development particularly because Pakistan is in the other camp. It has entered in to agreements with the Western powers, the United States, England and others who have given a great deal of military aid. In the other camp are the communist countries like the Soviet Union and China. Pakistan has been given aid by the United States against the communist powers on the specific condition that it should not be used for any other purpose. The military aid was given to Pakistan under the Baghdad Pact and the CENTO, etc. In fact, it was clearly stipulated by the United States that they did not wish that the military aid be used against India. But later, Pakistan clearly told them that they would not agree to any restrictions and would use the aid as they thought fit.

Anyhow, the world is divided into two great power blocs. India's policy has been one of non-alignment and friendship with all nations. We do not bind ourselves down by any military pact. We want to maintain our independence of action and decision-making. We do not wish to have to arrive at any decision under pressure from anyone. This has been India's policy right since independence and I think it will continue.

587. See fn 584 in this section.

588. See fn 585 in this section.

But Pakistan has turned the tables on them. It seems to be swaying away from the western bloc by entering into an agreement with China. On the other hand, China has launched an attack on India when we have always wanted to maintain friendship with all the countries. It is not easy to understand why this happened. All the carefully laid plans have gone awry. People often ask me why China attacked India when we have had more or less friendly relations with them in spite of our differences over Ladakh in the last two to three years. There have been some stiff exchanges of letters between us. But we never for a moment thought that they would resort to a military onslaught. It is difficult to say why they did it causing great hardship to India and tried to make an enemy of a friend. After all, it is not very wise to make an enemy of anyone deliberately. Some people feel that they were not after a few square miles of our territory, but they found it intolerable that India should be following a path other than that of communism. China felt that India was setting a bad example to other countries of Asia and was an obstacle to its dominance in Asia.

As you know China is a very large country. India too is large but I think China is twice as large or more in size and one and a half times in population. History shows that again and again, whenever China has become powerful, it has tried to spread its tentacles and swallow the smaller nations around it or at least to bring them into its own sphere of influence. This is an old habit of China's. There have been periods when China has had great influence over Indo-China, Burma and other countries. For a short while, Nepal was also under China's influence. But that has gradually weakened now. Now that China is a strong power once more, they are beginning to live up to their old traditions and spreading their tentacles around. India is too large and has too much influence in Asian and African world for their comfort. So perhaps they felt that they must remove this obstacle from their path. They had to do something to show India and other Asian countries that no other power except China can become dominant in Asia. India has no particular desire to dominate over other Asian countries. We want to do what we think is proper for the benefit of our country. We want to progress and become prosperous. We do not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries except to maintain friendly relations with all other. Perhaps this was no major cause for the Chinese aggression. Another thing that China found intolerable was the fact that the Soviet Union is helping India by giving economic aid. We have set up huge big steel plants with Soviet help but China wants that the Soviet Union must reserve all aid for China alone.

About seven or eight years ago, the Soviet Union had helped China a great deal. China faced more or less the same problems as India. It is an underdeveloped country with outdated methods of working which has not yet emerged into the modern age. So China needed enormous sums of money to

invest in industries, agriculture, etc. The Soviet Union helped China a great deal, China set up thousands of industries with Soviet money. Then in the last two, three years, the two countries fell out over ideological differences. On the surface, they belong to the same camp and are allies. Yet they fell out ostensibly over policy issues. But you will find that the underlying causes of such conflicts between two nations are invariably rooted in national interest. It is the same between China and the Soviet Union though on the surface it appears to be an ideological conflict.

Well, anyhow, the result was that the Soviet Union stopped most of their aid to China and recalled thousands of their engineers who were working there. China could not tolerate this for it entailed great losses at a crucial time. China also found it intolerable that the Soviet Union continued to give aid to India though it was far less in quality. It is believed that China wanted to put pressure on the Soviet Union and show them that it was a wrong policy to give aid to India or others which were not in their camp. India does not belong to any camp. We have tried to maintain friendship with all the countries with the Soviet Union as well as the United States.

Now these are matters of principle. I do not wish to go into those things. But China feels that there can be no real peace in the world until China and its allies are completely dominant. The Soviet Union on the other hand says that there are different kinds of nations in the world and they must be tolerated even if there is a difference of opinions. We feel that gradually they will come round to accepting our idea of peaceful coexistence. China does not believe in it. In short, it is believed that China thought that if it launched a sudden massive attack on India, it could shake us up and weaken the country. This, they felt, would lead to a weakening of our internal stability, riddled as we were by internal disunity and we would become panic-stricken. It would teach the other countries of Asia a lesson for they will see that China had succeeded in cowering India into submission. Thirdly, the Soviet Union would realise that the Chinese were right and they were wrong.

Well, these are the various reasons which are advanced for the sudden Chinese invasion on our borders. It is obvious that they had been making preparations for a long time. It is not merely a question of amassing troops somewhere. They have to be fed and the weapons and ammunition have to be supplied. Transport for the troops has to be provided. Not much food is grown in Tibet. So everything had to be carted, by train and road, across thousands of miles from China which is a pretty difficult job. Therefore preparations had to be made for months in advance. Take petrol or oil, for instances, which have to be stored in advance. So the attack on India would have been possible only by collecting all the material that they needed in advance. Then they attacked.

I am telling you of events which occurred seven or eight months ago. However instead of getting in to a panic as China thought we would when we suffered reverses on the borders, India presented a united front. All our internal dissensions were swept into the background and in the face of danger to the nation, a wave of enthusiasm and patriotic fervour swept the entire country from Madras in the South to Ladakh and Kashmir in the North which is about two thousand miles away from Kashmir. So the Chinese invasion had just the opposite effect from what they had imagined. It led to greater solidarity among the people who began to feel the need to contribute in every way to prepare the nation against external danger. A national defence fund was established. But money alone is not enough though it was a symbol of the people's response. You have contributed to it. Bakhshi Saheb has collected ten lakhs for which I thank him. The rich and the poor alike all over India have given whatever they could and volunteers in large numbers came forward to enrol in the armed forces.

Then as you know, to everyone's surprise, after October, there was a big attack in November and then suddenly a ceasefire was announced. China declared that it would withdraw its troops from certain posts, particularly in the NEFA area. People were surprised that victorious forces should suddenly withdraw voluntarily. I was not surprised because I had expected that the fighting would stop in a few days and they would withdraw. The Chinese troops had won some initial victories. One, their troops were specially trained for years in mountain warfare. Secondly, they had grown accustomed to living at heights. Tibet lies at a height of nearly twelve thousand feet which is double the height at which Kashmir lies. If anyone goes suddenly to a height of twelve thousand feet he would have difficulties in breathing. But the Chinese had become accustomed to it by living there for years. They had been trained for mountain warfare.

Our troops were not fully prepared. Some had been given special training in Ladakh. Initially our troops had difficulty in breathing. This was one of our weaknesses. We had not thought about it earlier and the sudden attack took us by surprise. Secondly, as I said, a great deal of preparations have to be made to fight a large scale battle and arms, ammunition, petrol, oil etc. have to be stored in vast quantities. The Chinese came in with a bang but soon began to face difficulties. If they had tried to advance into the plains they would have been cut off from the mountains and lost their advantage. They would have had to face a stiffer opposition and may not have been so successful. Therefore, they felt that discretion was the better part of valour and decided to withdraw, making a show of being peace-loving to the world. They have been doing false propaganda that India was the aggressor and that they had retaliated in self-defence. It is strange that they had to come nearly a hundred miles into our territory in self-defence. They had no reply to that obviously.

Well, anyhow, all this has made it pretty obvious that the danger on our borders would be ever present. We have borders with China and Tibet over 2500 miles. In a radio broadcast three to four days after the attack, I had said that we must be prepared for a long drawn out struggle. I did not mean that the fighting would continue for years but that the danger will be there for a long time to come. A nation which is not capable of defending itself cannot hold on to its freedom. So it is obvious that we have decided to protect the country with all our might and carry the burdens that that would involve cheerfully. At the same time, we asked all the countries of the world to help us with arms and equipment. Some of them helped us materially and others extended their moral support and sympathy. We said quite clearly that though we are not in favour of war, we cannot live in constant fear and the threat of war. It was not befitting independent nations.

Some of the Asian and African countries came into the field trying to bring about compromise. We had no objection. But we are of the opinion that there could be a lasting peace only when the Chinese withdraw from our soil. If they continue to occupy our territory, how can we agree to talk? Well, the Colombo proposals aimed at preparing the ground for the talks to be held. The real thing would come later, taking into account the points of dispute. The Colombo countries said right from the beginning that the agreement between India and China will have to be arrived at by themselves. They merely wanted to pave the way for the two countries to come to the table. We replied that we are always prepared for talks provided the Chinese vacated the territory they had captured. Only then will we have assurance of their good intentions.

Well, we accepted the Colombo proposals after careful consideration. China indicated that they also accepted them but then later withdrew. They withdrew their forces from NEFA and some of the posts in Ladakh. Anyhow, since China has not agreed to the Colombo proposals, there is a stalemate. It is true that many of them have been acted upon. It is also true that there is no fighting on the borders and China has returned our prisoners of war. But the climate is still not right for talks to be held between India and China. I do not know when that will happen. It is up to China to accept and act upon the suggestion made by the Colombo powers. Then the third step would be a meeting between the ambassadors of the two countries. This does not mean that the dispute will be settled. But at least the process would have been initiated.

I have told you a long story. A strange phenomenon that has come to light is the role played by Pakistan. You must bear in mind that Pakistan was in the opposite camp to China which is a communist country. Pakistan belonged to the American camp and got enormous amount of military and economic aid from them. But now suddenly, Pakistan has developed great affection for China.

It has offered a large part of Jammu and Kashmir under Pakistan occupation to China and has expressed sympathy towards China in every possible way. Pakistan is now praising China to the skies and says that India's claims are completely false. Pakistan has become more loyal than the king.

The world was amazed by this spectacle, particularly the United States of America. They tried to reason with Pakistan but the Pakistan statesmen have continued their policy. It is obvious that Pakistan thinks of it as an opportunity to harass India particularly in the matter of Kashmir. Another opportunity like this may not come again. So Pakistan is making a great deal of noise after years of silence. Normally speaking, any neighbouring country would have felt for India in her predicament because a similar fate may overtake them in the future endangering their freedom. But Pakistan did not care for it and sided with China and is still doing so. Pakistani newspapers are full of praise for China. The fact is that Pakistan has no real foundations except a hatred for and fear of India. We have tried to reassure them repeatedly and said that we want good relations with our neighbours. We were, after all, one country until recently. Now that we have accepted Partition, we do not wish to create any problems. But they are so full of hatred that there is no way out.

We have made many offers of friendship. We have arrived at an agreement about the canal waters and promised them crores of rupees which we are paying annually.⁵⁸⁹ Pakistan still owes us a great deal. Anyhow, our overtures of friendship have had no impact on their thinking. Their policy continues to be one of hatred and fear of India. As you may remember, we have repeatedly offered to sign a no-war pact and to try to resolve the various disputes peacefully. Once we are clear in our minds that neither side will resort to war, the atmosphere will become more conducive to solving the problems. But Pakistan has not accepted it even after ten years. I repeated the offer just three months ago. At the same time, they keep saying that India will attack them when India is offering to sign a treaty against war. We are even prepared to have the United Nations as our witness so that in case of violations, we will earn the censure of world opinion. But Pakistan has not agreed though we are keen to resolve the matter once and for all.

So Pakistan feels that it was a good opportunity to needle India by bringing up the Kashmir issue. They may even have thought of launching an attack themselves. Well, anyhow, they have raised this issue. Our reply has been that India and Pakistan must live in unity as neighbours because our links date back thousands of years. We must learn to live as independent countries helping each

589. See fn 586 in this section.

other and cleanse the atmosphere of bitterness. We want to resolve the disputes between us by peaceful methods.

About a year ago I had invited Field Marshal Ayub Khan to come to India to hold talks. But he said that he would come only if the decision will be in Pakistan's favour. The Western powers started putting pressure on us to hold talks. China has attacked India today and Pakistan may be its next target. So there must be greater cooperation between India and Pakistan. But Pakistan was siding with China, not bothered that it may weaken. They are hoping to make an ally of China. We have always said that we are fully prepared to talk at any time on all the issues and disputes which exist between us. But Ayub Khan has replied that they will take up only the Kashmir issue.

Well, ultimately it was decided to take up Kashmir and allied issues. As you know, the talks began three to four months ago but nothing came of it. Pakistan's hopes soared with the Chinese aggression and they thought they could get whatever they wanted out of India under pressure. Talks were held three or four times without any results. It was not possible to bring the talks to a successful conclusion at this juncture. The only advantage was that every aspect of the Kashmir issue was discussed and we exchanged views. Nothing was left hidden. It became obvious that Pakistan regarded the Chinese attack as a heaven sent opportunity to put pressure on us. They were under the mistaken impression that India was so weak that we would bow down to pressure. When we did not bow down before China which is such a powerful country, we are not likely to do so with Pakistan. We want to be friendly with all countries. We had extended a hand of friendship towards China too but they betrayed us. We want to have friendly relations with Pakistan and I am sure it will happen sometime or the other. But I think one can find very few examples of such perfidy that after taking large quantities of aid, military and economic, now Pakistan joins China and the Soviet Union against India. There is no principle involved in this except what is called blackmail. Anyhow in spite of all this, we prolonged the talks in the hope that some agreement could be arrived at. But Pakistan has become extremely greedy.

Anyhow, the talks have been called off for the time being though some of the friendly countries like England and the United States keep hinting that India and Pakistan should come together in order to face the Chinese. But they fail to see that Pakistan is now siding with China.

What all of us must understand clearly is that we are living in a ruthless world where slogan-mongering will not do any good except perhaps to give a boost to your morale. At the moment, it is a matter of life and death for nations and nothing can be resolved by slogans. What is required is honesty, integrity and intelligence. The more we follow that path, the stronger we will be to face

the great challenge that lies ahead. Those who shout the loudest are incapable of doing very much. You must try to understand the world that we are living in and the great problems that lie ahead. I do not know what we will have to face in the future. We will have to face whatever comes. That is why we felt that it would have been better if we could have arrived at an agreement with Pakistan. Even now when the United States and others bring up the issue, we have said that we are always prepared to talk. We want to keep all avenues of agreement open provided we can talk about all the points of dispute between India and Pakistan apart from Kashmir.

Secondly, we have made it quite clear that we cannot break up the Kashmir valley. Nor will we allow the interference of other countries in its affairs for that would mean that there would be no peace in Kashmir. Ruin will come upon the valley if there is constant fighting. We have made this quite clear. If Pakistan continues to be obstinate, it is impossible to arrive at an agreement. We have tried our best in the hope of finding a solution.

Anyhow, all I want to point out to you is that to some extent for the whole world and particularly in India, there are difficult times ahead. We have to be prepared in case the Chinese attack again. I do not know what Pakistan may do. But to some extent, their hopes have been fanned by the Chinese attack on India. I think their regret is that they did not take full advantage of the situation by launching an attack on Kashmir. They would not have succeeded. But it would have made things more difficult for everyone. So we have to be prepared for everything.

India had become famous in the world as a peace-loving nation. We had done our best to serve the cause of world peace and yet we ourselves have got involved in a war with China. Tensions with Pakistan have continued unabated for the last ten years. It is a strange quirk of fate that we who have always desired friendship with all nations should have to be involved in war. Well, that does not mean that we will give up our politics and principles. We will continue to work for world peace because a world war with nuclear weapons will destroy the world. We do not wish to go to war with anyone. But we cannot bow down to aggression upon our soil. So we have to link the two things together, our policy of peace and friendship in the world and our determination to fight all aggressors because we cannot serve peace by cowardice and weakness. We are helpless.

It is strange that Pakistan which has been until recently a part of India with innumerable links between us should be unable to get rid of the hatred and fear which were responsible for its birth. I hope they will try to do so and live with us in peace. We are neighbours and it is not possible for either country to ignore that. If the tensions continue, it will prove extremely harmful.

Gone are the days when problems were solved by wars. Kashmir is a difficult and complex problem in which all of us are deeply interested. We have tried our best to find a solution and put an end to the tensions. But the situation has got even more exacerbated by the Chinese aggression. Pakistan seems to feel that it can get away with anything while we are under pressure. But that is wrong. We must be fully prepared. Everyone cannot join the armed forces though there are arrangements for training civilians in the Home Guards, etc. Our troops are concentrated in the Ladakh areas. But another kind of preparation apart from military preparedness equally necessary. The soldier needs arms and ammunition, uniforms, equipment and food supplies, planes, etc. to fight a war. We cannot get all these things from outside. If we try to buy everything we need from other countries we will soon go bankrupt. If we produce whatever we need, our capital remains in the country. We have tried during the last ten years to lay the foundations of a strong economy and usher in the machine age and ensure the spread of education in the country.

After the Chinese aggression, we had to increase our military expenditure. We have had to spend hundreds of crores of rupees in buying aeroplanes and arms at a time when we were already carrying the burden of the Third Plan. So the dilemma was how to carry both these burdens. Some people were in favour of postponing the Third Plan for the time being. But the more we thought, the more convinced we became that we will be committing a big mistake if we do that. After all, it is through development that a nation grows in strength. If we do not produce enough food but have to be dependent on others, how can our armed forces fight? How can we remain truly free if we have to import food as well as arms and ammunition from outside.

Therefore it is more than ever necessary to continue what we have been doing during the last ten years and keep us with the Five Year Plans. That is the only way to build a strong economy and increase our military preparedness. So we decided to shoulder both the burdens. It is extremely difficult. Taxes have had to be increased and some people complained. But the majority have understood that it is a crucial situation and accepted the burden. The dangers that face us will not disappear immediately. It is of fundamental importance to carry on with the tasks of development and strengthen the economy. A great deal depends on how strong we are economically.

At the same time, it is extremely important that there should be honesty and integrity in the Government and administration. In war time, there is a tendency for the dishonest to make money. This is something which will weaken the country greatly. We must pay attention to this and work hard. If we let this opportunity slip, all our efforts later on will be meaningless. Time is of the essence and it is extremely important that the entire governmental

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

machinery should move fast and work with honesty and integrity. We cannot tolerate any inefficiency or dishonesty at this juncture. This is a great testing time for the nation. If we face this challenge successfully, we will progress very fast, faster than it would have been possible in peace time. We must look at it from this point of view and be prepared to carry a heavier burden than in the past. Ultimately we will all stand to gain by that.

Jai Hind!

Tranalaion ends]

217. To G.M. Bakhshi: Phone Tapping⁵⁹⁰

July 16, 1963

My dear Bakhshi,

Jagjivan Ramji, our Minister for Communications, informed me that you suspect our Intelligence Department of tapping your telephones. I was much surprised to learn of this and immediately enquired into the matter. The Director of our Intelligence Bureau⁵⁹¹ was equally surprised of this enquiry and has categorically denied any such instructions having been issued. He assures me that such mistake could never be committed by them.

I am sure that what the DIB says is correct and I hope you will get rid of any misgiving that you may have in this respect.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Kerala

218. To R. Sankar: Coercion during Elections⁵⁹²

May 7, 1963

My dear Shankar,

I have received the following telegram from A.K. Gopalan⁵⁹³ about the bye-election at Kottayam. Please take such action as you consider necessary.

590. Letter to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

591. B.N. Mullik.

592. Letter to the Chief Minister of Kerala.

593. CPI MP, Lok Sabha.

“In the bye-election Vazhoor constituency Kottayam, Mr Chacko,⁵⁹⁴ Home Minister, Kerala, who is also in charge of Law, Police, Election and Revenue, makes free and fair election impossible. Goes from house to house and threatens police verification and punishments if Congress not supported. Please instruct Ministers not to interfere in elections so that free and fair elections become possible. Pray interfere.”

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

219. To A.K. Gopalan: Election Malpractice⁵⁹⁵

May 20, 1963

Dear Gopalan,

You wrote to me on the 1st May and complained of the activities of the Kerala Home Minister, Shri P.T. Chacko, in some election in Kerala. I referred this matter to the Chief Minister of Kerala⁵⁹⁶ who consulted Shri Chacko.

Shri Chacko says that it is true that he did election work at Vazhoor, his home constituency, but this consisted largely of his speaking at public meetings and workers meetings. He did not meet any voter individually. He tried to explain Congress policies. Further he says that he has not spoken to any one about Police verification, as alleged.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

594. P.T. Chacko.

595. Letter to CPI MP.

596. R. Sankar.

220. To V.R. Krishna Iyer: Coastal Erosion in Kerala⁵⁹⁷

June 5, 1963

My dear Krishna Iyer,

I have your letter of the 2nd June.⁵⁹⁸ I quite realise that the matter you have referred to is of great and vital importance. My attention was drawn to this some time ago when I visited Kerala, although I did not quite realise then that it was as urgent as it now appears to be. I was told that any effective measures would involve great and extensive works.

The matter should certainly be considered fully. But the monsoon has already started and I rather doubt if it is possible to do much during this monsoon season. I am sending your letter to our Planning Commission.⁵⁹⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

597. Letter to an advocate, Ernakulam, and former Minister in the Namboodiripad Government. PMO, File No. 17(419)/60-70-PMS, Sr. No. 57-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

598. Excerpt: "Year after year, as we approach the monsoon season, distressing tales of sea erosion pour in. Patch work but expensive preventive measures are undertaken. True, in many places some sort of sea wall has been constructed which withstand the waves that break upon them. But in quite a few places they have been breached by the tides and proved illusory. This year, the sea has advanced in many places but particularly near Alleppey where the national highway runs close and parallel to the littoral of the sea. The most alarming aspect of this new aggression is that if the sea does make a breach into the narrow sandy ridge between the road and the water margin, it gains direct access into a vast tract which is mostly below sea level. A big and costly salt water barrier-cum-spillway (called the Thottappalli spillway) has been built right at this place as part of the Kuttanad Development Scheme. Kuttanad is the rice bowl of Kerala. If the sea gets into this low region by flanking action, as it bids fair to do, the billows will blow in and spread out as if square miles of cultivable fields were part of the sea and the Thottappalli spillway will become an irrigational futility. This would spell ruin for the agriculture and economy of the Kerala State. Nothing more disquieting can happen, what with our national emergency and the substantial backlog in the State's food production. In short, unless immediate and energetic action on a planned and scientific basis is taken, with military fury, I have no doubt that the calamity would be too heavy to bear and too late for repair." PMO, File No. 17(419)/60-70-PMS, Sr. No. 55-A.

599. Item 221; see also item 223.

221. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Coastal Erosion in Kerala⁶⁰⁰

June 5, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a letter from V.R. Krishna Iyer.⁶⁰¹ I think what he has drawn our attention to is undoubtedly of vital importance to Kerala. Unless something effective is done, far reaching damage will be caused. What we can do in the matter and especially now is not clear to me. The monsoon has already started there. However, it is worthwhile to give thought to this matter even now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

222. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Agrarian Question in Kerala⁶⁰²

June 15, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a letter from Kerala about agrarian matters there. When we took some action here in the last session of Parliament, I thought that the matter was decided. Now it appears that some people are raising difficulties. I cannot quite understand what the position is now. As you probably know the situation there well, you can take such action as you think desirable.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

600. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. PMO, File No. 17(419)/60-70-PMS, Sr. No. 56-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

601. See footnote 598 to item 220.

602. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

223. To V.R. Krishna Iyer: Plan Provisions for Coastal Erosion⁶⁰³

June 17, 1963

My dear Krishna Iyer,

I referred your letter of the 2nd June to the Planning Commission.⁶⁰⁴ They inform me that this matter has been considered by them repeatedly and, in fact Master Plan was prepared for it. This was divided into two stages, the first one beginning with the Second Five Year Plan and ending at the close of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

In the Second Plan, the outlay provided for this work amounted to Rs 185 lakhs. A length of about 20 miles of coast line was protected by the end of the Second Plan with a carry-over of Rs 60 lakhs into the Third Plan. The State Government had asked for an outlay of Rs 300 lakhs for these works in the Third Plan. This was agreed to and the outlay provided in the Third Plan is Rs 360 lakhs, including Rs 60 lakhs for the spillover from the Second Plan.

You will thus see that the Planning Commission and the Central Government have been seized of this problem and have made efforts to deal with it to the best of their ability.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

224. To R. Sankar: Charges by C.K. Govindan Nair⁶⁰⁵

July 2, 1963

My dear Sankar,

I have received your letter of the 29th June in Calcutta.⁶⁰⁶ For some little time past, I have been reading in the newspapers about this controversy and the charges made against you and Damodara Menon.⁶⁰⁷ I could not make out what all this was about. No one has written to me about this matter. Govindan

603. Letter to an advocate, and MLA, Ernakulam. PMO, File No. 17(419)/60-70-PMS, Sr. No. 59-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

604. See items 220 and 221.

605. Letter to the Chief Minister of Kerala.

606. Not reproduced, but available in NMML. It provides a detailed history of charges of corruption and the Government's action in defence of these ministers.

607. K.A. Damodara Menon, Minister of Industries and Local Administration, Kerala.

Nair⁶⁰⁸ has not referred it to me. In fact, the first communication I have received about it is from you.

Prima facie, it seems to me, after the explanation you have given, that it is wrong to raise this matter again. However, as a matter of fact, this has appeared in the press repeatedly now, and the question is what should be done about it. Normally, when any serious charges are made against Ministers, I think, that some kind of an enquiry should be made. I know that many of these charges are often frivolous. We are a gossiping people and very prone to making charges without any basis.

I am writing to Govindan Nair on this subject.⁶⁰⁹ I hope you will not mind my sending him a copy of your letter to me.

There is no question of my misunderstanding you. What I am a little worried about is public reaction and how to deal with it.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

225. To C.K. Govindan Nair: Charges against R. Sankar⁶¹⁰

July 2, 1963

My dear Govindan Nair,

I have been somewhat distressed at reading in the newspapers about certain charges against R. Sankar, Chief Minister of Kerala, which you have apparently made, and that you have asked for an enquiry. The newspapers have stated that this matter has been referred to me. I have received no reference.

I have, however, received today a letter from Sankar on this subject. I enclose a copy of it. In view of what he says in his letter, it does surprise me that such charges should have been made now. Normally, if any serious charges are made against Ministers, I think some attempt should be made to clear them up. In the present case, legal action was taken against some newspapers and the court apparently found a prima facie case against them. Later, for reasons stated in Sankar's letter and partly because Thanu Pillai⁶¹¹ advised that the case

608. C.K. Govindan Nair, Kerala PCC President.

609. Item 225; see also items 227 and 228.

610. Letter to the President of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee.

611. Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, PSP, Chief Minister of Kerala, 1960-1962.

should be withdrawn, and the newspapers also pressed for this, the action was withdrawn. It is not clear to me why this matter should have been raised again.⁶¹²

I should like to know how the matter stands now.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

226. To V.R. Krishna Iyer: Narayana Guru Stamp⁶¹³

July 5, 1963

Dear Krishna Iyer,

Your letter of the 1st July.⁶¹⁴ I am sorry and ashamed to confess that I do not know anything about Sree Narayana Guru. That, of course, is my fault. But many others might also be ignorant of him. That does make it a little difficult to issue a commemoration stamp.

Thus far such stamps have been issued on special occasions such as centenaries.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

612. See also items 224, 227 and 229.

613. Letter to an advocate and former Minister in the Namboodiripad Government ; address: M.G. Road, Ernakulam. PMO, File No. 27(19)/66-68-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 15-A.

614. Krishna Iyer's letter: "Even amidst the din and tension of National emergency we, as a Nation, have to remember those great Seers who have shaped and built up Navabharath morally and spiritually. Viewed from this angle, there is no need to argue the point that Sree Narayana Guru, one of the great reformers of Indian society and radiators of spiritual light, deserves to be commemorated, not merely in the hearts of hundreds and thousands, but also in the indelible form of a commemoration stamp.

There is a wide-spread, I should say, universal, feeling among the people of Kerala that this step should be taken by the Government of India, not because you honour Kerala when you honour Sree Narayana, but because Sree Narayana Guru is so deeply associated with the soil of Kerala that honour to his hallowed memory gives great satisfaction.

I shall be deeply obliged if you will give thought to this subject with a sense of immediacy." PMO, File No. 27(19)/66-68-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 14-A.

227. To D. Sanjivayya: Sankar and Damodara Menon⁶¹⁵

July 6, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

As you know, Govindan Nair has written to me about the charges that have been raised against Chief Minister Sankar and Damodara Menon.⁶¹⁶ I had a letter from Sankar on this subject also, and I have had a talk with Govindan Nair. I think that before I can make any recommendation about holding an enquiry or not, I should have a full talk with both these persons. I have, therefore, suggested to both of them to meet me on the 19th July in Delhi. This will, I suppose, suit them as there is a Working Committee meeting on the 20th July morning and a meeting of the National Defence Council in the afternoon of that day.

I am also writing to Damodara Menon that if he cares to come then, he will also be welcome.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

228. To R. Sankar: Meeting on Charges⁶¹⁷

July 6, 1963

My dear Sankar,

Four days ago, on July 2, I wrote to you about the demand for an enquiry into certain charges that had been brought.⁶¹⁸ Two or three days later, I received a letter from C.K. Govindan Nair in which he pointed out that in view of certain charges being made and repeated by the public, it would be desirable to have an enquiry. This afternoon I met Govindan Nair also, and had a talk with him on this subject. He pointed out to me that he was not bringing any charges but that as these were being talked about a great deal, he thought that it was necessary to put an end to this talk by having an enquiry.

I think that before I can suggest any course of action to you, I should like to have a talk with you on this subject, and also with Govindan Nair. I suggest that you might come to Delhi on the 19th July. I am asking Govindan Nair also to come then. I have fixed that date to suit your convenience as the National

615. Letter to the Congress President.

616. See items 224, 225 and 228.

617. Letter to the Chief Minister of Kerala.

618. Item 224; see also items 225 and 227.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Defence Council is meeting on the 20th July and presumably you might be coming for that. There is also a meeting of the Congress Working Committee on the 20th July in the morning.

I hope this will suit you and that we can meet in the forenoon of the 19th July.⁶¹⁹

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

229. To Kurur Neelakandan Nambudiripad: Charges against R. Sankar⁶²⁰

July 20, 1963

My dear Kurur,
Your letter of July 17th.

You have referred to the charges against the Chief Minister and another Minister in Kerala. The Congress Working Committee has referred this matter to me. I have already spent some time though I have by no means completed my enquiry. I might tell you that my present impression is that the charges made are not only trivial but, to a large extent, baseless.

As for the other matters you refer to, we are suffering from this disease in most parts of India. How to meet it and root it out is a major question before us.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

230. To C.K. Govindan Nair: No Statement on R. Sankar⁶²¹

July 26, 1963

My dear Govindan Nair,
I have just received your letter of 23rd July which has been forwarded from Delhi.

619. An appointment for 19 July was fixed for K.A. Damodara Menon also.

620. Letter to Congress MLA ; address T.C. House, Trichur.

621. Letter to the President of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee. Sent from Rashtrapati Nilayam, Bolarum, Hyderabad.

I have not made any statement to the press or any public statement about the charges made against Chief Minister Sankar and Damodara Menon. There is a Question in Parliament on this subject, and my answer is that the matter has been referred to me and I have asked for full particulars to be sent to me. I shall then express my opinion.

I did say, however, to some members of the Working Committee that, as far as I had seen thus far, the charges appeared to me rather trivial. I do not think any useful purpose will be served by issuing a denial.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Madhya Pradesh

231. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Wrongful Arrests⁶²²

May 6, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I enclose a letter from Syed Ahmad of Hoshangabad.⁶²³ He has written about two persons who have been detained, and given some reasons why they should not have been detained and should be released now. I think that what he says is worthy of consideration. I would suggest your writing to the Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister⁶²⁴ about these cases and suggesting that they should be released.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

232. To B.A. Mandloi: Wrongful Arrests⁶²⁵

May 9, 1963

My dear Mandloi,

I am writing to you about two persons arrested under the DIR in Jubbulpore. These two are Mohindra Bajpai and Malhotra. From various accounts that I have had about them, I do not quite see how they should have been arrested.

622. Letter to the Home Minister.

623. Rajya Sabha MP from Madhya Pradesh.

624. B.A. Mandloi.

625. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Long previous to their arrest, they were working for collections for the National Defence Fund and had strongly supported the position of the Government.

I have a feeling that the Jubbulpore police have a habit of harassing Congressmen and others in spite of the fact that the District Magistrate is, I am told, a good man. This attitude appears to be a relic of the Jubbulpore rioting we had a year or so ago.⁶²⁶ The police did not come out well in that affair. Nor did they seem to be impartial. Apparently the same old police officers are there. I should like you to look into these matters. They do not appear to do much credit to us.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

233. To B.A. Mandloi: Rihand and Matatila Dams⁶²⁷

May 11, 1963

My dear Mandloi,

On my return from Gujarat this evening I received your letter of the 7th May.

I shall certainly consult our Home Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri. I shall take no step in this matter without consulting you. But it seems clear to me that something should be done to put an end to this unhappy controversy which can do no good to anyone. If the matter cannot be settled directly between the two Governments, the only other course is for some person of eminence and experience to be asked to adjudicate.

Meanwhile, I would suggest to you that the work at the Matatila Power Station should be allowed to continue. Whatever the ultimate decision is, will naturally apply to that also. I understand from your letter that you are prepared to revise your decision to this effect. I hope you will do so.⁶²⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

626. In February 1961, see SWJN/SS/66/item 34 pp. 271-272; SWJN/SS/67/items 12-13, 26-43; SWJN/SS/68/items 16-34 and appendix 1.

627. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. MHA, File No. 21/1/63-SR(R), p. 24/c; also PMO, File No. 17(545)/63-66-PMS, Sr. No. 4-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

628. See note of 19 May 1963, item 234; see also SWJN/SS/81/item 239.

234. Rihand-Matatila Dispute⁶²⁹

Some little time ago, the Chief Minister of UP⁶³⁰ wrote to me at some length about the Rihand Project and the UP Government's controversy with the Madhya Pradesh Government in regard to it. In his letter he made out that the UP Government had tried their utmost to come to an agreement with the Madhya Pradesh Government, but the latter had proved obdurate and unyielding. He even mentioned that a committee of officials had been appointed here to make recommendations. This committee's recommendations had been accepted by the UP Government but not by the Madhya Pradesh Government. What then was he to do?

2. The UP Chief Minister also said that the Madhya Pradesh Government had issued orders to stop all work in regard to the Matatila Project. The UP Chief Minister was much concerned about this and said this would involve much loss and would delay the project considerably.

3. Thereafter I wrote to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh expressing my regret that the two Governments had been unable to come to an agreement.⁶³¹ This was unfortunate, but obviously we could not leave it at that. If no agreement was forthcoming, then the only course left open was to appoint one or more persons to go into this matter and give their award. It was rather absurd to hold up all work because of present lack of agreement. I also mentioned that, in any event, the Matatila work should be allowed to go on and should not be stopped or delayed. Naturally it would be bound by any subsequent arrangement between the two Governments.

4. Shri Mandloi, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, has now sent me two notes, one on the Rihand Dam and the other on Matatila. I enclose copies of these. I have not at present got Shri C.B. Gupta's note with me, and therefore cannot say how far there is agreement between the two about the various steps taken thus far. You will no doubt know exactly what has happened as your Ministry is concerned with it.

5. I am sending copies of these two notes from Madhya Pradesh to the Chief Minister of UP.

6. What would you advise me to do now? Some method has to be evolved to settle this problem, and in any event work should not stop meanwhile.⁶³²

629. Note, 19 May 1963, for Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim, Minister of Irrigation and Power. PMO, File No. 17(545)/63-66-PMS, Sr. No. 8-A. Also available in the JN Collection and MHA, File No. 21/1/63-SR (R)., p. 9/c.

630. C.B. Gupta.

631. Item 233.

632. See appendices 1 (a) and (b).

235. To D. Sanjivayya: Ad Hoc Committee⁶³³

May 21, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,

The Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh⁶³⁴ as well as Rameshwar Dayal Totla⁶³⁵ came to see me this morning. They spoke about the recent elections and the progress of the Congress generally. I have a feeling that that Ad Hoc Committee of which Totla is the convenor has done good work. There was a proposal some weeks or months ago, to which I understood you to agree, that some additions might be made to the Madhya Pradesh Ad Hoc Committee. This has not been done yet, although some names, I believe, were suggested to you by Totla.

Also some districts have no committees functioning and it was proposed to have ad hoc committees. I hope this will be expedited.

The Chief Minister said that he wanted to add some Deputy Ministers to his Government to represent some minorities as well as some areas which were not at present represented. We had agreed to this some time ago and I told them to discuss this matter with you.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

236. To B.A. Mandloi: Bad Appointments to Ministry⁶³⁶

May 29, 1963

My dear Mandloi,

The other day you came to me and mentioned that you intended appointing some Deputy Ministers. I agreed to this. I did not know whom you were going to appoint.

Now my attention has been drawn to some of these appointments, for instance, Resham Lal Jangde.⁶³⁷ It has been pointed out to me that there would be strong criticism of him. Further that there is a report of SDM which also is unfavourable and there is a question of an enquiry into various accounts for which he was responsible. He was also involved in a case of rioting and murder. He was acquitted but there were adverse comments.

633. Letter to the Congress President.

634. B.A. Mandloi.

635. Convenor of the Madhya Pradesh Ad Hoc Congress Committee.

636. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

637. Jangde was made a Deputy Minister in the MP Government.

Apparently he has been given Tribal Welfare and Commerce and Industry etc. How far is it desirable that he should be given a subject in which he is personally interested and in regard to which he has been criticised? This may create a bad impression.

Then there is Sharda Charan Tiwari who himself does transport business and has now been given Transport apart from other subjects. It is the normal rule that no one should be given a subject in which he is personally interested. His appointment, therefore, as in charge of Transport goes against this rule.

It has, further, been pointed out to me that all these new appointments appear to be made to strengthen a particular group. I hope this is not so because we must try to put an end to groupism if we are to function properly.⁶³⁸

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

237. To H.V. Pataskar: Bad Appointments to Ministry⁶³⁹

May 29, 1963

My dear Pataskar,

Thank you for your letter of the 26th May. Mandloi saw me a few days ago and mentioned that he intended appointing some Deputy Ministers. I told him that I was agreeable to this, but I hope the number would not be too big. Names were not mentioned to me.

Today I had a complaint about two of the Deputy Ministers and I have written to Mandloi about this. One was Jangde. Various allegations were made against him: that he had been criticised in some report about various accounts, that he had not given proper accounts for some money received by him; that he had been charged in a case of murder and dacoity, but acquitted. Also it was pointed out that he had been put in charge of Tribal affairs. This was unfortunate as he himself belonged to a group.

The other complaint was about a man who has been put in charge of Transport although he himself is engaged in the transport business.

638. See also item 237; see item 10.

639. Letter to the Governor of Madhya Pradesh.

I have written about both these to Mandloi and also expressed my regret that his appointments will not end criticism, but perhaps increase it.⁶⁴⁰

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

238. To B.A. Mandloi: Factionalism in Congress⁶⁴¹

May 30, 1963

My dear Mandloi,

I wrote to you two days ago about some of the Deputy Ministers that you have appointed. I am rather disturbed by various accounts that I have heard not only about these appointments but also the change in portfolios that you have made, and other matters.

Our attempt has been to put down group rivalries in Madhya Pradesh. With that purpose in view, the old Pradesh Congress Committee, which had proved totally ineffective during the General Elections, was replaced by an Ad Hoc Committee which, we hoped, would not work on group lines. Now it appears that the old group spirit has been revived. This is said to be so both in the appointment of the Deputy Ministers and the reallocation of portfolios as well as in the proposed additions to the Ad Hoc Committee. I have received numerous letters to this effect and many persons have come to see me also.

How far this is so, I cannot personally say. But it does appear that there is a widespread impression to this effect and if this is so, it is bad.

In regard to the portfolios, I do not know what particular reason you had to take away Education from Shankar Dayal who had done rather well in it. This gives the impression of demoting Shankar Dayal to some extent.

The general impression appears to be that the old Deshlahra⁶⁴² group is exercising a great deal of influence and trying to strengthen its position. That group was not a success in the past. It was for this reason that the Ad Hoc Committee came in. If this process continues, there is bound to be a worsening of the situation with unfortunate results.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

640. See item 236; see item 10.

641. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

642. Moolchand Deshlahra, former President, MPCC.

239. To D.P. Mishra: Size of Madhya Pradesh Cabinet⁶⁴³

June 16, 1963

My dear Dwarka Prasadji,

Your letter of June 16. The report of what I said that you have sent me is largely correct, though not wholly so. I pointed out then that the question of adding to Ministers or Deputy Ministers was one which should be judged from the point of view of good work being done. I did not agree that the question of economy should be an issue in this matter. Of course, an appointment of a person needlessly is bad anyhow. I also said that the question of minority community representatives and harijans was one to which we attached importance and had drawn the attention of the Ministry to this earlier. The number seven was a largish one. I did not go into the names, nor did I know them. I said these matters should be discussed with the Congress President.⁶⁴⁴

As for groupism, this question did not arise at all before me. But I have always expressed myself as opposed to the group mentality, and have pointed this out to the Chief Minister.⁶⁴⁵

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

240. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Organisational Politics⁶⁴⁶

June 17, 1963

My dear Lai Bahadur,

I enclose notes which Rameshwar Dayal Totla gave me today. Although they are marked secret and for me only, he wanted me to show them to you and Indira. I told him, however, that I would like to send them to the Congress President⁶⁴⁷ also; and he ultimately agreed to this.

After you have read them, I should like you to send them to Sanjivayya. Indira is not here and I cannot, therefore, show them to her.

My own impression of Totla's work in Madhya Pradesh ever since he became Convenor of the Ad Hoc Committee, is that he has been active and hardworking. He has undoubtedly made a difference to the Madhya Pradesh

643. Letter to Congress MLA, Madhya Pradesh, and Vice Chancellor, Saugar University.

644. See item 10. See also items 236 and 237.

645. See item 238.

646. Letter to the Home Minister.

647. D. Sanjivayya.

Congress organisation and put some life into it. It is difficult for me to say that he has or has not shown any partisanship. But I believe that he has definitely tried to be impartial in this matter. He has tried to bring nearer to each other the ministerial and the organisational wings. This might have appeared as some kind of partiality, for the present Chief Minister's⁶⁴⁸ group. Anyhow I have told him again that he must be particularly careful not to give the impression of favouring any particular group. He promised to try his best to do so.

On the whole, I think that he deserves support by us and the AICC Office. When necessity arises, we can advise him or privately criticise anything that he has done, but, generally, we should support him and strengthen his position. Any other attitude would undo such good work as he has done and would be harmful to the organisation.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

241. To Rameshwar Dayal Totla: Hold Ad Hoc Committees Regularly⁶⁴⁹

July 19, 1963

Dear Totlaji,

I have received repeated complaints that no meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee are held and that all decisions are taken singly by you as Convenor. I understand that a meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee has not been held for nearly five months. As the Ad Hoc Committee is a fairly small body it is desirable to hold its meetings from time to time.

I hope that the Congress organisational elections will be held in such a way as to give satisfaction to everybody. No one should be able to complain that they were held unfairly.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

648. B.A. Mandloi.

649. Letter to the Convenor of the Madhya Pradesh Ad Hoc Congress Committee.

242. To Rameshwar Dayal Totla: Factionalism in MP Congress⁶⁵⁰

July 30, 1963

प्रिय तोतला जी,

आपका पत्र मुझे अभी मिला है। आपका शिविर कल से शुरू है। आपका शिविर कल से शुरू है। मेरे लिए यह बिल्कुल असम्भव है कि मैं कुछ आपको अधिक इस समय लिख के भेजूं। मुझे इस बात की बहुत फिकर है कि मध्य प्रदेश में आपस की बहुत अनबन बढ़ती जाती है जिसका असर गवरमेंट और कांग्रेस दोनों पर हो रहा है। पहला काम तो यह है कि इस अनबन को मिटाये, और यह हवा पैदा करें कि कांग्रेस के सब लोग मिल कर काम करते हैं। हम कोई बड़ा काम उठा नहीं सकते अगर हमारी सारी शक्ति आपस के झगड़ों में पड़ जाती है।

हमारी सिद्धान्त कांग्रेस के फैसलों में साफ लिखे हैं। हम जन तंत्र समाजवाद चाहते हैं, और उनके ज़रिये से आम जनता का उद्धार, विशेषकर जो हमारे गांव के रहनेवाले लोग हैं। उस समय का कार्य बहुत कुछ पंचवर्षीय योजना में दिया है और पंचायती राज वगैरह के सामने रखा गया है।

बिलफेल सब से बड़ा काम है देश की रक्षा करना बाहरी हमलों से और देश की पैदावार बढ़ाना। और देशों के साथ हम मित्रता रखा चाहते हैं और उनसे कोई फौजी समझौता नहीं किया चाहते हैं।

इन मोटी बातों पर हमें खास ध्यान देना चाहिये। और जो आज कल कांग्रेसजनों में हर जगह कोशिश होती है कोई पद हासिल करने ही, इसका विशेष करना चाहिये।

आपका
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

[Translation begins:

Dear Totlaji,

I have received your letter now. Your camp is starting from tomorrow. It is impossible for me to write something to you. I am really worried that there is growing discord in Madhya Pradesh which is affecting the Government and Congress both. So, the first priority should be to remove this discord and create an atmosphere that all Congressmen work together. We cannot do anything big if we spend all our energy in mutual conflict.

650. Letter to the Convenor of the Madhya Pradesh Ad Hoc Congress Committee, c/o Indore City Congress Committee, Gandhi Bhawan, Indore City.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Our principles are clearly visible in the decisions taken by the Congress. We want democratic socialism, and through that raise the standard of the common people, especially of the villagers. What needs to be done is explained in the Five Year Plan and Panchayati Raj programme and so on.

For now our most important task is to defend the country from external aggression and increase production. We want to maintain friendship with other countries and do not want to have any military pact with them.

We need to focus on these broad issues. And this race among the Congressmen for grabbing posts should be opposed.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

Maharashtra

243. To T.G. Deshmukh: Railway in Nagpur⁶⁵¹

June 21, 1963

My dear Mr Mayor,

I must apologise to you for the delay in my acknowledging your letter of June 1st. I have forwarded it to the Railway Minister.

Nagpur is one of our great cities of India and I believe it has been progressing and growing for the last few years. I do not think there is any reason for you to feel dissatisfied with this growth of a great city of which you are the Mayor.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

651. Letter to the Mayor of the Nagpur Corporation. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 17(424)/60-70-PMS, Sr. No. 47-B. Available in the JN Collection also.

244. To M.S. Kannamwar: Fees Concession to Vidarbha Students⁶⁵²

July 23, 1963

My dear Kannamwar,

I enclose a telegram and a letter I have received.⁶⁵³ These relate to the withdrawal of certain fee concessions to students of Vidarbha. I confess that I feel rather unhappy about this. I suppose this must cause considerable hardship to those students who have been enjoying this concession and carrying on their education accordingly. Possibly they may have to give up their subsequent educational career.

I realise that it must be difficult for you to give a concession in one part of the State and deny it to others in other parts of the State. At the same time, it is difficult to withdraw a concession which has been enjoyed for some time. I should like you to give thought to this matter and try to find some way out of this difficulty.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

245. Krishna-Godavari Waters⁶⁵⁴

Thank you for sending me a note in answer to the points raised in the letter of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra⁶⁵⁵ in regard to the Krishna-Godavari waters. The note, though useful, did not deal with all the points that have been raised in regard to this matter.

2. This afternoon, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, accompanied by the Maharashtra Irrigation & Power Minister, Shri Chavan,⁶⁵⁶ came to see me and were with me for about 55 minutes. They stated the case of Maharashtra with considerable force. According to them, the present allotment to Maharashtra was not markedly different from that given by the 1951 agreement. I do not quite

652. Letter to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. Sent from Rashtrapati Nilayam, Bolarum, Hyderabad.

653. Telegram from T.G. Deshmukh, Nagpur, and letter from Balkrishna Wasnik, MP, Nagpur.

654. Note, 30 July 1963, for the Minister of Irrigation and Power. PMO File No. 17(432) 60-64-PMS, Vol. No. I, Sr. No. 91-A.

655. M.S. Kannamwar.

656. S.B. Chavan.

understand this as my impression was, and this has been stated in Hafizji's⁶⁵⁷ statement before Parliament, that the present allotment was considerably more.

3. They laid great stress on the Gulhati Report which they said has not been apparently fully considered in the ad hoc proposals made by our Irrigation & Power Ministry. The ad-hoc proposals are not likely to please any party concerned. Therefore, they said that a more scientific approach should be made as soon as possible. For this purpose, all the data still necessary should be collected and impartially examined. Much of this data is already available, partly in the Gulhati Report, partly otherwise. The remaining data could be collected within six months or at the most a year. An effort should be made to do this as quickly as possible so as to be able to draw up definite progress for the future.

4. They also told me that the amount of water allotted to them under Hafizji's statement had very largely been earmarked already. Only a small amount remained. They were very anxious that the future allotments should not be made about these waters which would come in the way of Maharashtra in the future.

5. I told them that as I understood Hafizji's statement in Parliament, no such future allotment will be made injuring the prospects of Maharashtra till the final settlement is made after full investigation. Thus the two things they were eager that we should do was that no additional commitment should be made by us disadvantageous to Maharashtra and the collection of data and other material should be expedited and thereafter a full and impartial survey should be made and decisions taken. If such an investigation and survey is made, then no State concerned can have any grievance.

6. They further pointed out the difficult scarcity conditions in parts of Maharashtra which could be alleviated by making available water for them.

7. I have told them what I have said above, that we are anxious to help Maharashtra to our utmost and that no further commitments will be made to its disadvantage. Also that we should expedite the investigations to enable the final settlement to be made as soon as is possible. I hope that in this final settlement some of the points they have raised would be met with and allowed for.

8. Could you, therefore, please expedite this collection of data to enable the final settlement to be made? In doing this, full help and cooperation of the Maharashtra engineers should also be taken. This would give them some satisfaction and a feeling of cooperation in a joint effort.

657. Former Minister Irrigation and Power.

9. They also mentioned their water dispute with Madhya Pradesh which has apparently been pending for some time. Something should be done about this also.

10. I understand that Shri Chavan, the Maharashtra Minister of Irrigation & Power, met you today but you could not discuss with him all aspects of this question then but that you promised to look into it fully.⁶⁵⁸

246. To M.S. Kannamwar: Krishna-Godavari Waters⁶⁵⁹

July 30, 1963

My dear Kannamwar,

Thank you for coming round to see me with Chavan, your Minister for Irrigation and Power. Both of you were good enough to explain your points of view and difficulties. I need not assure you that we shall give full thought to these matters.

For the present, I understand that the two chief points raised were that there should be no further commitment in regard to the waters of the Krishna and Godavari rivers disadvantageous to Maharashtra till a further careful and scientific survey is made of all the data. Further that an attempt should be made to collect all the available data as rapidly as possible and then the matter should be considered fully and impartially and decisions taken. In doing this work, we shall naturally require the full help and cooperation of the Maharashtra engineers also.

I have written to our Irrigation & Power Minister accordingly.⁶⁶⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

658. See also item 246.

659. Letter to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 90-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

660. See item 245.

Mysore

247. To S. Channaiah: Factions in Mysore Congress⁶⁶¹

June 21, 1963

Dear Shri Channaiah,

This is a belated acknowledgment to your letter of the 2nd June. Unfortunately it came at a time when I was very heavily occupied and hence the delay in answering it. You and your fellow signatories complain of much that has been done in the Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee and suggest that elections there should be postponed and an enquiry held. These are clearly organisational matters and I do not normally interfere in such matters. I do not even know if the elections you refer to have been held already or not. Anyhow, this is a matter which will have to be considered by the Working Committee.

It pains me to find that Mysore, which should be one of our brightest States, has constantly to face internal troubles among Congressmen. At any time this would not be good, but specially at a moment of crisis like today this is particularly unfortunate. Democracy cannot flourish with these constant internal troubles.

I am afraid Congress work has largely become a contest of posts for the Government or for the Congress organisation. Real work inevitably suffers and the result is that Congress prestige goes down. We have to think more of the larger issues before the country and much less of particular groups or individuals.

I am sending your letter to the Congress President.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

661. Letter to an MLC and former President of the Mysore PCC, Nazarabad, Mysore. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

248. In the Lok Sabha: Assam Rifles for NEFA⁶⁶²

P.C. Borooah:⁶⁶³ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether government have decided to induct some forces of Assam Rifles into Kameng Division of NEFA and other areas vacated by Chinese to enforce law and order; and
- (b) If so, the action taken in pursuance of this decision so far?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon):

(a) and (b) When the Chinese withdrew after their aggression in NEFA, the Assam Rifles began returning to their normal posts. Amongst these were a few in Kameng Frontier Division. The Assam Rifles as the traditional civil armed force in the area has always been responsible for law and order in support of the Civil Administration. No new policy decision is, therefore, involved in their return.

P.C. Borooah: May I know whether it is a fact that the Chinese after vacating the occupied areas have left behind a large number of agents and soldiers in NEFA in Mufti who are responsible for creating lawlessness around Dirrang, Djog and some other areas there? If so, what is their approximate number and what steps has Government taken to counteract their activities?

Lakshmi Menon: We do not have any information about the large number of Chinese being left here who have caused disorder. But the answer specifically refers to movement of Assam Rifles to that area and, as I have stated, it is for giving protection to the civilian personnel.

P.C. Borooah: May I know whether Assam Rifles personnel have been adequately armed with automatic weapons just to counteract the Chinese agents who have got automatic weapons also?

Lakshmi Menon: They are armed with the usual weapons as much as is required.

662. Oral Answers to Questions, 6 May 1963. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XVIII, Third Series, April 25 to May 7, 1963, cols 13954-58

663. Congress.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

D. Basumatari:⁶⁶⁴ Since the remarkable work done by the Assam Rifles has been admitted by the Government, may I know whether the discrimination between the pay of the members of the Assam Rifles and the pay of the other military personnel will be removed?

Lakshmi Menon: The disparities are almost minimal. For instance, the pay of a rifleman was only Rs 3-50 less than that of his Army counterpart.

S.M. Banerjee:⁶⁶⁵ The hon. Member has stated that after the Chinese withdrawal some instructions were issued. May I know what are the places from which the Chinese have withdrawn and which have been occupied by the Assam Rifles.

Lakshmi Menon: I never said that any instructions were issued. I only said that they moved in.

S.M. Banerjee: What places have been reoccupied?

Lakshmi Menon: In the Kameng Frontier Division up to Khinzimane. They have move upto Bum La to clear the pass for the return of the prisoners of war.

Hem Barua:⁶⁶⁶ In view of the fact that the Colombo proposals stipulate that we can send our Army personnel up to the McMahon Line, what is the objection in particular to our implementation of the Colombo proposals in this respect—it might be unilateral—and supplement the Assam Rifles with our armed forces in NEFA?

Speaker:⁶⁶⁷ The first part is not relevant to this question. It is only about sending our forces. His main question only relates to the unilateral implementation of the Colombo proposals and not to this question at all. Only at the end he adds, as to why they may not be used for occupying that area.

Hem Barua: May I submit that the Colombo proposals stipulate that we can send our army personnel up to the McMahon Line?

664. Congress.

665. Independent.

666. PSP.

667. Hukam Singh.

Speaker: Should we send these forces there?

Hem Barua: No, Sir.

Speaker: The question is about the Assam Rifles.

Hem Barua: The Assam Rifles is only a police force. That is why I wanted to know whether any steps are taken to supplement them with our regular armed troops.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru) rose—

Mahavir Tyagi:⁶⁶⁸ On a point of order, Sir. It has been a convention in the House not to ask questions about the movement of the armed forces. If it is said as to where we have moved our armed forces, it will go against security. Therefore, I pray that such questions may be prohibited.

Speaker: He might resume his seat. There is nothing objectionable.

Hari Vishnu Kamath:⁶⁶⁹ The hon. Minister can say that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as I know, apart from the Assam Rifles and the Assam Police, no military formations have been sent to those areas thus far. It is for our Defence people to determine when and where they are required.

G.G. Swell:⁶⁷⁰ Is it a fact that although the members of the Assam Rifles perform similar duties as performed by the members of the regular army and are called upon to bear the brunt of the rigour of the NEFA operations, they do not receive the same amenities as the members of the regular army in respect of pay, rations, etc? If that is a fact, may I know the reasons that stand in the way of the Government doing so?

Speaker: A similar question was asked and that has been answered.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, the difference used to be more marked. They have been reduced considerably. The Assam Rifles have done very fine work and we do

668. Congress.

669. PSP.

670. All Party Hill Leaders' Conference.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

not wish any discrimination against them, certainly not. But there are some obvious reasons. One is, the army is meant to serve anywhere they are sent to, in India or outside. The Assam Rifles are limited to the area relatively near their homelands. And the training etc. given to the army is far superior, far more lengthy, far more complicated than that of the Assam Rifles.

G.G. Swell: I would like to have my question answered in full.

Jawaharlal Nehru: My colleague has just said the differences in pay etc. are minimum. They are very small now.

Lakshmi Menon: And so far as the rations are concerned, when they are under operational command they get the same scale of rations as are given to the army.

Mahavir Tyagi: May I take it that the conditions on the movements of armed troops of India which were just announced by the Chinese at the time of their withdrawal from this area were only unilateral and that India does not stand committed to whatever restrictions they have announced and that they are free to move? Is that the policy?

Speaker: He is putting a general question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We are free to take any steps that we consider necessary.

D. C. Sharma:⁶⁷¹ May I know if the strength, of Assam Rifles is adequate to meet the civil defence needs of this region not only at the time when it is not in trouble, but also at that time when there is some kind of emergency going on there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry. I have not understood his question.

Speaker: Is the strength of the Assam Rifles adequate enough to safeguard or to discharge those duties entrusted to them not only in the normal times but also during emergency?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a difficult question to answer. It depends ...

Speaker: That is all right. I also wanted that it need not be answered.

671. Congress.

249. To B.P. Chaliha: Phizo and Michael Scott⁶⁷²

May 11, 1963

My dear Chaliha,

Please forgive me for the delay in answering your letter of April 27th. I have just come back from a visit to Gujarat.

We have been giving frequent consideration to the situation in regard to the Naga hostiles. You will have seen the objectionable statement made by the Reverend Michael Scott⁶⁷³ in London saying that Phizo has rejected our terms. We have thus no other course but to go ahead with our preparations.

I agree with you that this matter should be dealt with by the Emergency Committee of the Cabinet. Meanwhile, I understand that more troops have been sent to Nagaland.

I am leaving Delhi again tomorrow morning for Kanpur and Lucknow.⁶⁷⁴ I shall look into this matter more when I return.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

250. To B.P. Chaliha: Visit to Assam⁶⁷⁵

May 16, 1963

My dear Chaliha,

Your letter of May 11. As my visit to Assam and NEFA will be connected with the opening of the Brahmaputra Bridge near Gauhati,⁶⁷⁶ I am asking Sardar Swaran Singh if it will suit him to have this opening ceremony performed on the 7th June. Possibly, this will take place in the afternoon. Thereafter, I shall be at your disposal up to the 9th, i.e. three days in all. In the main, I take it, this time will be utilised for visits to NEFA.

As soon as Sardar Swaran Singh confirms this arrangement, I shall let you know.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

672. Letter to the Chief Minister of Assam.

673. British clergyman, Director, Africa Bureau, London.

674. See item 46.

675. Letter to the Chief Minister of Assam. PMO, File No. 8/249/63-PMP, Sr. No.9-A.

676. At Saraighat, see item 46.

251. NEFA Administration⁶⁷⁷

Some time ago, I received a letter from Shri D. Ering⁶⁷⁸ which I sent to the Governor⁶⁷⁹ here for his comments. The Governor has given me a note containing his comments.⁶⁸⁰ I enclose these papers.

2. I had a talk today about NEFA matters with the Governor, Shri Luthra⁶⁸¹ and Major Kathing.⁶⁸² The Chief Minister of Assam⁶⁸³ was also present. The Governor gave me a note on the Indian Frontier Administrative Service, which I enclose, although it has already been sent to you directly. I think that some of the difficulties experienced by this Frontier Service are real, and we should do something to remove them. Many years' service in these difficult parts is apt to damage the health of the individual concerned and make him too one-sided. Some officers here have had heart trouble because of living at high altitudes. Some respite should be given to them by allowing them to serve elsewhere for a while and then, if necessary, bringing back to NEFA. This will also be good for them in other ways by broadening their outlook. How this can best be done is a matter to be considered.

3. There is also the question of these frontier officers not having much of an opening in later years of service, and this creates a sense of frustration in them. I think you might consider these matters, and we could discuss them. Later the Home Ministry might be consulted.

4. There is a possibility of occasional interchange with a few selected Assam officials.

5. Two questions were discussed by us with the Chief Minister and the others. One was the question of language and script, especially the script. It is a considerable burden for young boys and girls in NEFA to have to learn four languages in three scripts. It would be an obviously desirable thing for Assamese to be written in the Nagari script. That would, I think, be good for Assamese as well as for others, and would lighten the burden of learning two separate scripts for people here. That is not a very easy thing to do, although I have recommended it. Anyhow that will take time. For the present we felt

677. Note, 8 June 1963, recorded at the Circuit House in Tezpur. MHA, (MEA, F.No. 23(83)/62-NI., pp.61-62/n. Also available in the JN Collection.

678. Parliamentary Secretary in the MEA.

679. Vishnu Sahay.

680. Appendix 15.

681. P.N. Luthra, Adviser to the Governor of Assam.

682. Major Ralengnao (Bob) Kathing, IFAS officer; Security Commissioner of NEFA, Special Services Bureau.

683. B.P. Chaliha.

that the existing practice should continue and no frequent changes should take place.

6. The other main question was one of merging with Assam. The other day a resolution to this effect came up in the Lok Sabha and I expressed my strong opposition to such merger. I am very clearly of that opinion still. The Chief Minister, on the whole, appreciates these reasons, but he suggested that some attempts might be made to increase contacts between Assam and NEFA. This might partly be done by some exchange of officials, though this will have to be very carefully looked into. I understand that the Electrical Service of Assam is going to be put in charge of electrical matters in NEFA. That is good. It was also suggested that the PWD of Assam might take charge of PWD work here instead of NEFA being connected for this purpose with the Central PWD. The Assam PWD is not particularly bright, but still I think the suggestion is a desirable one. The present arrangement is thoroughly bad as everything has to be referred to the Central PWD, and this delays matters greatly. The Governor is also agreeable to the Assam PWD being put in charge.⁶⁸⁴

252. To Verrier Elwin: Unable to meet⁶⁸⁵

June 8, 1963

My dear Elwin,

For many years, whenever I have come to Assam I have looked forward to meeting you. If I had gone to Shillong on this occasion, I would certainly have tried to see you. But Shillong was not in my programme on this occasion. I had two tasks: to open the new Brahmaputra Bridge and to visit some places in NEFA—Bomdila, Along, Tuting and Ziro. I performed my first task yesterday at Gauhati and came here to Tezpur, hoping to go to Bomdila this morning by helicopter. But heavy rains have prevented me from going anywhere by air today, and I have therefore spent the day in Tezpur. I still hope that tomorrow will be fine and I shall be able to go to Bomdila and perhaps later to Along.

684. M.J. Desai submitted a note on 11 June 1963 in this regard. Not reproduced here but available in MHA (MEA, File No. 23 (83)/62-NI., p. 63/n)

685. Letter to the Adviser to the Governor of Assam. Sent from Circuit House, Tezpur.

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I have been much concerned to learn of your ill health and that you have been in hospital for some time. I hope you are getting well there and the rest is doing you good. I hope to meet you when I next come to this part of the world.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

253. To Donald G. Brownlow: Stockton Taylor's Paper⁶⁸⁶

June 8, 1963

Dear Mr Brownlow,

I received your letter of May 31 a few days ago, and with it a paper by Mr Stockton Taylor. Thank you for them.

By a coincidence I have read your letter and the other papers at Tezpur in Aasam where I have come on a brief visit. Tezpur is on the borders of the North East Frontier Agency of India, and the Chinese came within a few miles of it before they withdrew.

I have read Stockton Taylor's paper and found it interesting. What he says contains much truth, but obviously it is only part of the truth. One cannot criticise the writer because he had limited materials before him. I think that he has done rather well considering the difficulties he had to face.

Please convey my good wishes to Stockton Taylor and tell him that we will certainly pull through even though this might be a difficult business and might take time. I hope also that he will pull through and get over his present disability.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

686. Letter to member of the Department of History, The Haverford School, Haverford, Pennsylvania, USA. Sent from the Circuit House, Tezpur.

254. To P.C. Mahalanobis: Assam and Hill Districts⁶⁸⁷

June 19, 1963

My dear Mahalanobis,

Both the Governor⁶⁸⁸ and the Chief Minister of Assam⁶⁸⁹ are anxious to have you go there and examine the various developmental programmes for Assam and especially for the Hill Districts, and give them your advice in the matter. I think that is a good idea. I have written to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission,⁶⁹⁰ suggesting that this might be done. I gather that you are also willing to do this.

We attach a great deal of importance to the problems of Assam, especially the Hill Districts. They have far reaching implications. It would be better to tackle them as whole and your advice would be of great help.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

255. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Assam and Hill Districts⁶⁹¹

June 19, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a letter from Vishnu Sahay.⁶⁹² Both he and the Chief Minister of Assam⁶⁹³ spoke to me about their wish to have Mahalanobis go to Assam for two weeks or so to prepare a plan especially for the Hill Districts. I think the idea is a good one. Assam and the Hill Districts especially, are facing too many problems, and instead of tackling them separately, there should be a coordinated

687. Letter to Member, Planning Commission, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 38(15)/56-63-PMS, Sr. No. 88-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

688. Vishnu Sahay.

689. B.P. Chaliha.

690. Gulzarilal Nanda.

691. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 38(15)/56-63-PMS, Sr. No. 87-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

692. Governor of Assam.

693. B.P. Chaliha.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

approach to them. I hope, therefore, that Mahalanobis would be asked to do this work. He appears to be willing and we should take advantage of it.⁶⁹⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

256. To Vishnu Sahay: Assam and Hill Districts⁶⁹⁵

June 19, 1963

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

I have two letters. One about Prof. Mahalanobis⁶⁹⁶ going to Assam and drawing up a consolidated scheme for its development specially in the Hill areas. I agree with you and have written to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.⁶⁹⁷

The other letter is about financial responsibility for border defence. I have drawn attention of the Finance Ministry to this subject so that they might form some rules applicable to all the border areas.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

257. To Morarji Desai: Special Problems of Border States⁶⁹⁸

June 19, 1963

My dear Morarji,

I enclose a letter from the Governor of Assam.⁶⁹⁹ When I was in Assam recently, both he and the Chief Minister⁷⁰⁰ spoke to me on these subjects.

694. See item 254.

695. Letter to the Governor of Assam, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 38(15)/56-63-PMS, Sr. No. 89-A.

696. Member, Planning Commission. See other items on this subject in section Politics subsection Northeast.

697. Gulzarilal Nanda.

698. Letter to the Finance Minister, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

699. Vishnu Sahay.

700. B.P. Chaliha.

The question is not one confined to Assam. I think we should consider it from the point of view of all the border States. It seems to me that it is not fair or feasible for the border States Governments, in the name of law and order, to be charged with the responsibility of protecting our international borders and problems that arise therefrom. They just cannot do it and we cannot take the risk of this not being done.

In Assam they have to face special difficulty in regard to the borders. Because they have spent a lot of money over this, they have as a consequence cut down severely some of their developmental programmes such as Education etc. This has had a bad effect. In the Hill areas specially the developmental schemes are of the highest importance even from the political point of view.

I would, therefore, like you to give particular attention to this matter so that we can lay down a general principle applying to the border states.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

258. To Vishnu Sahay: Hill Areas Commission⁷⁰¹

July 12, 1963

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

Your letter of July 8th.⁷⁰² In this you suggest that a Commission should be appointed soon and further that the Commission should consist of three persons. Does that mean that we should straightaway appoint the Commission or that you should tell the Hill Leaders' Conference people that we propose to appoint it and see their reaction to it.

As you say, the Commission could examine the points they have raised for clarification. The terms of reference would be, to give the largest autonomy to the Hill areas subject to certain essential features keeping the whole State together.

The Minister or Ministers should be, I suppose, chosen by the leaders of the party but after consultation with the whole group. It would be wrong to put an end to the idea of Cabinet responsibility. In practice, of course, he might well have considerable powers on matters affecting the Hill areas.

701. Letter to the Governor of Assam. MHA, File No. 4/1/63-SR(R)-A. p.27/c. Also available in the JN Collection.

702. Appendix 26.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

As for the language, English should be continued even at the Centre as an additional language. This should obviously be applied there. There need be no separate Secretariat as such for the Hill Areas, but a separate department of the State Secretariat dealing with these areas.

I am sending your letter to the Home Ministry for their comments. But I would like your advice about the appointment of the Commission. Would it be better to indicate the representatives of the Hill Areas we propose to appoint in the Commission, see what they say about it, and then decide about setting up the Commission.

It is true that I was thinking of a one-man Commission. I still do not see how a three-man Commission will be more desirable.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

259. To Vishnu Sahay: Negotiation on Hill Areas⁷⁰³

July 21, 1963

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

Your letter of July 16th.⁷⁰⁴ I have also met Chief Minister Chaliha and broadly he was in agreement with what you have said.

I agree that you might call one or two representatives of the APHLC and tell them that the clarifications which the delegation seeks are matters for the consideration of the Commission. In fact you may repeat what you have said to me in your letter.

As for their seeing me, I am always prepared to meet them subject to convenience. I am going tomorrow to Hyderabad for a week. On my return to Delhi I shall be very busy with the coming session of Parliament and later Parliament itself will take up all my time. However, I shall try to find time to see them if they come here.

The formal appointment of the Commission would have to be taken up after the representatives of the APHLC broadly agree to the procedure we have suggested. If that is so, the sooner the Commission is appointed the better.

703. Letter to the Governor of Assam, MHA, File No. 4/1/63-SR®-A. p.33/c. Also available in the JN Collection.

704. Appendix 26.

As for the numbers in the Commission, I thought of only one person, but it you advise that there should be more, say three, we shall certainly consider that.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

260. To Vishnu Sahay: Hills State Negotiation⁷⁰⁵

July 30, 1963

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

I have your letter of July 26. In view of the answer of Nichols-Roy to you, I do not quite understand how matters stand now. You should wait a little to see what report the APHLC will make now. Certainly we can wait, but I suppose their answer will be on the lines Nichols-Roy has replied to you.

As far as the question of the choosing of Minister or Ministers goes, it is clear that two facts have to borne in mind. They have to be representative of the Hills' people. At the same time they have to function as Ministers of the Cabinet. Some accommodation has to be shown on both sides. However, this is just an idea for you to consider.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Orissa

261. To B. Patnaik: Land Reform in Orissa⁷⁰⁶

May 5, 1963

My dear Biju,

I have received a letter from Shri A.S.N. Murti, President of the All Orissa Ryots Association. He wants to bring a deputation to me about some land reform legislation which is being promoted in Orissa. I am going to see them on the 20th June. I am writing to you now so that you could tell me what this legislation is.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

705. Letter to the Governor of Assam. MHA. File No. 4/1/63-SR(R)-A. p. 37/c.

706. Letter to the Chief Minister of Orissa; address: 8 Hailey Road, New Delhi.

262. To B. Patnaik: Orissa Land Reforms⁷⁰⁷

May 13, 1963

My dear Biju,

I have your letter of the 11th May about the Orissa Land Reforms legislation. I am sorry this matter could not be taken up during the last session of Parliament. Constitutional amendments are always troublesome.

I am sending your letter and the attached papers to Gulzarilal Nanda⁷⁰⁸ so that he may be reminded of this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

263. To Patitpaban Pradhan: Food and Growth⁷⁰⁹

June 21, 1963

Dear Patitpaban Pradhan,

I received your letter of the 4th June some little time ago. I have read it with interest and I am glad that you wrote to me.

The rise in prices, especially foodgrains, is a matter of high importance. Your Chief Minister, Shri B. Patnaik, is I know, much exercised about it and has written to me and to others in the Central Government repeatedly on the subject. We have discussed it and taken such steps as we could. If people in Orissa could change over partly to wheat diet it would bring about a sudden change in the situation for the better. A little change in diet is certainly desirable from the point of view of nutrition. Wheat and rice could both be taken instead of rice alone. It is well known that wheat has greater nutritive value. Also, rice is in short supply all over the world, while there is, on the whole, far greater quantity of wheat available. It is, therefore, desirable, chiefly from the point of view of physical health to eat a little more wheat.

The question is about producing more and raising the standard of the masses. Population is growing fast and hence the necessity for increase in production is more important, both in agriculture and in industry. Your Chief

707. Letter to the Chief Minister of Orissa. PMO, File No. 31(108)/60-63-PMS, Sr. No. 51-A.

708. Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

709. Letter ; address: Village Jarachhat, PO Kampsala District, Dhenkanal, Orissa. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

Pradhan later became Rajya Sabha MP, 1977-82 (Janata Party).

Minister is very well seized of this problem and is, I believe, strengthening the base of the rural economy. Ultimately, the increase in production will come by the adoption of more modern methods and somewhat industrial outlook spreading to the masses, even the agriculturists. Your Chief Minister is, I believe, doing his best to this end. Orissa is a State full of potentialities and I believe that in the course of the next ten years or so the State will advance considerably in this respect.

Socialism certainly means that we should not aim at a few persons getting rich but the general economy progressing and bringing relief to the masses. It is obviously desirable for the leaders to lead a simple life and thus to set an example for others. But the real growth of socialism comes from the more productive economy and not really by sticking to the old ways.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Punjab

264. To Partap Singh Kairon: Use of Hindi⁷¹⁰

May 3, 1965

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose a letter I have received from Virendra.⁷¹¹ He points out some instances of not receiving Hindi applications in courts and offices etc. and other discriminatory practices. I hope you will kindly look into this matter because this is opposed to our general policy.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

710. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

711. Virendra, Secretary, Punjab Hindi Raksha Samiti, Jullundur, and editor of *Pratap* (Jullundur).

265. To Partap Singh Kairon: Inauguration of Bhakra Dam⁷¹²

May 13, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of April 20th. You suggest my going to the Bhakra Dam some time in October for the dedication ceremony. Also, to inaugurate the Agriculture University at Ludhiana.⁷¹³ It is very difficult for me to fix any engagements in October now. But I am anxious to go to Bhakra for this purpose and I shall try to go there on or about the dates you mention.

As for my going to Chandigarh for the Panchayat Bhavan etc., I am not quite sure what I shall be doing in June. I have a large number of demands upon my time and have been unable to draw up a firm programme for them. But I shall remember your suggestion and if possible abide by it.

I am thinking of going for a day to Chakrata on the 19th May. I am told that the best way to go there is for me to go to Chandigarh and from there by helicopter to Chakrata, returning the same day and by the same route. I do not yet know the exact time I might be passing through Chandigarh. I shall let you know. But I do not wish you to take any trouble over the matter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

266. To Dwarka Dutt Sharma: Complaints against Punjab Leaders⁷¹⁴

May 17, 1963

Dear Sharmaji,

I have seen your letter addressed to my Private Secretary and have read it. You complain about the Chief Minister Sardar Partap Singh Kairon as well as the President of the Punjab PCC, Shri Bhagwat Dayal. About the Chief Minister I have from time to time received some complaints, and we have enquired into them without any positive result. You make general allegations. It is not possible to enquire into such general allegations.

712. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

713. Nehru inaugurated Punjab Agricultural University at Ludhiana on 8 July 1963, see item .

714. Letter ; address: House No. 195 ND, Mohalla Fatehpura, Jullundur City.

I have known Sardar Partap Singh Kairon for a long time. I know that he, like most of us, has some failings. But the work he has done as Chief Minister has elicited my admiration. He has faced difficult problems with courage.

As for Shri Bhagwat Dayal, I have not known him previously. But I have met him several times since his election as President of the PCC. He has impressed me favourably with his intelligence and energy.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

267. To Partap Singh Kairon: Objections to Publications⁷¹⁵

May 21, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

A deputation of the Sanatan Dharam Pritinidhi Sabha of the Punjab in New Delhi came to see me today to protest chiefly against the publication by the Government of the Punjab of a book called *Punjab*. This was in Gurmukhi. I had not gone through the passages objected to.

I remember, however, that your Government had taken some action in regard to the book and had probably withdrawn it and excluded the passages objected to.

The deputation also objected to a picture in the *Illustrated Weekly* which was reproduced from a painting in the Salar Jung Museum at Hyderabad.

I hope you have taken necessary action about the book. I enclose the representation which this delegation gave me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

268. To Partap Singh Kairon: Programme in July⁷¹⁶

June 1, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

Darbara Singh has written to me again about the inauguration of the Panchayat Bhavan at Chandigarh. He suggests the 6th or 7th July, for this purpose. I am not

715. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

716. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab. PMS, File No. 8/253/63-PMP, (Public Section).

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

quite sure about my programme early in July. But it is possible that I might be able to go to Chandigarh for this purpose as well as for one or two other purposes that you mentioned to me. Please let me know if you would approve of this.

I am going to Dehra Dun early tomorrow morning for three days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

269. To Shanno Devi: Friction with Speaker⁷¹⁷

June 10, 1963

My dear Shanno Devi,

I have your letter of the 6th June. I shall be glad to meet you, but I am afraid this cannot be done in the near future. I am going to Madras the day after tomorrow and after my return from there I shall be going to Kashmir for some rest.

It is rather difficult for me to enter into controversies about the activities of a Speaker of an Assembly. Certainly it is undesirable to use any abusive epithets by the Speaker or by anyone else.

I think that on the whole it was not advisable for you to stand for election to the Public Accounts Committee.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

270. To Partap Singh Kairon: Punjab Programme⁷¹⁸

June 25, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

Your secretary has sent a provisional programme for my visit to Chandigarh and Ludhiana. This has come to me via Delhi.

I would like to suggest some change in this. I do not think it is at all necessary to bring to the aerodrome at Chandigarh on 7th July a large crowd to welcome me. I can meet all these persons at your various functions. I think we should get out of the habit of these formal welcomes.

717. Letter to the Deputy Speaker of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha.

718. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMS, File No. 8/253/63-PMP, (Public Section).

Nor is it necessary for a Guard of Honour which you suggest might be held at the airport by the Raksha Dal Volunteers. I especially do not like the idea of a band. If you want the Raksha Dal Volunteers to meet me they can do so on my arrival at Raj Bhavan. But, anyhow, the band should be kept out.

The second matter is that the dinner which you suggest might be held at Pinjore. Now Pinjore is a pleasant place but a journey of 14 miles there and back at night would be tiring. It would be better for me to have dinner at Chandigarh.

As to my return from Halwara, the Air Headquarter people tell me that we should take off at 6 p.m. and certainly not later than 6.15 p.m. Please arrange.⁷¹⁹

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

271. To Mubarak Singh: Felicitation Volume for Kairon⁷²⁰

June 25, 1963

Dear Shri Mubarak Singh,

I have received your letter about bringing out an Abhinandan Granth on Sardar Partap Singh Kairon on his sixty-first birthday. I appreciate your desire to bring out this tribute to him, although I do not particularly like the idea about the Abhinandan Granths. I enclose a brief message.

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

272. For Partap Singh Kairon⁷²¹

Sardar Partap Singh Kairon is a remarkable person to whom tribute is due. As Chief Minister he has had to face quite unusual problems and difficulties, but he has faced them with courage and determination. His chief qualities, if I may emphasise them, are his fearlessness and his close contacts with the people of

719. Nehru went to Chandigarh and Ludhiana on 7 and 8 July 1963, see items 60-66.

720. Letter to editor, *Kairon* (Ludhiana: Kairon Abhinandan Granth Committee, 1963) ; address 225 Hira Singh Road, Civil Lines, Ludhiana. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 3, Sr. No. 74-A.

721. Message, 25 June 1963, for the Kairon Felicitation Volume. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. F 9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 3, Sr. No. 74-B.

the Punjab. He appears to have grown out of the masses of the Punjab and he is in tune with them; hence his popularity with them.

Under his guiding care the Punjab has made great progress. This is certainly due to the qualities of the Punjabi people who are hardworking and who have progressively fitted themselves into the industrial and mechanical age. But he has guided them and encouraged them and has thus helped in their progress. In some ways the Punjab is a symbol of progress for other States in India. Because of its dynamism, it has sometimes fallen into wrong courses but Sardar Partap Singh has helped to put it on the right path.

I send all my good wishes to him on his entering the Sixties and wish him many years of service to the people of the Punjab and India.

273. To Maharaj Prasad: Minister Accused of Attacking Official⁷²²

July 9, 1963

Dear Shri Maharaj Prasad,

I have your letter of July 5. I have recently been to Chandigarh and I enquired into this incident which you call "The Jhajjar Incident". From my enquiries it appears that the report of the newspaper to which you refer is wholly incorrect. The newspaper correspondent was not there and must have learnt of what happened from others and possibly the SDO himself.

My information is that the Minister in the course of his tour in the neighbourhood heard of the delay in giving an electric connection. Thereafter he went to the house of the SDO to expedite this matter. The SDO probably not realising who the Minister was, was exceedingly offensive and caught hold of the hand of the Minister. The Minister did not beat him in any way but his orderly, who was with him, thinking that the SDO was attacking the Minister, gave the SDO a slap on the face. The Minister did not indulge in any beating at all.

I understand that the Chief Minister is himself sending for the SDO.

Your comments in your letter are apparently based on ignorance of the facts.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

722. Letter ; address: Krishna Nagar, Civil Lines, Rohtak.

274. To Partap Singh Kairon: Punjab Opposition Meets President⁷²³

July 15, 1963

My dear Partap Singh,

As you might have learnt, a deputation representing some of the Opposition Parties in the Punjab saw the President two days ago. The President's Secretary has sent me a report of the conversation which took place on that occasion. Also a copy of the memorandum presented by them to the President, I enclose these.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

275. To Prabodh Chandra: Improve Standards of Public Life⁷²⁴

July 19, 1963

Dear Prabodh Chandra,
Your letter of July 18.

I am greatly perturbed, as are many of my colleagues, at the deterioration of our standards in public life. We are giving a good deal of thought to this matter. It is not easy to deal with it merely by a law. It means ultimately the improvement of standards of our people. But we should do everything to meet this menace.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

723. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab. NMML, V.K. Krishna Menon Papers (Official), File No. 7.

724. Letter to the Speaker of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha.

276. In New Delhi: On Ranjit Singh's 124 Death Anniversary⁷²⁵

सदर साहब,⁷²⁶ भाइयो और बहिनो,
आप सब और मैं, हम सब आज यहाँ जमा हुए हैं अपनी श्रद्धा पेश करने को, महाराजा रणजीत सिंह के लिए। मुनासिब है कि हम यह करें, एक तो यों भी वो हमारी तारीख में एक बहुत बड़े आदमी हैं लेकिन अलावा इसके जो खास बातें उनमें थीं वो ऐसी थीं बहुत बातें जो आजकल के ज़माने तक में हमारे लिए ज़रूरी हैं सीखनी। उनका वक्ता एक अजीब वक्ता हिन्दुस्तान का था जबकि पुराने, एक पुराना साम्राज्य मुग़लों का टूट गया था और हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत लोग फ़ायदा उठाने की कोशिश कर रहे थे, ऊपर से हिन्दुस्तान पर हमले हुए थे और हिस्सों में हिन्दुस्तान के यूरोप के आये हुए लोग फैल रहे थे और कोशिश कर रहे थे कब्ज़ा करने की, ऐसे मौक़े पर वो पैदा हुए। मुश्किल मौक़ा था, पेचीदा था और ज़ाहिर है कि ऐसे मौक़े पर एक हिम्मत वाले आदमी की ज़रूरत होती है, काबिल आदमी की और एक शख्स जो सामना कर सके हज़ार दिक्कतों का।

तो वो थे ही वो। और इसलिए भी हम उनकी क़दर करें, लेकिन जो अजीब बात थी कि ऐसे मौक़े पर जिस ढंग से उन्होंने अपने मुल्क को चलाया यानी जिस तरह से उन्होंने एक बराबरी का बर्ताव हरेक से किया, हरेक मज़हब से, हालांकि वे एक सिख मज़हब के थे और ज़ोरों से थे, फिर भी उन्होंने जिस इंसान के साथ औरों को देखा, औरों के साथ बर्ताव किया, जिसको आजकल के ज़माने में हम किसी क़दर कहते हैं एक 'सेक्यूलर' दिमाग़ के साथ उन्होंने अपना इतिज़ाम किया। यों भी एक ग़ौरतलब बात थी, तारीफ़ के काबिल, लेकिन उस खास ज़माने में यह बहुत ग़ैर-मामूली बात थी और इसलिए जो आपके अभी एक सदर साहब ने कहा वह यह कि वो अपने एक ज़माने में एक सौ बरस पहले आये थे। यह तो मैं कह नहीं सकता, सौ बरस पहले थे, कितने बरस पहले थे, लेकिन बहुत बातें उनमें थीं जो कि आमतौर से उस ज़माने में नहीं पायी जाती थीं, लेकिन उनमें थीं। और मुनासिब है इसलिए खासतौर से कि हम उनकी क़दर करें, उनकी याद करें, श्रद्धा पेश करें और फ़ायदा उठाएँ उन गुणों से जो उनके थे क्योंकि आजकल खासतौर से हमारे लिए एक ज़रूरी है कि इन बातों को हम याद रखें और उन पर अमल करें।

महाराजा रणजीत सिंह ने पंजाब को एक मज़बूत और गठी हुई जगह बनाया। हमारा सवाल आजकल एक माने में किसी क़दर आसान है बामुकाबले उनके ज़माने के, और किसी क़दर ज़्यादा मुश्किल है। आसान इसी माने में मैं कहता हूँ कि सौ-सवा सौ बरस

725. Speech, 30 July 1963, at Sapru House. NMML AIR Tapes TS No. 11400, NM No. 2095.

Nehru was speaking at a function organised by the All India Sikh Federation on the 124th death anniversary of Ranjit Singh (13 November 1780-27 June 1839). See *The Hindu*, 1 August 1963, p. 1.

726. Labh Singh Narang, President of the All India Sikh Federation.

गुज़र गये उसको, बहुत बातें हुई हैं, जिसने तरह-तरह के ख्यालात फ़ैलाये हैं, मुल्क को गठाय़ा है, मुल्क को एक किया है। और मुश्किल यह कि बहुत बड़ा सवाल है, हिन्दुस्तान भर का है, ख़ाली पंजाब का नहीं और नयी-नयी दिक्कतें पेश आती हैं लेकिन बुनियादी तौर से जिस तरह से उन्होंने पंजाब को एक किया था, मज़बूत किया था, बहुत कुछ वो बातें हमारे सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए आजकल मौजूद हैं।

सवाल बहुत हैं हमारे यहाँ और सवाल रहेंगे, क्योंकि बढ़ते हुए मुल्क के सामने सवाल होते हैं, लेकिन घूमघाम के अक्ल सवाल यह होता है कि मुल्क में एकता हो, यूनिटी हो। और एक हमारा मुल्क ज़ाहिर है, एक मुल्क है जिसमें तरह-तरह के मज़हब हैं और पुराने मज़हब हैं और वे मज़हब इस तरह से नहीं गिने जाते हैं कि उसके नम्बर के हिसाब से, गिनती से, कितनी गिनती है इसलिए इसकी [इसको] ज़्यादा इख़्तियार हों, अधिकार हों, क्योंकि मुल्क में इख़्तियार मज़हब का एक ही है और वह यह है कि उसको आज़ादी, वह आज़ादी से रहे, आज़ादी से जो मज़हबी उसकी बातें करनी हों कर सके। और इख़्तियार इंसानी होते हैं, वो इंसानी इख़्तियार बराबर के होने चाहियें हरेक के पास, और हिन्दुस्तान एक ऐसा मुल्क वाक़िया हुआ है अलावा इसके उसूलों तौर से यह सही बात है कि सब मज़हबों को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले रहने का, अपने अमल करने का, और कोई चारा नहीं है। उसूल छोड़ भी दीजिए आप, किसी और रास्ते पर कोई हुक्म तो वह हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की को छोड़ के हिन्दुस्तान में झगड़े पैदा करे, झगड़े हों, रंजिश हो, कशमकश हो और वह सवाल हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को आगे बढ़ने में रुक जायें। यह तो एक मैंने कहा उसूलन आजकल की दुनिया में ख़ासतौर से सेक्यूलर [secular] मुल्क रहें और सब मज़हबों को आज़ादी हो और हम इज़्ज़त करें। सेक्यूलर से यह समझा जाता है कि, एक माने में सेक्यूलर के माने बाज़ लोग समझते हैं कि मज़हब के ख़िलाफ़, यह तो बिल्कुल ग़लत बात है, असल बात तो यह है कि हमारे आइन में, कांस्टीट्यूशन में जहाँ तक मुझे याद है सेक्यूलर का शब्द कहीं नहीं आया, हम चर्चा बहुत करते हैं, उसमें नहीं है। लेकिन उसको आप पढ़िए ग़ौर से तो माने यही हैं, निकलते हैं सेक्यूलर के, लेकिन बहरसूरत सेक्यूलर के माने मज़हब के ख़िलाफ़ यह हैं नहीं और न हो सकता है। हिन्दुस्तान के लोग समझा जाता है दुनिया में और जगह से ज़रा ज़्यादा मज़हबी होते हैं, उसके तो माने ये हैं कि एक मज़हब औरों पर कोई दबाव नहीं डाले, हुक्म न करे, दबाये नहीं इनको, और सभी के मज़हबों की इज़्ज़त की जाये, मौक़ा मिले उन्हें पूरा अमल करने का, अपने रास्ते पर चलने का, और बाक़ी जो हुक्क हैं वो इंसानी हुक्क हैं, वो मुल्क के रहने वाले के हुक्क हैं, वो बराबर से सभी के हों। यह बात जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ महाराजा रणजीत सिंह ने मानी और इस पर अमल करते थे। तो यह ख़ास बात है जो कि उस ज़माने में एक नयी सी बात थी, इस ज़माने में नयी नहीं कहलायी जा सकती, क्योंकि इसका चर्चा दुनिया में होता है बहुत कुछ और एक आमतौर से मानी जाती है। तो हमारे लिए, हिन्दुस्तान के लिए इस वक़््त उनकी मिसाल महज़ इसलिए याद करने की नहीं है कि एक बड़े, हमारे मुल्क के बड़े महापुरुष थे बल्कि जिस ढंग से उन्होंने अपना काम किया, अपना राज चलाया वो ढंग भी अच्छा था और उस ज़माने के लिए ख़ास अच्छा था।

आजकल आप जानते हैं हमारे मुल्क के सामने अजीब-अजीब सवाल हैं, अजीब-अजीब ख़तरे हैं और खासकर पिछले आठ-नौ महीनों से, हमारी सरहद पर हमला हुआ और आजकल हमें हर वक़्त ख़याल रखना पड़ता है उसका और उसके लिए तैयार होना होता है [कि] कैसे उसका मुक़ाबला करें या सामना करें? यों तो हमारे सवाल काफ़ी बड़े थे और बड़े हैं, जो असली सवाल मुल्क के होते हैं, मुल्क की तरक्की के, मुल्क को उठाने के, मुल्क को एक पुराने ढर्रे से निकाल के नयी दुनिया में पहुँचाने के। काफ़ी बड़े सवाल हैं, ऐसा मुल्क जहाँ के चालीस-पैंतालीस करोड़ लोग या कितने हैं रहते हैं, और बढ़ते जाते हैं, उसमें हम फ़ंसे हैं जब से हम आज़ाद हुए, उसके ऊपर यह, यह एक नया ख़तरा, नयी मुसीबत हमारे ऊपर आयी जो हम पर हमले हुए चीन की तरफ़ से, हमारी सरहदों पर और जिसने यकायक हमको एक माने में जगा सा दिया। मेरा मतलब नहीं कि हम सोये हुए थे उसके पहले, लेकिन यह सही बात है कि हम नहीं समझते थे कि आजकल की दुनिया की हालत में इस तरह से एक बेशर्मा हमला हो, हो सकता है या हो, किया और उसके साथ इस क्रूर चर्चा, चीन के आप अगर अख़बार पढ़ें, उनकी आवाज़ें सुनें रेडियो वग़ैरा पर, यही कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान ने हम पर हमला किया। अजीब तमाशा और उन्होंने तो महज़ अपनी हिफ़ाज़त करने में जो कुछ किया किया, हमारे मुल्क पर चढ़ते आये हिफ़ाज़त करने के लिए। यह तो अजीब तमाशा है आजकल की दुनिया में, इस तरह ग़लत बातों को सही कहते हैं, वो ख़तरा हमारे ऊपर है, शायद मुमकिन है कि उनका यह करना आख़िर में हमारे लिए मुफ़ीद हो, यानी हम ग़फलत में पड़ जाते हैं हम छोटी-छोटी बातों में आपस में झगड़ते हैं और तबियत ऐजीटेशन, आंदोलन की तरफ़ जाती है जबकि यह बड़ा ख़तरा हमारे सामने है।

याद होगा आपको कि जब असली हमला हुआ पिछले अक्टूबर-नवम्बर में तो यकायक हिन्दुस्तान भर में एक अजीब हवा फ़ैली और ख़ाली यहाँ नहीं, सरहद के पास नहीं, यहाँ नहीं बल्कि दक्षिण में, दूर तक जाइये आप, कन्याकुमारी तक, वहाँ तक फ़ैली और जो वहाँ आपस के सवाल उठे हुए थे, कुछ आपस में झगड़े के भी सब ख़ामोश हो गये, बन्द हो गये, जिससे चीनी लोगों को बहुत नाउम्मीदी हुई, वो हमारे अख़बार पढ़ के और जगह देख के समझते थे [कि] यह तो लोग लड़ा करते थे, इनमें कोई दम नहीं है, कोई ताक़त नहीं है मिलके काम करने की और आसानी से वे हमें डरा देंगे। तो उनको काफ़ी हैरत हुई कि उसका असर दूसरा हुआ, जैसे कि होना चाहिए था और उससे ज़ाहिर हुआ कि कितना ही हम ऊपर से आपस में झगड़ा-फ़िसाद करें लेकिन असली हमारी तबियत, हमारा दिल किस तरफ़ है? मुल्क की मोहब्बत की तरफ़ और आपस में मिलजुल कर मुल्क की हिफ़ाज़त की तरफ़। तो यह अच्छा उसका असर हुआ।

लेकिन महीनों गुज़र गये और हालांकि वह ख़तरा मौजूद है हमारी ज़मीन पर भी, लद्दाख़ में क़ाबिज़ हैं वह बहुत दर्जे और हर वक़्त हमारी सरहद के उस पार बड़ी फ़ौजें उनकी मौजूद हैं। यह भी ख़बरें आती हैं कि फ़ौजों को उन्होंने बढ़ाया है, अपने सामान को जमा किया है क्योंकि तिब्बत में, तिब्बत अजीब मुल्क है जहाँ कि कुछ बहुत सामान नहीं मिलता है, खाने का सामान भी कम मिलता है, बहुत पहाड़ी, ऊँचा मुल्क है। तो जो कुछ सामान चाहिए उसको कई हज़ार मील से लाना पड़ता है उसको ताकि वक़्त पर काम

आये। तो जहाँ हम, हमें मालूम हुआ है कुछ जमा भी उन्होंने किया है, फ़ौजें भी जमा की, किसलिए किया है? क्या उनके इरादे क्या हों, यह तो हम कह नहीं सकते लेकिन ज़ाहिर है अच्छा इरादा नहीं है जब ऐसी बातें करते हैं हमारी सरहद पर। तो हमें उसके लिए तैयार होना है। यह सब तो हुआ लेकिन कुछ महीने गुज़र जाने से, पहले हमले के बाद, पहली लड़ाई के बाद हम फिर हल्के-हल्के पुरानी आदत में पड़ने लगे ग़फ़लत की, और आपस में छोटे-मोटे झगड़े करके गुलशोर मचाने की और जो उस वक़्त बहुत जोश में मंज़ूर की थी बातें उनसे भी इंकार।

तो ऐसे मौक़े पर ख़ास ज़रूरी होता है कि हम आजकल की दुनिया को समझें, आजकल के ख़तरों को और जो बुनियादी बातें हैं उनको सामने रखें। यह कोई नहीं कह सकता कि हरेक, हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों आदमी एक राय के हों। हमारे यहाँ डेमोक्रेसी है, प्रजातंत्र है, अलग-अलग राय पेश होती हैं, बहस होती है उन पर, आख़िर में फ़ैसला होता है, चुनाव होते हैं लेकिन जब कोई मुल्क पर ख़तरा होता है तो डेमोक्रेसी ही हमें बताती है कि हम उसका मिलकर सामना करें, नहीं तो डेमोक्रेसी बदनाम हो जाये, बेमाने हो जाये। तो जो महाराजा रणजीत सिंह के ज़माने में पंजाब था, जैसे उन्होंने मज़बूत किया था वो एक मिसाल हमारे सामने है सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए, आजकल के हिन्दुस्तान के लिए। तो उनसे हमें सीखना है।

तो आज जो हम उनको श्रद्धांजलि पेश करते हैं वो उसके साथ-साथ हम एक अपने दिल में यह तसफ़िया करें, यह निश्चय करें कि हम कुछ उनकी हिम्मत हम में हो, कुछ उनकी समझ हो, कुछ जो बातें उन्होंने पंजाब में की थी उनको भी हम समझें और उन पर अमल करें सारे हिन्दुस्तान में। तो मुझे खुशी है और मैं आपका मशकूर हूँ कि आपने मुझे आज यहाँ बुलाकर, इस मौक़े पर, मौक़ा दिया। इस तरह से मैं अपनी श्रद्धांजलि महाराजा रणजीत सिंह जी के लिए पेश करूँ।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sadr Saheb,⁷²⁷ Brothers and Sisters,

We are all gathered together today to pay our tributes to the memory of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It is fitting that we should do so because for one thing, he is a great historic figure. Moreover, he had some special qualities which it is important for us to imbibe. He lived in extraordinary times when the Mughal Empire had broken up and people were trying to take advantage of the situation. On top of it, there were attacks from outside and Europeans had begun to occupy portions of Indian territory. Ranjit Singh was born in these difficult and complicated

727. See fn 584 in this section.

times in history. It is obvious that the times demanded a brave and able man, an individual capable of facing innumerable difficulties unflinchingly.

He was a brave hero and so we must hold him in respect. But what is extraordinary is the manner in which he administered his empire on the principle of religious equality though he himself was a Sikh, and justice for all. To a large extent, his state was administered as a secular state. This is praiseworthy in any case and particularly so because it was extraordinary in those times. Just now the Sadr Saheb mentioned that Ranjit Singh was born a hundred years before his time. I do not know how far in advance of his times he was. But he had many special qualities which were unusual in those times. Therefore it is especially fitting that we should respect him and pay tribute to his memory and take advantage of these qualities. It is particularly important for us to practise the things that he stood for.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh made Punjab into an organised and strong state. The problem of stability is easier to handle today compared to those times, and in another sense, more complicated too. I say it is easier because more than a century has passed since then and many things have happened in the interval which have united the nation and forged a new bond among the people. At the same time, the issue is more complex because now it concerns the whole of India, not the Punjab alone. All kinds of new difficulties are coming up. Fundamentally, however, the manner in which he united and strengthened the Punjab is relevant to us today.

We face many problems which will no doubt continue in the future too. But we always come round to the importance of national unity. It is obvious that there are various religions in India. They have all existed in the country for a long time. It does not matter how many followers each of them has. Everyone in India has the freedom to follow any religion they like as also enjoy the rights of a human being, of freedom and equal opportunities. India has been moulded by her history in a way that even apart from the fact that secularism is right as a principle, there is no alternative open to us. If a government tries to follow any other policy, it will lead to dissensions, bitterness and tensions which will come in the way of the country's progress. As a matter of principle, particularly in this age, states have to be secular, with freedom to follow any religion. It is sometimes mistakenly believed that secularism is anti-religion. That is absolutely wrong. As far as I know, the word secular is not mentioned in the Constitution though we talk about it a lot. If you read carefully, you will find that secular does not mean anti-religion. It is commonly believed that people in India are more religious than anywhere else in the world. But that does not mean that one religion must lord it over the others and suppress them. All religions must be accorded respect and given the opportunity to be

practised without interference. The other rights are human rights which must be available to everyone equally. As far as I know, Maharaja Ranjit Singh had accepted and practised this. This was again something new in those days. Now of course it has been so widely discussed that it has become a generally accepted belief. Therefore the memory of Ranjit Singh is sacred, not only because he was a great Indian, but also for the manner in which he ruled over his empire and looked after the welfare of his people.

As you know we are facing grave dangers. Strange problems are cropping up particularly since the Chinese aggression on our borders nine months ago. We have to be constantly alert and prepared to face any danger that may threaten. But the actual problem before us is of progress and betterment of the people, the problem that normally all nations face. We are trying to get out of the old ruts and usher in the modern age in India. The problems assume gigantic proportions because of our huge population. We have been bogged down by these problems ever since we became free. Now a new danger has arisen in the form of a threat to our borders which has jolted us out of our apathy and brought a new awakening in the country. I do not mean to say that we were not vigilant before. But it is true that we did not think for a moment that in this day and age, a blatant attack of this kind was likely to be launched. If you read the Chinese newspapers or listen to their broadcasts, you will find that they are accusing India of being the aggressor and saying that they fought only in self-defence. It is strange that they should have to enter into our territory in self-defence. Anyhow, they are doing all this false propaganda. This is a grave danger but ultimately it may prove to be a blessing in disguise for us. We tend to quarrel over petty issues and indulge in agitations when there are grave dangers ahead.

You may remember that when the attack took place last October, suddenly a new atmosphere prevailed in the country, not only near the borders but as far away as the South, right up to Kanyakumari. All internal differences faded into the background. This was very disheartening to the Chinese because they had hoped to frighten us easily into submission as they had read reports of internal disunity. They were amazed when their attack had just the opposite effect upon us. It showed clearly that in spite of all our superficial differences, there was a strong bond of unity and love of India among the people.

So this was a good thing. But months have gone by and the danger is ever present. The Chinese are in occupation of our territory in Ladakh and reports show that their troops are present in large numbers beyond our borders. They have sent in massive reinforcements and armaments. They have to supply everything because nothing is available in Tibet. Being at a very high altitude in mountainous terrain, even food is not grown in abundance. So the Chinese have to transport everything across thousands of miles. Our reports show that

they have made complete preparations. We cannot say what their intentions are. But it is obvious that they are not good. So we must be fully prepared. After the initial reaction, we have begun to slide back into our old ways of complacency and internal squabbling.

At a moment like this we must be specially prepared for the dangers that may arise. Nobody is suggesting that the millions of Indians must think alike. There is democracy in India and different opinions are presented. Ultimately the elections decide the issue. But when danger threatens the nation, it is in the nature of democracy that we should present a united front to the enemy. Otherwise democracy will become meaningless. The manner in which Maharaja Ranjit Singh wielded the Punjab into a strong state is an example which we must emulate in modern India.

We pay tributes to his memory today. We must also make a firm determination to imbibe some of that courage and wisdom which he displayed and put into practice what he did for the Punjab. I am grateful to you for inviting me here today and giving me the opportunity of paying my tribute to the memory of Maharaja Ranjit Singhji.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

Pondicherry

277. Choosing Zonal Council Members⁷²⁸

[Note, 18 May 1963, by R.K. Nehru, SG, MEA, begins]

I agree with Shri Mehta. These three Union Territories, viz. Pondicherry, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Goa, Daman and Diu, will now be represented on the Zonal Councils. Not more than two members have to be nominated for each territory. We have to recommend to the President the nomination of these members.

2. The Southern Zonal Council is due to meet on May 27th. Nominations for Pondicherry have to be made in the next few days. I agree that for the next meeting, only one nomination may be made. We may recommend to the President the nomination of the Chief Commissioner as the representative of Pondicherry. Later, in July, when constitutional changes take place in

728. Noting, 18 May 1963. MHA, (MEA, F. No. 51-32/Pond/62), p. 11.

Pondicherry, the new Government will be asked to recommend the nomination of two representatives.

3. As regards Dadra and Nagar Haveli, I agree that it is not necessary for this small territory to have two members on the Western Zonal Council. We may recommend the nomination of the Administrator as the representative of Dadra and Nagar Haveli on the Council. For Goa, Daman and Diu, no nominations may be made for the present. Constitutional changes will take place in Goa about the end of the year. If a meeting of the Western Zonal Council is called before that date, we may recommend the nomination of the Lieutenant Governor as Goa's representative on the Council. If there is no Council meeting before that date, the new Government which will be formed about the end of the year will be asked to recommend the nomination of its representatives for the next meeting of the Council.

R.K. Nehru
18.5.1963

PM

[Note, 18 May 1963, by R.K. Nehru, SG, MEA, ends]

[Note, 18 May 1963, by Nehru for R.K. Nehru, begins]

I agree that for the present the Chief Commissioner of Pondicherry should be nominated for the Zonal Council. I think, however, that later on when the new Administration comes into being as a result of the new Act,⁷²⁹ representatives to the Zonal Council should be chosen from the elected Councillors.

J.Nehru
18.5.1963

SG

[Note, 18 May 1963, by Nehru for R.K. Nehru, ends]

729. Extract from A.N. Mehta's note of 18 May 1963: "SG is aware that with the enactment by Parliament of Government of Union Territories Act 1963, representative Governments will come into existence in Pondicherry by about 1st July and in Goa by about the end of this year." MHA, (MEA, F. No. 51-32/Pond/62), pp.10-11.

278. To K. Kamaraj: Visit to Pondicherry⁷³⁰

May 18, 1963

My dear Kamaraj,

Thank you for your letter of May 16 and the detailed programme. I am agreeable to the programme you have drawn up.

I think it would be better, as you suggest, to have breakfast in the saloon at Neyveli before detraining. That will give us more time at Neyveli and I can leave earlier for Pondicherry.

I hope you will send the programme about my arrival and departure from Pondicherry to the Pondicherry people.

I agree to the unveiling ceremony of the statue of Shri Satyamurti⁷³¹ on the morning of the 14th.

I have received a letter from the Prince of Arcot, Ghulam Mohiuddin. He has been pressing me to pay him a visit in Madras. He saw me in Delhi some time ago also and was very anxious that I should visit him. I do not think I can either dine or lunch there but, if you are agreeable, I could go to him for a few minutes, say fifteen minutes, some time. Perhaps this could be fixed just before I go to the Mansfield Rubber Institute in the afternoon of the 12th June. I could have tea with him there then and proceed later to the Rubber Institute, arriving there as stated in your programme.

I enclose a copy of the letter from the Prince of Arcot.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

279. For E. Goubert: Good Wishes to Council of Ministers⁷³²

I send you and your colleagues my congratulations on the assumption of office by the Council of Ministers which after the completion of the integration of the former French territories with India marks the beginning of a new phase with the transfer of responsibility for the administration of the territories to the popular representatives in conformity with the rest of India. Since the de facto transfer, Pondicherry has made all-round progress but it is my hope that

730. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madras.

731. S. Satyamurti.

732. Message, 1 July 1963. Reproduced from the report in *The Hindu*, 2 July 1963, p.7.

fuller participation of the people in the administration of the territories towards progress and development will be accelerated.⁷³³

Rajasthan

280. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Water Supply in Northern Rajasthan⁷³⁴

May 13, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,
Maharaja Karni Singh of Bikaner has been writing to me repeatedly about the urgent need for the supply of drinking water to certain parts of northern Rajasthan. Ultimately, I understand that a meeting was held in Delhi on the 5th April. I enclose a record of the decisions taken at this meeting. Among these is that a high level meeting of the Planning Commission should take place to consider the water supply scheme to cover the entire area.

I hope that some such step will be taken by the Planning Commission. I do feel that water supply should be given a high priority.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

281. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Rajasthan Canal Navigation⁷³⁵

July 3, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,
I enclose a letter from the Chief Minister of Rajasthan. In this, he has proposed that the Rajasthan Canal should be made navigable and has given some good reasons for this. There can be little doubt that this is a proposal which deserves full consideration. Perhaps, the Planning Commission in cooperation with the Ministry of Transport would look into it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

733. Goubert became the first Chief Minister of Pondicherry.

734. Letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

735. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. PMO, File No. 17(399)/60-68-PMS, Sr. No. 10-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

**282. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Facilities for
Prithvi Singh Azad⁷³⁶**

July 9, 1963

My dear Sukhadia,

Probably you know Prithvi Singh Azad. After a very adventurous career, he went to Gandhiji's ashram. Gandhiji advised him to deliver himself up to the police, which he did. Much later, he joined the Communist Party, but left it after some time. After that, he started some Physical Culture Institute and did good work there. Later, the Punjab Government engaged him to work among students of colleges there. This work he did very well, and the Chief Minister of the Punjab spoke highly of him. He has a knack of speaking to students in a way to rouse their enthusiasm and patriotic fervour.

Sometime after the Emergency started here, our Education Minister, Dr Shrimali, suggested that he might tour other States also, while maintaining his basic position in the Punjab. Since then, he has been spending a fortnight at a time in other States and addressing college students etc. Arrangements have been made by the State educational authorities. He has been to a number of States since then and, I believe, has been welcomed there and done good work. He intends now going to Rajasthan, reaching Jaipur on the 25th July, and will stay in the State for about fifteen days. I hope that adequate arrangements would be made for him to visit various colleges etc. to address students.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Uttar Pradesh

283. To Syed Sajid Husain Ali: Offer of Road⁷³⁷

May 18, 1963

My dear Raja Sahib,

I have your letter of the 10th May. I have no clear recollection now of your offer of two miles of pucca road. I must have communicated this to the UP

736. Letter to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

737. Letter to Raja of Kotwara ; address: Kotwara House, Kaisarbagh, Lucknow. NMML, Box No. 106, H.N. Supplementary Papers.

Government. If you will kindly send me some further particulars about this offer, I shall write to the Chief Minister⁷³⁸ on the subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

284. To C.B. Gupta: Ghaziabad Land Acquisition⁷³⁹

May 20, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

I am writing to you about the acquisition of agricultural land in Ghaziabad.⁷⁴⁰ As you know, this matter was referred by me to Ram Subhag Singh, our Minister for Agriculture.⁷⁴¹ He has taken a lot of trouble over this question and has gone and seen the land many times. He has discussed the matter with the Commissioner and the other officials and also with many of the owners of the land. He met your Minister, Vichitra Narain Sharma,⁷⁴² and had fairly detailed talks with him. At the suggestion of Vichitra Narain he got Ameer Raza who is in our Planning Commission⁷⁴³ to go into this question rather deeply. Ameer Raza, as you know, has worked in the UP in regard to land revenue for many years and is thoroughly acquainted with the problem of land in UP.

Ameer Raza went to Ghaziabad and worked hard, going practically into every piece of land and enquiring about its background. He has now produced a report, which Ram Subhag Singh has sent on to me.

I am sending you a copy of this report as well as many other papers and maps, which Ameer Raza has sent to us. These papers and maps will give some indication of how thoroughly he has considered this question. Ram Subhag Singh is sending another copy of Ameer Raza's report to Vichitra Narain Sharma.

It appears that the Commissioner was largely in agreement with Ameer Raza's appraisal. In regard to some matters the Commissioner said that his attention had not been drawn to them. If he had known them, he would have provided for them.

738. Chandra Bhanu Gupta.

739. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

740. For the most recent letter on this subject, see SWJN/SS/81/item 288.

741. See appendix 5.

742. Revenue Minister, UP.

743. Ameer Raza was Joint Secretary in the Planning Commission.

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As I have said above, Ameer Raza was sent for this enquiry at the suggestion of Vichitra Narain Sharma. Vichitra Narain has not thus far seen Ameer Raza's report, but he will do so soon. In view of the thorough enquiry that Ameer Raza has made and further in view of his competence to do so, I think that we shall have to accept his findings and recommendations. I hope you will be able to do so and issue instructions to proceed accordingly.

This will mean a considerable addition to the compensation you will have to pay, but I am sure this is worth while. In any event, the land we acquire will be valuable land and will fetch you far greater prices than you pay. Thus your Government will be considerably the gainer in this matter. Also, you will achieve something that is very much worth while, i.e. the goodwill of the peasantry there.

Much of this land, I am told, is a two-crop land. Allowance for this was not made in the original estimate and it was treated as if it was a one-crop land.

There is a question of rehabilitating some or many of these people, who are dispossessed, in other land. This can only be in the Terai area, or what is more difficult, in the ravine land nearby. The Terai area will be good for them and as they are expert agriculturists, they will develop it well. I understand that there is some dispute about this Terai land. In any event, it should not be very difficult to find 6,000 acres or so, from this Terai land. If Terai land is given to them, the cost of its development might well come out of the compensation you pay to these peasants.

I hope you will give full consideration to Ameer Raza's report and accept his recommendations.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

285. To C.B. Gupta: Shahjahanpur DCC Strife⁷⁴⁴

June 1, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

I have just received a telegram from Dehra Dun as follows:

“Severe strictures in embezzlement case against Shivkumar President Shahjahanpur District Congress Committee life imprisonment for Vice President Balmukund and Executive Member Bishansarup Death sentence

744. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

for Secretary Sundarsing in different cases Stop Leader Jyoti Prasad Member Legislative Council stands security when Balmukund Bishansarup surrendered months absconding Stop Uttar Pradesh Parliamentary Board adopting their nominee for Zila Parishad Presidentship Stop Request intervention ... Kashinath Member City Congress, Shahjahanpur.”

I confess I do not understand all these startling statements made in this telegram. Perhaps, you know something about these matters. Anyhow, an enquiry is necessary.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

286. To D. Sanjivayya: Dubious Candidate in Meerut⁷⁴⁵

June 19, 1963

My dear Sanjivayya,
You must have heard about the election for the chairmanship of the Zila Parishad, Meerut. I understand that you were approached on the subject by various parties concerned and specially V.S. Dubish.⁷⁴⁶ I do not know whether you took any action or not.

I am greatly worried about the charges against the candidate Shri Khushi Ram Sharma. I am told that you have a file about it in the AICC Office prepared in the time of Dhebarbhai's⁷⁴⁷ presidentship. I am enclosing copy of a letter I have written to C.B. Gupta, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. I had written to him previously on this subject also. I also enclose a copy of letter of Charan Singh.⁷⁴⁸

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

745. Letter to the Congress President, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

746. Freedom fighter and former MLA, UP.

747. U.N. Dhebar, Congress President, 1955-59.

748. Uttar Pradesh Minister.

287. To C.B. Gupta: Compensation for Land Acquisition⁷⁴⁹

June 19, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

I have your letter of June 15. I do not propose to go into the various points you have mentioned in it. Only a few days ago, the Cabinet considered the general question of acquisition of land for industrial and like purposes and laid down certain rules which will be published soon. The Cabinet was very anxious that in such acquisition of land every care should be taken so as to minimise the harm done to the agriculturists and adequate compensation should be given. You will, no doubt, see these rules and go into them. They are meant for the whole of India.

Ameer Raza's⁷⁵⁰ recommendations seemed, on the whole, to be right. It seems to me exceedingly important that a sense of satisfaction should be created in the minds of agriculturists when land is taken away from them.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

288. To C.B. Gupta: A Hostile Letter⁷⁵¹

June 21, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

I enclose a letter which I have received from Kanpur. This letter is obviously not objective but is far more concerned with running you down. Still I suppose, it represents the views of some people. We have to take these into consideration also, try to remedy them and also find out the possible reasons for the allegations made. I am, therefore, sending it to you. You need not trouble to send me an answer to it.

Yours Sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

749. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

750. Joint Secretary in the Planning Commission.

751. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

289. To C.B. Gupta: Finances of the Nehru Gram Bharti⁷⁵²

July 2, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

Your letter of June 28th about the Rural Institute (Nehru Gram Bharti) at Allahabad. I agree with you that the State Government should be satisfied that the monies given to this Institute are properly looked after. It was not right for the Society to be registered without consultation with the State Government. I think that, as you suggest, you should point out to those in charge of the Society that they should satisfy you on these various points.

Originally, Narayan Prasad Asthana, Advocate of Allahabad, used to write to me on this subject. I suggest that you might get in touch with him.⁷⁵³

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

290. To Narayan Prasad Asthana: Finances of the Nehru Gram Bharti⁷⁵⁴

July 2, 1963

My dear Narayan Prasad,

You will remember writing to me about the Nehru Gram Bharti. I tried to push this matter further and various grants were promised. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, however, writes to me that it is necessary, according to their rules, for the State Government to be satisfied about various things, especially about the way finances will be handled. It was suggested that the registration of the Society should be done only after the draft rules had been agreed to by the State Government. This was not done and the Society was registered without consultation with the State Government.

Usually institutions are first established and then they ask for a grant in aid. This rule has been followed in the case of the Rural Institute at Agra. The Allahabad Institute apparently has hardly any resources beyond some land, and they rely completely on State and Central Government grants. This creates a difficulty. Anyhow, it is clear that both the State and Central Government will

752. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

753. See also item 290.

754. Letter to an advocate in Allahabad.

require full assurances about the finances and running of the Institute before they can release grants. I suggest that you might correspond with the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh about this matter.⁷⁵⁵

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**291. To Nityanand Kanungo: Discrimination
against UP⁷⁵⁶**

July 11, 1963

My dear Kanungo,

Thakur Phool Singh, Minister, UP, came to see me this afternoon and gave me a letter with which was attached copy of a letter he has addressed you. I am sending these to you. I believe he has already seen you.

From reading his letter and from what he told me, it seemed to me that UP has not had its due in regard to raw materials etc. I hope you will kindly look into this matter yourself and find out what has happened resulting in this discrimination against UP.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

292. To C.B. Gupta: Poor Politics⁷⁵⁷

July 29, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

On return to Delhi today I received your letter with which you have sent a copy of your letter to Charan Singh. I have also been seeing almost daily accounts in the press of developments in the UP.

I must say that you are not exercising much wisdom in shaping development. It is a very small matter whether you have a majority in the Party or not in existing circumstances. The question is how the Party and the Government can hold together and function effectively for the public good. It seems that you

755. See also item 289.

756. Letter to the Minister of Industry. PMO, File No. 17(397)/60-70-PMS, Sr. No. 22-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

757. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

think that all that is necessary is to have a majority in the Party. Obviously a majority in the Party is necessary, but that is by no means enough. If the Party tends to break up and go to pieces, then no question of a majority arises, and the whole administration will suffer.

You have to take a much larger view and you should remember that the so-called High Command tries to take that larger view and cannot be bypassed. All kinds of developments may occur including even a suspension of the Constitution. We have to keep all these things in view. Unfortunately the UP has now got a very bad name all over the country, and wherever I go people ask me about it. This is not a happy situation, and it cannot be solved by strong arm methods.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

West Bengal

293. To Vijay: Netaji is not alive⁷⁵⁸

May 13, 1963

Dear Shri Vijay,

I have your letter of May 8. I have read it with some surprise. I have already told you that I am convinced that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is not alive and that he died long ago. I have also told you that the Shoulmari Sadhu is certainly not Netaji. This has been stated publicly on many occasions. There is no need to have further enquiries into matters which are obvious.

I did not go to Russia in 1948 or at any time when my sister Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi was our Ambassador there.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

758. Letter ; *India Reformer*, A.T. Road, Gauhati.

294. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Bidhan Memorial in Calcutta⁷⁵⁹

June 5, 1963

[Nan dear,]

On return to Delhi today from Dehra Dun I received your two letters, both dated 1st June.

So far as R.R. Saksena⁷⁶⁰ is concerned, I am afraid we cannot oblige him for a variety of reasons.

I think that it will be a good thing if you go to Calcutta for the Bidhan⁷⁶¹ Memorial function. The President is not here, so I take it on myself to agree to this proposal. The President will be back before that date, and it would be as well if you wrote to him. Anyhow letters are forwarded to him, so that you could even write now. In your letter to him you might say that I am agreeable to your suggestion.

I am going to Calcutta on the 1st July morning, remaining there two days and returning on the 3rd morning. You could come a little earlier to Delhi and pay a visit of condolence to Shammi⁷⁶² in Lucknow and come back by the 30th June. You may go to Calcutta with me and come back with me.

[Love, Jawahar]

295. To N.C. Chatterjee: Conditions in Purulia⁷⁶³

June 20, 1963

Dear Shri Chatterjee,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th June with which you have sent a statement about conditions in Purulia. The statement makes a number of suggestions which are addressed to the West Bengal Government. I am, therefore, sending the statement to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

759. Letter to the Governor of Maharashtra. Extracts available in PMS (Public Section), File No. F 8/250/63 PMP, Sl. No. 64-A.

760. Former envoy to Canada and Burma.

761. B.C. Roy.

762. Freedom fighter and lawyer, Shammie or Shyam Kumari Khan was Nehru's cousin, daughter of Shamlal Nehru. Her husband Abdul Jamil Khan had died. Shyam Kumari Khan became Member of Rajya Sabha in December 1963. See also item 511.

763. Letter to the President, Indian Civil Liberties Council; address: Civil Liberties Committee, P 514 Raja Basanta Roy Road, Calcutta 29. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

I am sorry it is not possible for me to visit Purulia. I would have gladly gone there if I could.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

296. To P.C. Sen: Calcutta Urban Development⁷⁶⁴

July 1, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

Thank you for your letter of June 26 with which you have sent me the First Report of the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation. Your letter and this Report give some idea of the great problems that you are facing in Calcutta. I am glad that you are receiving some help from international organisations. I quite realise however that this is a matter in which the Centre must take intimate interest. I hope that we will be able to help you. I presume you have sent this Report to the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

297. To Swami Nachiketasananda: No further Inquiry⁷⁶⁵

July 1, 1963

Dear Swami ji,

I have your letter of the 1st July. Previously in Delhi I had received your letter of the 24th June. I have had a brief conversation with the Chief Minister, Shri P.C. Sen.

An enquiry was made into the matter, and I have seen the report of this enquiry.⁷⁶⁶ It is true that the State Intelligence Branch was associated with this enquiry. This is normally done in such matters, and I do not think that you should suspect the State Intelligence Branch of influencing others in this connection.

764. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Calcutta. PMO, File No. 7 (24)/60-66-PMS, Sr. No. 29-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

765. Letter to the founder of the ashram Sri Sarada Vihara in Thakurpukar; address: Sri Sarada Vihara, Thakurpukar, Calcutta 8. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Calcutta.

766. See SWJN/SS/80/item 153.

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As a result of this enquiry and my talk with Shri P.C Sen, I do not think there is anything further that I can do in this matter.

I am afraid I am unable to visit your Ashram. I am not going to Bratacharigram⁷⁶⁷ on the Diamond Harbour Road.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

298. To Brahmachari Bholanath: Development of Sunderbans⁷⁶⁸

July 1, 1963

Dear Brahmachari ji,

I have your letter of July 1st. I am sorry that I am unable to go to the Sunderbans on this occasion. But I am discussing this matter with the Chief Minister of West Bengal.⁷⁶⁹ He has written to me in some detail on this subject and pointed out the specific problems of the Sunderbans. This area has been a problem for a long time past, even in the Moghal period. This created a lot of difficulties. Something was done subsequently, and the abolition of the zamindari and the West Bengal Land Reforms Act have largely put an end to exploitation of the entrepreneurs, such as Jotedars, Gantidars and Lotdars. The abolition of zamindari resulted in the intermediaries ceasing to look after the embankments, which fell into disrepair. Since then, this problem has been successfully tackled by the West Bengal Government, and a crore of rupees is being spent annually for maintaining 2,200 miles of embankment in the Sunderbans. Other steps have also been taken.

Last year, an economic survey of the Sunderbans area was made. This indicated that, while something could be done by cottage industries, the prospect of industrialisation is not good. The problem now is irrigation for double cropping. This will mean storing excess rainwater or tapping underground sweet water. All this is being examined in collaboration with Dutch experts. Meanwhile, perhaps, some pilot scheme can be taken up.

Apparently, the only practical schemes are double cropping, and development of fisheries, duckery⁷⁷⁰ and poultry, and dairy farming.

767. Now the Gurusaday Museum of Bengal Folk Art.

768. Letter to General Secretary, Sundarban Proja Mangal Samiti: address: 92 Collin Street, Calcutta 16. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Calcutta.

769. See item 299.

770. Plantation for ducks, or duck farming.

Improvement of communication will to some extent relieve the pressure on land. I understand that nearly seventy lakhs of rupees have been earmarked in the Third Five Year Plan for 42 miles of road in this area.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

299. To P.C. Sen: Development of Sunderbans⁷⁷¹

July 1, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

Thank you for your letter of June 28th about the development of the Sunderbans area. I have received a letter from Brahmachari Bholanath, which I am enclosing with its enclosures.⁷⁷²

I am sure you are doing everything that is possible to help the people there.

There is a reference in Brahmachari's letter to a large number of refugees. Just before I left Delhi, I sent you Rs 50,000/- for relief work. If you like, you can use a part of it for the Sunderbans area. I shall send you some more money, if you wish it, from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. I am afraid I cannot send you lakhs of rupees as this would be beyond the capacity of that Fund. But I can send you some thousands for relief.

I see from your letter that you are developing roads in this area and are thinking of some pilot schemes.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

771. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Calcutta.

772. Nehru's reply to Bholanath's letter, item 298.

300. To N.C. Chatterjee: Purulia Relief Measures⁷⁷³

July 1, 1963

Dear Shri Chatterjee,

I have your letter of June 25th.⁷⁷⁴ I am sorry that I cannot visit Purulia. I am only here for a little less than two days and even by cutting some of my engagements here, it would not be possible.

I have, however, discussed this matter with the Chief Minister⁷⁷⁵ here, and he has told me that the West Bengal Government is taking every feasible step to help Purulia. There can be no doubt that there has been acute scarcity there. According to him, there has been no case of starvation, and he says this after enquiring into every case where an allegation had been made to this effect.

In the affected areas of Purulia, 37.5 per cent of the population has been directly assisted by relief measures which have cost Rs 20,45,200/-. In addition to this, Rs 4.5 lakhs have been sanctioned for issue of loans to distressed agriculturists, of which a sum of Rs 1.5 lakhs is being distributed in the three affected thanas. Progress has also been made in reconditioning of tanks. 28 tanks have been renovated in the affected areas, giving employment to 50,000 units of labour in the process. In the entire district, 1,64,562 man-days of employment were created through these works. A stepping up of these works has been ordered. Apart from this, the PWD, Railways, Forests, Irrigation and other departments of Government are employing a considerable number of unemployed labour in the villages.

In the affected parts of West Bengal, a sum of Rs 56,66,408/- in cash and food grains has been allotted for issue of doles between the 1st of April and the 17th of June 1963. Also, a sum of more than Rs one crore has been allotted for relief to unemployed rural labour on works. Last month, on an average, 6,46,812 units were given relief and 1,95,550 provided employment in relief works. The wages earned by these workers must have alleviated the distress

773. Letter to the President of the Civil Liberties Committee, West Bengal; address: P 514 Raja Basanta Roy Road, Calcutta 29. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Calcutta.

774. Extract: "We had a big conference of the citizens of West Bengal last evening at Calcutta. I had the privilege to preside over the same. Many members of the West Bengal Legislature including Sri Hemanta Kumar Bose, MLA, the well-known Forward Bloc veteran, and a member of the Parliament, Syed Badrudojja [Badrudduja], participated in the discussion. I am sorry that you have expressed your regret that it will not be possible for you to visit Purulia and to see the condition of the famished people there.

I have been requested by Citizens' Convention to repeat the request. We wish you could go to Purulia at least for a day."

775. Prafulla Chandra Sen.

of nearly eight lakhs of people. On the top of this, twenty-five lakhs of people are being given supply of food grains at fair price through a network of shops established over the countryside. The State is thus assisting nearly forty lakhs of people in the villages in coping with developing distress.

You will observe that the West Bengal Government is very much alive to the distress that has been caused and is taking all possible steps to alleviate it.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

301. To P.C. Sen: Problems with Preventive Detention⁷⁷⁶

July 2, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

You gave me a note today about the detenus and about the Preventive Detention Act. I can understand some of your difficulties. But we have to keep in mind that we might not be able to continue to use the Defence of India Rules for this purpose much longer.⁷⁷⁷ The legality of those Rules has been challenged by quite a number of eminent lawyers. It is possible that this matter might come up before the Supreme Court, and there is a fair chance that the Supreme Court might uphold this contention. So there is a possibility of a decision of the Supreme Court forcing our hands.

This matter is, therefore, troubling us a great deal, and we thought that it would be better that we should get rid of the detenus as far as possible before that. I should like you to consider this question from that point of view.

Shrimati Ghani came to see me today, to beg that her husband might be discharged. She told me that the charges against her husband about his being pro-Chinese could not possibly be true. Previously, he had been pressed very much to go to Pakistan, but he refused because of his attachment to India. Could he then work against India and for China? During the troubles after the Partition, he had worked hard to bring about peace between the two communities. As for herself, she was a little helpless without any male member of the family. Her brother is, I think, one of our architects in the Delhi CPWD. Previously he

776. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Calcutta. MHA, File No. 59/78/63-Poll I. p. 3. Also available in the JN Collection.

777. See appendix 24.

served the West Bengal Government, I think. She asked for some kind of an investigation about her husband and was sure that this would exonerate him.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

302. For Lal Bahadur Shastri: Defence of India Rules⁷⁷⁸

I suggested to the Chief Minister of West Bengal that it might be desirable to release the people detained under the Defence of India Rules.⁷⁷⁹ If necessary, action might be taken against some of them under the Preventive Detention Act. Thereupon, he sent me the enclosed note. I have written a letter to him, a copy of which I enclose.⁷⁸⁰

Jawaharlal Nehru

303. To Surendra Mahanty: A Bengali for Dandakaranya⁷⁸¹

July 20, 1963

My dear Mahanty,
Your letter of the 17th July.

I have given no directive as such to the Minister of Rehabilitation⁷⁸² about Dandakaranya. I have told him to consult the Chief Minister of Bengal⁷⁸³ about the appointment of a successor to Sukumar Sen and then consult the Chief Ministers of the two other States concerned.

I think, however, that it is desirable to have a Bengali for this post for the simple reason that he has to deal with the Bengali displaced persons there as well as the others in Bengal who may go there. I do not see any parochialism in this attitude or any infringement of the Constitution.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

778. Note, 2 July 1963, recorded in Raj Bhavan, Calcutta, MHA, File No. 59/78/63-Poll I. p.1.

779. Item 301.

780. Presumably the one in appendix 24.

781. Letter to the Editor of *The Kalinga*, Mahanadi Road, Cuttack 1.

782. Mehr Chand Khanna.

783. Prafulla Chandra Sen.

II. DEVELOPMENT

Economy

304. To Pitambar Pant: Mahalanobis's Birthday¹

May 8, 1963

My dear Pitamber,

Your note about the celebration of Professor Mahalanobis's² seventieth birthday. I would indeed have liked to be present at the celebration, but I am afraid I cannot now change my programme at Calcutta. I am going there on the 1st July for two days and I hope to spend about three hours at the Institute,³ I think, on the list.

If you are going there, I should like you to convey my greetings and good wishes to the Professor. As you know, I have admiration for his work and I think it has been of great help to us. I hope that he will continue the fine work he is doing for many long years to come.

As for my contributing a message for the book to be issued by the Pergamon Press,⁴ I shall endeavour to do so if I know by what time it has to be done.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

305. To Morarji Desai: Gold Control⁶

May 21, 1963

My dear Morarji,

When I went back to my house at lunch time today, I found a large crowd, many hundreds, waiting for me outside my gate. These were supposed to represent the Akhil Bharatiya Swarnakar Sangh. I asked them to send some of

1. Letter to Member of the Planning Commission. PMO, File No. 38(15)/56-63-PMS, Sr. No. 84-A. Also available in the JN Collection.
2. P.C. Mahalanobis, Member, Planning Commission, and Honorary Director, Indian Statistical Institute.
3. Indian Statistical Institute.
4. C.R. Rao (ed.), *Contributions to Statistics* (Calcutta: Statistical Publishing Society, 1963), distributed outside India by Pergamon Press.
5. For Nehru's message, see item 308.
6. Letter to the Finance Minister.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

their representatives to talk to me inside the house. A little later, three of them came. They gave me a memorandum which I enclose.

They spoke to me generally about the distress caused to them by the new rules governing gold. One of them said that he had been in prison long ago in Naini Tal and that he had spent about ten years in prison in the Congress movement. What is the test, he said, or any order or rule that Government makes: that it should succeed in some public purpose and should not harass people as far as possible. If this was the test, how far did it succeed in the present instance in regard to the gold rules. The main purpose had not been achieved, yet it had caused enormous suffering to large numbers of people.

I told them that naturally I was distressed at any inconvenience or suffering caused to them. Obviously I could not deal with them at random. All I could do was to send the memorandum to the Finance Minister for his consideration. Generally I expressed my sympathy with them and told them that wherever possible we would try to help them. I was then asked to go outside my house and meet the many hundreds of goldsmiths who had come from distant parts of the country. I replied that I was prepared to do so for a short while. I could not hold a meeting there but I could just say a few words to them. After my lunch and a little rest, I would go out and step there on my way to office.

Nearly an hour later I went out and met these people sitting outside. I spoke a few words to them. I repeated to them what I had told their representatives and added that often many steps have to be taken for the good of society as a whole. This may cause distress to some individuals but we do not want to cause any distress or suffering to anybody and sometimes this was inherent in the circumstances. Even so we would like to help such persons as had been caused any distress in so far as we could. We sympathise with them. I would send on their memorandum to the Finance Minister who would no doubt give it his consideration.

I then came away.

I am enclosing the memorandum which they gave.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

306. To Morarji Desai: Don't Travel Abroad⁷

May 26, 1963

My dear Morarji,

I returned last night. Today I received your letter of the 24th May.⁸ I have just seen Sundara Rajan.⁹

I am quite clear in my mind that your suddenly going abroad to Europe at this stage will not be desirable. Further, that my writing letters to some of the leading personalities in Europe on the subject of aid from the Consortium¹⁰ is also neither necessary nor desirable. There is such a thing as over doing something which has contrary results to those wished for.

Sundara Rajan has told me of a telephone conversation he had with L.K. Jha¹¹ the night before last. L.K. Jha was also of opinion that your going abroad at this stage was not necessary and that proposed letters from me to Heads of Governments were not now required. So the position is clear enough.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

307. For the University of Allahabad¹²

I am glad that the University of Allahabad has decided to organise a seminar on Planning Business Education and Research in India. Planning has taken deep roots in India and generally it might be said that people are now Planning conscious. We have ourselves made considerable progress in the theory and practice of Planning during the last dozen years. It is true that we have not succeeded as well as we hoped to do in the implementation of our Plans. That requires special training. The seminar which is going to be held at Mussoorie will, I hope, give a part of this training and thus help in the implementation of our Plans.

I send my good wishes to the seminar.

7. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37(104)/61-PM, Vol. II, Sr. No. 172-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

8. Appendix 7 (a).

9. K.S. Sundara Rajan, Joint Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance. See appendix 7 (b).

10. The Aid India Consortium.

11. Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance.

12. Message, 29 May 1963. PMO, File No. F 9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 3, Sr. No. 27-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

308. For P.C. Mahalanobis: Birthday Greetings¹³

I am happy to join in the felicitations offered to Professor P.C. Mahalanobis on his seventieth birthday. I have known him for several decades and have come into close contact with him particularly since we attained independence and he has been connected with the Central Statistical Department and the Planning Commission. An eminent scientist and the builder up of the Indian Statistical Institute which has become one of the leading centers of statistical work in the world, I have been deeply struck by his broad and comprehensive approach to national development and his astonishing energy. He is full of ideas and it is always a pleasure to discuss and subject with him. The record of his achievements and the work of national development and international cooperation is a formidable one. In paying my tribute of admiration for the work he has done, I earnestly hope that he will have many years more of service to the causes he has devoted himself to.

309. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Growth Slowing Down¹⁴

June 2, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a letter from Shri Bharat Ram, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry, and copy of my reply. The general slackening of our pace of development is a matter of grave concern. You will be giving thought to this matter, as also the Planning Commission. I think that we should take up the major issues and consider them fully in Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. Message, 2 June 1963, sent from Dehra Dun. PMO, File No. 38(15)/56-63-PMS, Sr. No. 86-B. Also available in the JN Collection.

Published in C.R. Rao (ed.), *Contributions to Statistics* in the section "Messages".

14. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. Sent from Dehra Dun. Planning Commission (Coordination Branch) Papers Circulated in 1963, Vol. 2. Also available in PMO, File No. 17 (548)/63-70-PMS, (Vol. I), Sr. No. 2-A and the JN Collection.

310. To Bharat Ram: Concern about the Economy¹⁵

June 2, 1963

My dear Bharat Ramji,

Thank you for your letter of the 31st May.¹⁶ I have read it carefully. I need not tell you that we are deeply concerned about some of the matters you have referred to in your letter. The Planning Commission and the various Ministries concerned are anxiously considering these matters.

I am always glad to meet you and your colleagues. But I am likely to be touring for the greater part of June and part of July. Perhaps later on you might arrange a meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

311. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Prices for Cabinet¹⁷

June 2, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a letter from N.C. Kasliwal.¹⁸ I also enclose a note I have sent to my PPS.¹⁹ I think we should discuss the question of prices at the next meeting of the Cabinet. I would suggest your having a note prepared by the Planning Commission on this subject. It is unfortunate that the Food & Agriculture Minister²⁰ is not in India at present. But we should discuss this matter anyhow.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. Letter to the President of FICCI. Sent from Dehra Dun. Planning Commission, (Coordination Branch), Papers Circulated in 1963, Vol. 2. Also available in PMO, File No. 17 (548)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 3-A.

16. Appendix 13.

17. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, sent from Dehra dun. PMO, File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 222-A.

18. Rajya Sabha MP, Congress.

19. Kesho Ram. See item 312.

20. Swaran Singh.

312. Prices²¹

Many members of our Cabinet are greatly concerned about the price situation, particularly the prices of food grains. I think, therefore, that it would be desirable for a note to be placed before them at the next Cabinet meeting which is going to be held on the 6th June at 5 p.m.

I suggest that the note might be prepared by the Food & Agriculture Ministry on this subject for Cabinet's information. This will be on the lines of the letter dated May 31st with such other information as may be available.

I think that the Planning Commission should also be asked to prepare a note on the price situation generally for the Cabinet.

I am seeing the Chief Ministers of Orissa and West Bengal²² on the 6th June at 12.30. I have no doubt that they are going to discuss this situation in regard to rice and probably they will jointly suggest the stoppage of further movements of rice and paddy from Orissa to Bengal, subject to some other arrangements. The Secretary of the Food Ministry should be present at that interview.

Please send a copy of this note to the Cabinet Secretary²³ so that he might have the question of prices included in the Cabinet agenda.

I am writing to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission on this subject, copy enclosed.²⁴

The Deputy Minister for Food²⁵ should also be requested to come to the Cabinet Meeting.

313. To P.C. Kundu: Wasting Money on Public Functions²⁶

June 10, 1963

Dear Shri Kundu,

Thank you for your letter of 7th June. It is true that I have been asked to attend a Civic Reception given by the Corporation of Calcutta. I could not very well refuse it. But I do not see why Rs 20,000/- should be spent upon it, or any

21. Note, 2 June 1963, from Dehra Dun, for Kesho Ram, the PPS. PMO, File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS, Vol. II, Minute No. 221.

22. Biju Patnaik and P.C. Sen respectively.

23. S.S. Khera.

24. Gulzarilal Nanda, see item 311.

25. A.M. Thomas.

26. Letter ; address: 109A Shyamaprasad Mukherjee Road, Calcutta 26. PMS (Public Section), File No. F.8/250/63 PMP, Sr. No. 6-A.

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considerable sum. I agree with you that money should not be spent on such occasions when there is so much need elsewhere.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

314. To Morarji Desai: Return early from Foreign Visits²⁷

July 9, 1963

My dear Morarji,
Your letter of the 9th July.

You will, of course, have to go to the Annual meeting of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, as also to the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' meeting in London. I feel, however, that as far as possible you should limit the period of your absence abroad from India. We are passing through difficult times here and it is not easy to prophesy what developments might take place. I would, therefore, suggest that you might avoid such engagements as are not considered absolutely necessary.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

315. To Morarji Desai: Raising Revenue²⁸

July 16, 1963

My dear Morarji,
I wrote to you two days ago about Bali Ram Bhagat being appointed to the Mines & Fuel Ministry.²⁹ I am not quite sure of that now, that is, his appointment to that Ministry. I think he should be given a bigger charge, but that would probably not be in the Mines & Fuel Ministry.

There is one matter about which I should like to draw your particular attention. This is the Compulsory Deposit Scheme. You know that I agree with this basically and I think it is a good scheme, subject only to its not pressing too hard at the lowest levels. I still hold that opinion. But I must say

27. Letter to the Finance Minister.

28. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/115/63-70-PMS, Sr. no. 40-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

29. Item 22.

that the opposition to it has been far greater than I imagined, and this seems to be growing. Not only the Opposition Parties but a large number of our own Congressmen are greatly worried about it. I believe most of the States are also very unhappy over it. I have received any number of letters, mostly from our own Congress Party men, expressing their distress over it. The latest letter I have received tonight is from Mahavir Tyagi who writes, as is usual with him sometimes, in the strongest language.

Politically considered, it is going to be used against us as a strong weapon by all manner of people and not only our Opposition Parties. Industrial workers and agriculturists will also be used to this end, with the result that the area of opposition and agitation will be very wide indeed.

What are we to do about it? I do not think that we should give it up entirely. Is it possible to raise the exemption limit to some extent?

Then about the Gold orders. I should like to know what the actual result of these has been. I am told that smuggling, which went down considerably to begin with, has again gone up and tends to increase. If that is so, what steps do we intend to take about it? Mere police and law and order steps are seldom successful if a very large number of people offend against a particular provision of the law. I am told that even hawkers today go about offering gold.

I do not know if you have some special arrangements to lay stress on revenue, I mean apart from the normal routine methods. In England, I believe, they have a special Cabinet Minister in charge of revenue apart from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We need not have that. But it would be desirable to make this rather a special charge of a Minister functioning under the Finance Minister.

I have put some ideas before you for your consideration. You need not trouble to answer me at length, but I would like to discuss these matters with you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Industry

316. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Labour Problems in Ranchi³⁰

May 8, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a letter from Major General Habibullah who is the Director of the Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi. He is a good and straight man and I have faith in him.

He has given a distressing account of some so-called labour leaders and Congressmen there. I wish you could tackle this matter. I am going to Gujarat tomorrow, otherwise I would myself have written to the Chief Minister³¹ and others concerned. I do not think we should allow this kind of thing to continue.³²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

317. To E. Habibullah: Labour Problems in Ranchi³³

May 8, 1963

My dear Habibullah,

I have your letter of the 4th May. I am distressed to learn of the trouble you have had with some so called labour leaders. In Bihar there has been unfortunately an old tradition of goondaism among the labour people. We must deal with this business and put it down.

I am going to Gujarat tomorrow. I am sending your letter with its enclosures to my colleague, Gulzarilal Nanda,³⁴ and asking him to deal with it immediately.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

30. Letter to the Labour Minister. PMO, File No. 17(413)/62-64-PMS, Sr. No. 10-A.

31. Of Bihar, Binodanand Jha.

32. See also item 317.

33. Letter to the Director of the Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi. PMO, File No. 17(413)/62-64-PMS, Sr. No. 9-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

34. Labour Minister. See item 316.

318. To S.R. Vasavada: Message to Railwaymen³⁵

May 8, 1963

My dear Vasavada,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th May. I gladly send you my good wishes for the annual Convention of the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen. We are passing through strange and rather disturbing times and all of us have to pull ourselves up and try to set an example to others. Railwaymen, it is needless to point out, perform a very important national service. If they do it with efficiency and integrity, the nation will benefit greatly.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

319. For INTUC: Workers' Productivity³⁶

I send my greetings and good wishes to the Fourteenth Annual Session of the INTUC which is being held at Jaipur.

I should like to congratulate industrial workers in India on the patriotic response they have made to the emergency in our country. This Emergency is not likely to be of short duration. I hope, therefore, that the decision to avoid industrial conflict and to increase production to our utmost capacity will continue to be acted upon.

This is the responsibility of both industrial workers and the industrialists and managers of industrial concerns. Workers must get a fair deal so that they are contented and can give of their best to the industry.

I believe that progressively there should be a greater association of workers with the management.

35. Letter to the President of the National Federation of Indian Railwaymen, 17 Janpath, New Delhi.

36. Message, 13 May 1963. PMO, File No. 26(25)/56-64-PMS, Sr. No. 30-B. Also available in PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 97-A and the JN Collection.

320. To L.M. Singhvi: Parliamentary Public Sector Committee³⁷

May 20, 1963

My dear Singhvi,

Your letter of the 24th April about the creation of a Public Sector Undertaking Committee of Parliament. You know that we have been trying to do this but, unfortunately, because of a conflict in this matter between the two Houses, this has been delayed. I am anxious that something should be done. But it is not easy for me to get over this conflict. I shall again take some steps in this matter.³⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

321. To Satya Narayan Sinha: Parliamentary Public Sector Committee³⁹

May 20, 1963

My dear Satya Narayan,

I enclose a letter from Dr L.M. Singhvi. This is about the creation of a Public Sector Undertaking Committee of Parliament.⁴⁰

I do not know how the matter stands now. It is most unfortunate that we should not take adequate steps in setting this question. I hope that we shall be able to take some effective steps in this matter when Parliament next meets.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

37. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Independent ; address: Minerva Bhavan, Jodhpur. PMO, File No. 17(485)/61-66-PM, Sr. No. 12-A.

38. See also item 321.

39. Letter to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. PMO, File No. 17(485)/61-66-PM, Sr. No. 13-A.

40. See item 320.

322. To Raj Bahadur: Protest in Mangalore⁴¹

May 26, 1963

My dear Raj Bahadur,
I have received the following telegram:

“Vehemently protest insulting dictatorial behaviour of Minister Raj Bahadur while presenting our humble memorandum of lawful demands in peaceful constitutional manner insist your personal intervention impartial just detailed enquiry Mangalore harbour affair - Subbarao President Ad Hoc Committee Tannirbhavi, Panambur.”

What exactly has happened which has led to this angry protest?

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

323. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Housing Construction⁴²

May 28, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,
Your letter of the 27th May about building a second Housing Factory. It seems to me obviously necessary to have such a second factory and perhaps more later in different parts of the country.

It would be a good idea to send a small team to the USSR and Czechoslovakia as you suggest. I suppose, however, that you will have to get this passed by the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

41. Letter to the Minister of Shipping.

42. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation. PMO, File No.17(547)/63-70-PMS, Vol. 3, Sr. No. 2-A.

324. To Morarji Desai: Helping Goldsmiths⁴³

June 3, 1963

My dear Morarji,

You know that I had a large number of goldsmiths sitting in front of my house in Delhi for about ten or twelve days. I did not interfere with them in any way and allowed them to remain there as long as they wanted. I saw them once or twice and my PPS met them several times to explain the position to them and what was being done to help them.

At last they decided to go away and expressed the hope that the promises made to them about the assistance etc. would be given effect fully and expeditiously.

I hope this will be done. There can be no doubt that these people have been hit hard by our Gold Orders and, whatever we can do for them should be done soon. One thing is not quite clear to me; goldsmiths are skilled workers in their trade. It would be a pity if we cannot utilise these skills in some other way and tried to find some unskilled work for them.

I have been surprised to learn that there are such vast numbers of goldsmiths in India. There is little doubt that even apart from these numbers, there are greater numbers of people all over the country who have been indirectly affected by the Gold Orders. I am told that in recent elections this was one factor which influenced people. We should therefore try to deal with this question in the most appropriate way so as to give some relief to the people affected.

You have often stated that the main purpose of these Gold Orders is to stop smuggling. This is a desirable objective, but I do not know how far this is succeeding. I am told that even in Banaras vast amount of gold regularly comes in and spreads out. Ultimately this becomes a question of police measures.

I should think that the main object of dealing with gold is to attract this gold to government reserves in the Reserve Bank. The more we build these reserves, the sounder our position will be in regard to even foreign exchange. The two big countries which have probably the largest stock of gold are the United States of America and the Soviet Union. In this matter, the Soviet Union pursues a policy which is very conservative and keeps a large quantity of gold in its reserves.

43. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/114-63-66-PM, Vol. I, Sr. No. 16-B. Sent from Dehra Dun. Also available in the JN Collection.

How to build up our stock of gold is, therefore, the major issue before us. I do not quite know how far our present policy is succeeding in that. I should imagine that if this aspect is put before the people, they would appreciate it.⁴⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

325. To Morarji Desai: Hydro-electric Power from the Brahmaputra⁴⁵

June 20, 1963

My dear Morarji,

You wrote to me on the 5th June sending me a photostat copy of an article in a Rumanian Journal giving a description of the project for harnessing the Brahmaputra. I enclose a translation of that article.

Several years ago, our engineer, Kanwar Sain,⁴⁶ who had apparently gone to the place where the Brahmaputra enters India, spoke to me about the enormous possibilities of producing hydro-electric power. There is no doubt that these possibilities exist but the place or places where this can be done are very remote and it is difficult, without an extraordinary expense, to utilise them. Even so, any proper utilisation would involve cooperation from China which is out of the question in the near future.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

326. To Hussain Zaheer: Operational Research⁴⁷

June 21, 1963

My dear Mr Munne,

Your letter of the 7th June in which you pointed out the importance of operational research. I think your suggestions are good and I agree that you

44. For reply, see 16.

45. Letter to the Finance Minister, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

46. Chairman, Central Water and Power Commission, 1955-58.

47. Letter to the Director-General of the CSIR, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 17(549)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

II. DEVELOPMENT

should draw up a detailed programme for specific industries in Public Sector where operational research would be advantageous.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

327. To M.K. Mathulla: Congratulations on Performance⁴⁸

June 24, 1963

Dear Mathulla,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd June and the Annual Report of the Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd. This Report is exciting reading, because of the continuous progress made by HMT during the past year. HMT has become a standing example of success in the Public Sector. I should like to congratulate you and all your colleagues and workers in the HMT on this outstanding achievement.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

328. To K.D. Malaviya: Write History of Oil Industry⁴⁹

June 29, 1963

My dear Keshava Deva,

Your letter of June 29. I think it will be a good idea if you write an account of the evolution of our oil industry.

As for official papers being made available to you for this purpose, I suppose there will be no difficulty. Any confidential papers can only be used after special reference to us.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

48. Letter to the Chairman of Hindustan Machine Tools, Bangalore. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No, 17(21)/59-64-PMS, Vol. 1, Sr. No. 43-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

49. Letter to former Minister of Mines and Fuel. PMO, File No. 17 (463)/61-63-PMS (Vol. I), Sr. No. 51-A.

329. To K.D. Malaviya: Oil Concessions in Iran⁵⁰

July 14, 1963

My dear Keshava Deva,

I received a few days ago your note on oil concessions abroad. In this note there are some statements which are not correct. One is that our President or members of his team who went to America recently made some remarks about our attempt to get oil concessions in Iran. I have enquired into this matter and find that no one of the President's party said a word on this subject to any one in America. No one discussed oil at all with them, much less was anything said in criticism of our policy.

In your note you have also presumed that the Planning Commission is reluctant to agree to your proposal to have concession in Iran. That is not true. It may be that in the course of discussions there somebody might have criticised it. But my own impression is that the Planning Commission is favourably considering this matter which will come up in our Cabinet before long.

The whole question has to be considered purely from the point of view of economics, and these appear to me, from what you say, favourable to us. There is no question of our giving up a favourable opportunity for fear that our action might offend some people in America or England.

I also think that we should continue our investigation and exploration for oil in India.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

330. In New Delhi: To Conference on Rural Industries Projects⁵¹

Nandaji⁵² and friends,

I have gladly come here at your invitation, not because I think, I can enlighten you very much on the subject, but because of the importance I attach to the various problems you are discussing, even though I might not know them

50. Letter to the former Minister of Mines and Fuel.

51. Speech, 29 July 1963, inaugurating the Conference. NMML, AIR Tapes, TS No. 11376, NM 1977. Also available in Planning Commission, File No. 11/11/64, RSR Division. The two-day conference, convened by the Planning Commission, was attended by the Chief Ministers and Industry Ministers of States.

52. Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister of Planning.

deeply. I have tried to some extent to prepare myself for this conference by looking through a large bundle of papers which Shri T.N. Singh⁵³ sent me. I have read some of the notes with interest and appreciation, including those by Prof. Gadgil⁵⁴—which is interesting—Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, and another interesting note by Dr Schumacher.⁵⁵ All that I may be able to say will be some odd ideas which immediately struck me. Rural industrialisation, which is the purpose of this Conference, is something that has been repeated often enough and yet not acted upon fully. About 75-80 per cent of our people, as Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has pointed out in his note, live in rural areas. Mahatma Gandhi's approach to rural development is not out of place. I do not suggest that we should adopt his approach completely nor do I know what his approach would have been under the present circumstances because he had certainly not a rigid mind in that respect. However, he had a mind directed and oriented towards the villages and rural areas. But I take it that he would not have been opposed to the use of the latest techniques. A very big machine, which may perhaps produce something efficiently in large numbers but which creates social problems, may not be quite suited at the present moment. At the same time it is difficult to do without big machines.

I do believe that the basic thing that is necessary for our country is power development, electric power, and may be even atomic power. I think rural development, including rural industrialisation, depends a great deal on the availability of power. Something has already been done in this regard, but I feel that we have not done much so far. I remember when schemes like Bhakra-Nangal and Hirakud were discussed, some people used to wonder how all this power would be consumed. We realise now that whatever power is produced is far, far less than our requirements. Therefore, it does not matter how much power is produced in India. The supply may always lag behind the requirements. Therefore, I do attach very great importance to power. Power can be produced in a small way, but broadly speaking, it has to be produced in a big way—hydroelectric, thermal power, or perhaps later on, even atomic energy.

Another important aspect of this programme is the development of communications in rural areas, including roads, railways, etc. They have to be developed because they make everything easier in rural areas.

The third but not the least is the development of the individual. Education is essential, and I think very important in this context. However, the whole education system is to be reoriented in such a way that it helps in developing

53. Member, Planning Commission.

54. D.R. Gadgil, Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona.

55. E.F. Schumacher, British economist.

the individual for the great tasks that are to be faced by him in the countryside. After the primary stage, the education of the individual has to be so adjusted that he is dragged out of his old routines and methods and made to use new tools and the products of science. Some kind of training like that is absolutely necessary and will be of very great help.

I think I am correct in saying that the Punjab, relatively speaking, is the most prosperous compared to any State in India in terms of per capita income, prosperity in agriculture and industry, although in Punjab, so far as I can remember, there is not a single really major industry. Most Ministers and Chief Ministers are constantly writing to us for major industries. Their minds are diverted towards big plants. To them I always give the example of the Punjab which despite absence of major industries, is by far the most industrialised State in India. An eminent and experienced American,⁵⁶ who was recently touring about in India, went to some parts of Punjab, especially Ludhiana district. On his return from Punjab he stated that he was excited with the way in which the Punjab was getting industrialised. He had the sensation which he had felt long ago in the Midwest of America. I do not think that the Midwest of America is the idea for us to aim at. The American has, however, criticised very much the Package Programme scheme and has stated that the position of the tenant was still not a happy one in spite of the land reforms. The only difference he saw in Ludhiana and other districts in regard to the Package Programme was that there were not many tenants in the Ludhiana district. What I am driving at is that he particularly noticed the rapid industrialisation of many parts of the Punjab, not so much with Government effort, but through the initiative and enterprise of the people who are inclined that way. Many persons who came from Pakistan fitted into the scheme and have done very well. Similarly, I think in parts of Madras State, conditions are very interesting and exciting. In some places in Maharashtra the people are doing very well. In contrast to this, the position in eastern districts of UP is most depressing. So is perhaps the condition in some parts of Bihar State. One may analyse why this is so. Whether the people there are somewhat different or the population is more concentrated. As I have said earlier, I attach considerable importance to rural electrification which changes the whole atmosphere and many things can be done even in regard to smaller village industries. Changing the mentality of the people is so essential for industrialisation.

One part of rural development is what may be called the Gandhiji approach which has to be expanded. One can do many things in the rural area without much pomp and show and without investing much capital. Agricultural

56. Wolf Ladejinsky. See appendix 29.

activities can be tied up with industrialisation. So can animal husbandry and like programmes be tied up and integrated with industrialisation. It is, therefore, desirable that these aspects should be carefully examined. An enormous field has been opened and it is necessary to train the people.

There is no doubt that we want big industries for power development, for defence industries, etc. But we need not spread big industries where they are not absolutely necessary and where we can replace them by small industries. In fact, probably with the diffusion of power, possibly the smaller industries may from the economic point of view be more advantageous.

I wonder if all the conferences that are being held do really indicate that greater attention has to be paid to these subjects by various authorities, including the Government, community development and Panchayati Raj institutions. Panchayat is an institution which can be of major help in rural development. I think Panchayati Raj institutions should be entrusted with this work, although they will have to be trained for it. It might be useful if someone, the Planning Commission or some other organisation, were to prepare a chart to examine in each district the consumption of electric power per capita in relation to agricultural and industrial development. I think there is a close relation between them. Where there is electric power, there is greater development. I entirely agree with what Professor Gadgil has said in his note, viz., reorienting ourselves.

I do not want to waste any more of your time by going on generally talking about this without any particular purpose. But I do think that your Conference and the subject of your conference is of exceeding importance. You have put in labour for over a year on this programme and carried out some enquiries and that you have now to implement the programmes. I think that your actions will bring fairly quick results. I wish you all success in your deliberations, and I suppose I must say “I inaugurate this Conference.”

331. To Swaran Singh: Reinstating Dismissed Railway Workers⁵⁷

July 28, 1963

My dear Swaran Singh,

I had a visit this morning from Dr Jaisoorya,⁵⁸ brother of Padmaja Naidu. With him were two railway workers. They gave me a memorandum which I enclose.

57. Letter to the Minister of Railways. Sent from Rashtrapati Nilayam, Bolarum, Hyderabad.

58. Dr N.M. Jaisoorya, former Lok Sabha MP.

This relates to twenty-one railway workers who were dismissed at the time of the general strike and have not been reinstated.

He told me that they very much appreciated the generous attitude of the Government and of the Railway authorities in reinstating thousands of workers after the strike. While they welcomed this step, they did not understand why these 21 workers were being victimised, although they were not guilty of any violence, sabotage or other unlawful action. Their sole fault was participation in the strike. This was the fault of thousands of others who had been reinstated. They pointed out that these 21 men had been out of work for three years now and were in dire distress. Jaisoorya earnestly urged that these people, who were all trained workers and mechanics, should also be reinstated.

I think it would be a good thing if Jaisoorya's request was acceded to unless there are some very special reasons against it. They are obviously repentant and in great distress and are likely to be grateful for any consideration shown to them. I should be glad if you will kindly look into this matter and have it settled to their advantage.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Agriculture

332. For the World Food Congress⁵⁹

I send my good wishes to the World Food Congress. This Congress will deal with a problem of the most vital and primary importance to the world. Perhaps of all the problems that face the world today, this is of the highest importance.

The initiation of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign was a step in the right direction to arouse public awareness of the magnitude of the problem of hunger and malnutrition. The World Food Congress will no doubt highlight the objectives of the Campaign. We in India are trying our best to increase our food production and to meet the nutritional needs of our population. We wish success to the endeavours of the World Food Congress which will be attended by a distinguished gathering and I hope that its discussions will yield results of lasting importance to relieve the suffering of food deficient people and assist them in economic development and thus lead to a better way of living.

59. Message, 16 May 1963. The Congress was held in Washington DC, 4-18 June 1963. PMO, File No. 31(131)/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 2-B. Also available in the JN Collection.

333. To Patil Puttappa: Krishna Waters⁶⁰

May 30, 1963

Dear Shri Puttappa,

Your letter of the 24th May. You must rest assured that the decision in regard to the use of the Krishna waters will be taken without any partiality to any State. The only approach will be how best a use can be made of these waters from the national point of view.

You refer to Shri Venkataraman.⁶¹ He became a member of the CW & PC on the recommendation of the UPSC. The matter will not be considered by him alone but by all members of the CW & PC on merits. You need have no apprehensions on this score.⁶²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

60. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Congress, Hubli. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 75-A. Also available in the JN Collection. For earlier correspondence, see SWJN/SS/81/section Development, subsection Agriculture.

61. Puttappa's reference to Venkataraman, extract from his letter of 24 May to Nehru: "When there is no love lost between Andhra and Mysore on the question of sharing the Krishna waters, it is not good statesmanship to appoint an Andhra, Shri Venkataraman on the CP & WC and place him in charge of giving clearance to irrigation projects in South India.

We, in Mysore, know very well how Shri Venkataraman as Chief Engineer of Andhra Pradesh was opposed to Mysore's claims for increased allocation. Although Krishna flows through one of the most arid areas in the country, Mr Venkataraman is not favourably inclined to consider and consent for a bigger dam on the Krishna which is known as the Upper Krishna Project.

People in Bijapur, Raichur and Gulbarga received with great acclaim and enthusiasm the announcement by the Irrigation Minister in Parliament that Malaprabha and Upper Krishna Projects are cleared. The Central Minister might have given this assurance on the floor of the House; but, I have every reason to believe that this Andhra Engineer will, time and again, thwart the attempts of Mysore in getting CP & WC clearance for the upper Krishna Project." PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 70-A.

62. For what appears to be the basis of Nehru's assurance, see appendix 11.

334. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Krishna Waters⁶³

May 30, 1963

My dear Hafizji,

Your letter of May 30th about various projects connected with the Krishna River.

I shall be going to Andhra Pradesh in about a month's time. I have been asked to inaugurate some of the projects there. This will probably include one of the projects in connection with the Krishna Waters.⁶⁴ Have you given any clearance on this?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

335. Food Shortages⁶⁵

[Note, 31 May 1963, for Kesho Ram, the PPS, begins]

Newspapers refer frequently to rice and sugar shortages in various parts of the country, especially in Orissa and Assam. I sent you a letter from the Chief Minister of Orissa⁶⁶ about rice and asked you to refer it to the Food & Agriculture Ministry and request them to take urgent action in the matter.

2. Will you please find out from them what action they have taken in regard to that letter and also to supply us with some information about the rice and sugar situation in various parts of the country?

Jawaharlal Nehru
31.5.1963

PPS

[Note, 31 May 1963, for Kesho Ram, the PPS, ends]

63. Letter to the Minister for Irrigation and Power. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 74-A.

64. For Andhra Pradesh tour, see items 67-75, for Nehru's speech at Srisailam, see item 71.

65. Noting, 31 May-1 June 1963. PMO, File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS, Vol. II, Minute No. 217. See also items 339 and 342.

66. B. Patnaik.

[Note, 1 June 1963, by the PPS, begins]

The reply of the Food Ministry in regard to the supply position of rice in Orissa has been received and is placed below:

2. In his letter to PM, the Chief Minister of Orissa had made the following three urgent requests:-

- (i) to stop further movements of rice and paddy from Orissa to Bengal;
- (ii) to ensure immediate movement of 20,000 tons of rice, as promised by the Minister of Food & Agriculture before he left for the United States; and,
- (iii) to ensure that at least 30,000 tons of rice reach Orissa by the middle of September at the latest.

3. The Food Secretary⁶⁷ in his reply has explained why it would not be possible to stop further movements of rice and paddy from Orissa to Bengal. He has stated that it is necessary to maintain the existing Zonal arrangement between Orissa and West Bengal because both depend on each other for the solution of their food problems. Orissa has to depend on West Bengal for the absorption of its surplus rice and paddy without which their prices will fall to levels that would completely ruin the agricultural economy of the State. Similarly, without Orissa rice, the West Bengal Government will find it almost impossible to maintain the price of rice or the economy of those rice mills in the State which depend on supplies of paddy from Orissa.

4. As regards Item 2, the Food Secretary has stated that necessary steps to allot 10,000 tons of rice to Orissa have already been taken and that supplies will start moving from 7th June. Later in June, another 10,000 tons would be sent to Orissa. This arrangement has already been agreed to by the Chief Minister.

5. As regards the supply of a further quantity of 30,000 tons of rice to Orissa by the middle of September, the Food Secretary has assured that supplies would be sent to Orissa as and when required and in case it becomes necessary to send some rice even before September, they would do so.

6. As regards the food problem in Assam, I have ascertained from the Ministry of Food & Agriculture that they are making necessary arrangements to send supplies of rice to the State and that their Civil Supplies Officer is coming to Delhi on the 5th June to discuss the various arrangements to be made in this regard. The Food Secretary has assured me that he would do everything possible to help the Assam Government in the matter. He, however, told me that the Assam Government had fixed the procurement target at 2,25,000 tons

67. V. Shankar.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

of rice. This procurement was to be done through cooperatives organised by the State Government. The procurement machinery, however, failed completely and the Assam Government had to reduce the target to

1, 25,000 tons. Even so, up-to-date procurement is only about 50,000 tons.

7. The Food Secretary said that there were certain other matters which he did not wish to put down on paper for various reasons. He would, however, explain these to PM personally if PM could spare about half an hour to see him on his return from Dehra Dun.

8. On my suggestion to the Food Secretary, he has prepared a self-contained note covering all the points raised by the Chief Minister of Orissa. PM may perhaps like to write to the Chief Minister in reply to his letter, enclosing a copy of this note.

9. As desired by PM, I have asked the Food Secretary to send me information about rice and sugar situation in various parts of the country. This is expected to be ready in a day or so.

K. Ram
1.6.1963

PM

[Note, 1 June 1963, by the PPS, ends]

336. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Krishna-Godavari Waters⁶⁸

June 2, 1963

My dear Hafizji,

I enclose a letter from the Chief Minister of Maharashtra⁶⁹ about the distribution of the waters of the Krishna and Godavari rivers. He is much exercised over the matter and I have received other letters also from people in Maharashtra. I was under the impression that the allocation you had suggested and your statement before the Lok Sabha was more or less agreeable to the states concerned. Apparently it was not in so far as Maharashtra was concerned. In particular, objection appears to be taken there to the Srisailem project.

68. Letter to the Minister of Irrigation and Power, sent from Dehra Dun. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 76-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

69. M.S. Kannamwar.

I should like to know where the matter stands now. As I think I wrote to you, I shall be going to Andhra early in July and they want me to take part in the inauguration of some of their projects. Possibly Srisailam is one of these projects.⁷⁰ Perhaps it will not be desirable for me to do so in regard to Srisailam so long as this element of controversy has not been settled.

What I am anxious to know is how we are to finalise all these arrangements. I had hoped that your statement in Parliament would put an end to the present controversy. Apparently it has not done so. What do you advise now? Do you think it would be desirable to ask the Planning Commission to look into this matter and make their suggestions?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

337. To Raghunath Singh: Agricultural Production Seminar⁷¹

June 2, 1963

My dear Raghunath Singh,

Your letter of the 20th May about a Seminar to discuss agricultural production. The subject is of great importance, but how we are to proceed about it in a seminar is not quite clear to me. I should imagine that the methods of increasing agricultural production are very well known and have often been emphasised. The real question is how to implement them fully in the States. Shri V.T. Krishnamachari⁷² has dealt with this matter in various addresses he has delivered as well as a book which he has written.

I would suggest your discussing this with the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda. If a seminar is held about the end of June, I shall endeavour to attend it. What I am anxious about is that we should proceed with some hope of results and not merely for the sake of having a gathering.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

70. Nehru inaugurated the project on 24 July, see item 71.

71. Letter to the Secretary, CPP. Sent from Dehra Dun.

72. Nominated Rajya Sabha MP, former Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

338. To M.S. Kannamwar: Krishna-Godavari Waters⁷³

June 3, 1963

My dear Kannamwar,

I have received your long letter of 30th May on the subject of distribution of the Krishna and Godavari rivers. We are all anxious that this distribution should be made so as to benefit all the States concerned. I know that our Ministry of Irrigation and Power has had this in view, more especially the Minister Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim. I am sending your letter to him to consider further all the aspects mentioned by you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

339. Food Supplies to Assam⁷⁴

[Note, 15 June 1963, for the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, begins]

During my recent visit to Assam, the food situation was discussed with Ministers there. I understand that our Food Ministry has promised them some supplies of food grains. Whether this will be enough or not, I am not sure. Much depends on the possibility of floods coming during the rainy season. Reports already state that the Brahmaputra Valley is being flooded in places.

2. But the point they wanted particularly to emphasis was that whatever has to be sent to them should be sent as early as possible, because later communications become very difficult and it may not be possible to send the food grains to remote areas. I hope, therefore, that this will be done.

J. Nehru
15.6.1963

Ministry of Food & Agriculture
No. 282-PMO/63

[Note, 15 June 1963, for the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, ends]

73. Letter to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. Sent from Dehra Dun. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 77-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

74. Noting, 15 June 1963. PMO, File No. 31/62/58-71-PMS, Sr. No. 61-A. Also available in the JN Collection. See also items 335 and 342.

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[Note, 15 June 1963, by V. Shankar, Food Secretary, for Kesho Ram, the PPS, begins]

Ministry of Food & Agriculture (Department of Food)

The Supply Secretary of Assam Government was here last week and during the course of discussion with him we have arrived at the arrangement that up to November 1963, the Assam Government should be supplied by us about 30,000 tons of rice from the Central stocks. For this purpose, we were to rush supplies to our depots in Assam and make supplies to Assam Government from those depots. Immediately 20,000 tons are being moved out of which about 12,000 tons have already been dispatched. They should be reaching Assam depots in another fortnight. By that time more will have been dispatched, so that the total dispatch of 20,000 tons should be complete during one month. We have also told the Assam Government that immediately for their needs in Cachar they can take whatever available supplies there are Gauhati and the balance they can take as soon as our supplies arrive there. Steps are being taken to move the remaining 10,000 tons to Assam, in order to make up the total quantity of 30,000. I have arranged for a special watch to be kept on movements to Assam and Orissa, so that all delays are eliminated and the supplies reach there as soon as possible. The Railways have also been asked to keep a special watch on these movements.

2. In addition to these immediate movements, we are keeping our Calcutta godowns sufficiently stocked in order to enable us to move supplies at short notice to Assam if any emergency makes it necessary.

V. Shankar
15.6.1963

PPS to PM

[Note, 15 June 1963, by V. Shankar, Food Secretary, for Kesho Ram, the PPS, ends]

340. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Rural Industries Planning Conference⁷⁵

June 20, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

Your letter of June 17th in which you suggest that I might inaugurate a conference sponsored by the Rural Industries Planning Committee. I am rather reluctant to accept odd engagements in the future, but the subject of this conference is certainly important and if my presence can be of any help, I shall gladly attend it, subject always to some unexpected event happening which might prevent me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

341. To Ram Subhag Singh: Mechanised Farming on Eroded Lands⁷⁶

June 21, 1963

My dear Ram Subhag,

Dr Kailas Kath Kaul⁷⁷ sent me, nearly two months ago, a copy of a letter he had written to you dated the 20th April, about examining eroded lands and the possibility of organising mechanised farming there. I read this letter with interest. Have you acted upon any of the suggestions he made in his letter or is anything to be done about this matter?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

75. Letter to the Minister of Planning, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

76. Letter to the Minister of Agriculture, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 31/12/7/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 14-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

77. Director, National Botanical Gardens, Lucknow.

342. To S.K. Patil: Food Supplies to Assam⁷⁸

June 22, 1963

My dear SK,

Some days ago, I wrote to your Ministry about the position in Assam in regard to food grains.⁷⁹ I drew the attention of the Ministry especially to the urgent demand that the Chief Minister⁸⁰ had made for the food grains allotted to them to be sent as soon as possible so that they could send them to appropriate places before the monsoon came in and made transport difficult. I had a reply from your Ministry.

The main question appears to be to send these food grains early as otherwise the transport position would become difficult. Already the rains have set in.

I find in my papers a letter from the Chief Minister of Assam dealing with this matter. I enclose it.⁸¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

78. Letter to Minister of Food and Agriculture, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 31/62/58-71-PMS, Sr. No. 62-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

79. Item 339. See also item 335.

80. B.P. Chaliha.

81. Extract from S.K. Patil's reply of 28 June 1963: "Please refer to your letter of the 22nd June, 1963 regarding the position of food grains in Assam. I have looked into the matter and find that the position of stocks already dispatched to Assam is quite satisfactory. Apart from about 32,000 tonnes or so which the Assam Government should be having as their own stocks, we have about 5,000 tonnes in our depots and another 18,000 tonnes of rice are on the way. Of this, more than 13,000 tonnes are from Calcutta and should be reaching there in a day or two. A further quantity of 10,000 tonnes of rice is being moved to Assam depots from Madras at the rate of about 2,600 tones per week. You will, therefore, notice that we are moving supplies very quickly and would very soon be having in our depots in Assam sufficient supplies to meet the needs of Assam for a few months." PMO, File No. 31/62/58-71-PMS, Sr. No. 63-A.

343. To M.S. Kannamwar: The Krishna-Godavari Waters Dispute⁸²

June 22, 1963

My dear Kannamwar,

I have been much distressed by the continuing agitation about the use of the Krishna-Godavari waters. In particular I have regretted that such an agitation is taking place in Maharashtra and is being supported by the Government there.

In a matter where the interests of several States are concerned, the agitational approach by one State can only lead to similar approaches by the others concerned. How then is this matter to be solved. Even where a foreign state is concerned, the matter in dispute is usually referred to arbitration or else it leads to war. It is rather absurd for our States to function as if they were independent nations, with conflicting claims. The only right way to proceed is to give up this agitational approach and to have the matter considered, from an all India point of view, keeping in view the interests of the States concerned.

The statement that was made by our Minister of Irrigation and Power⁸³ in the Lok Sabha on 23rd March, 1963, seemed to me a fair one for all concerned. Naturally, it could not be wholly in favour of any State as their interests were conflicting, but from the comments made on that statement, it was accepted as fair decision in the interests of the whole region affected by the two rivers.

You will remember that there was an Agreement in 1951 in which the then Government of Bombay participated and approved of. The Andhra Pradesh Government has laid great stress on the sanctity of that Agreement. You will notice that the recently proposed allotments give much less to Andhra Pradesh than that Agreement and are much more favourable to Maharashtra. While the Agreement of 1951 cannot be accepted as a binding one, but it is a fact that that Agreement was very favourable to Andhra Pradesh and they have some justification in feeling aggrieved at our not abiding by it. I find that our Minister of Irrigation and Power, Shri Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim has written a letter dated June 14, 1963, to S.B. Chavan, Minister for Irrigation and Power of the Maharashtra Government. In this he has explained the position fully. I agree with what he has said in it and I would, therefore, not repeat it.

82. Letter to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 17 (432)/60-64-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 83-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

83. Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim.

The suggested diversion of the rivers westward is on the face of it a very difficult proposition. This would change the whole economy of the region. Towns and villages and agricultural areas grow up because of rivers flowing through an area which thus affect the whole economy of that area. In fact civilisations are closely connected with the flow of rivers. To cut off these rivers and to get them on one side is an interference with the process of nature, which can only be permitted under very extreme circumstances. In the present circumstances, there is no doubt that the States of Andhra Pradesh and Mysore would suffer greatly if those rivers are divided. In considering the needs of some State or States, one cannot ignore the needs as well as the historical uses of those rivers for other States.

But this question does not really arise at the present moment and as far as I can see cannot arise for a dozen years or more. If after full enquiry into our resources it is possible to do something of this kind that can certainly be considered later. But it seems to me very unfair to stop projects which have been taken in hand in Andhra or Mysore, because at some future time the rivers might have to be diverted even if the quantity of water allowed to Maharashtra has not been utilised by it and is not likely to be utilised for many long years.

There is apparently some anxiety in Maharashtra that Andhra Pradesh has the Srisaïlam Project. This project has been under construction for many years and it was ultimately sanctioned as a power project for Andhra. It has been made clear to Andhra Pradesh that the sanction given to her is on the basis that the ultimate water release of 180 TMC from Srisaïlam, should in any case, go down to Nagarjuna-sagar. There is practically no consumptive use of water from this project apart from evaporation. Thus this is no more a gain of Srisaïlam but of the Nagarjuna-sagar Reservoir.

You have also been given an assurance that there would be no diversion from the Srisaïlam Reservoir for irrigation purposes and at any rate not until the proposed review of 1976 and the final allocations and investigations under way.

I do not wish to lengthen this letter, as all the facts have been already stated to your Government. So far as we are concerned, the Planning Commission has considered them with the technical advisers and they have supported the statement made in the Lok Sabha on the 23rd March, 1963. You will appreciate that any deviation from that statement will create an uproar in Andhra and Mysore and the position become worse than what it has been. You will remember that the old Bombay Government actually agreed to certain allocations in 1951 while they go back from them now and to the advantage of the Maharashtra Government we can hardly deprive Andhra Pradesh and Mysore of their legitimate claims.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I hope you will consider what I have written and appreciate that the only approach to this question is that of the optimum development of the resources in the overall interests of the region controlled by the rivers. No other criteria can justifiably form the basis of allocation of supplies.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

344. To S.K. Patil: Orissa Food Supplies for West Bengal⁸⁴

July 9, 1963

My dear S.K.,
Your letter of July 9th.⁸⁵

I have no clear recollection that the Orissa Government promised to release for export to West Bengal such stocks on which levy had been paid by the purchasers prior to the unofficial imposition of the ban by the Government of Orissa. Some general talk took place in the Cabinet, but no specific reference to this was made, so far I can remember. You may, however, write to Patnaik and explain to him the position.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

345. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Ladejinsky Report⁸⁶

July 13, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,
I enclose copy of a letter I have received from Mr Ladejinsky⁸⁷ who saw me the other day.

I think Ladejinsky's report should be fully publicised. To begin with, the full report should be sent to all the Chief Ministers. There is no point in sending

84. Letter to the Minister of Food and Agriculture. PMO, File No. 31 (25)/56-64-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 234-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

85. Appendix 27.

86. Letter to the Minister of Planning. PMO, File No. 31(108)/60-63-PMS, Sr. No. 56-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

87. Wolf Ladejinsky (1899-1975); American agricultural economist. Appendix 29.

extracts from it to the few Chief Ministers concerned. The report deals with the problem which exists all over India and we should deal with it in an urgent manner.

Later the report can be sent to the Parliament Library.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Health

346. To B.A. Mandloi: Transfer of Balkrishna Rao to AIIMS⁸⁸

May 15, 1963

My dear Mandloi,

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, President of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences,⁸⁹ has written to me about Dr Balkrishna Rao. He is at present Professor of Surgery in the Medical College, Bhopal. Two years ago, the Institute advertised for a Professor of Surgery and Dr Balkrishna Rao, who was permitted by the Madhya Pradesh Government to apply for the post, was chosen for it. He is evidently anxious to come over to the Institute as he wants to devote his time to research which he cannot do in his present post.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur wrote to the then Chief Minister, Dr Katju, about Dr Balkrishna Rao, but Dr Katju said that he could not spare him at that time. Thereafter, it was suggested that someone else should be trained under Dr Balkrishna Rao to take his place in the Bhopal Medical College so that Dr Rao could come over here later. Rajkumari has, I understand, written to you several times on this subject but has had no answer.

I would suggest your considering permitting Dr Balkrishna Rao to come over to the Institute as he is himself anxious to come and as this will give him greater opportunities for research work. In any event, I suggest your writing to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur on the subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

88. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. PMO, File No. 40(134)/59-64-PMS, Sr. No. 172-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

89. Also former Health Minister and Member, Rajya Sabha.

347. Relax Construction Rules for the AIIMS⁹⁰

I enclose a letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. She suggests in it that some of the rules of the Central PWD might be relaxed in regard to the Hospital they are building and that their Special Committee should be put in charge of it. I think that, in the circumstances, this is desirable and will certainly lead to quicker results.

2. Will you please take this matter in hand?⁹¹

348. To Sushila Nayar: Shifting Sanatorium from Tangmarg⁹²

June 19, 1963

My dear Sushila,

I got your letter of 17th June about the tuberculosis sanatorium at Tangmarg. I spoke to Bakhshi Saheb⁹³ about it. He told me that for the last four or five years the question of closing or shifting the sanatorium has been before them. Among the reasons for this was that tourists at Tangmarg got rather frightened when they found that there is a TB Sanatorium there. Also they were advised that it would be better to have the sanatorium near a good hospital. So they have shifted the sanatorium to Srinagar.

Indira who was also coming back from Gulmarg also saw that the sanatorium has been closed at Tangmarg and shifted to Srinagar. I do not think I could do anything more about it.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

90. Note, 15 June 1963, for the Cabinet Secretary. PMO, File No. 40(134)/59-64-PMS, Sr. No. 176-A.

91. See item 354.

92. Letter to the Minister of Health, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

93. Ghulam Mohammed Bakhshi, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

349. To Sushila Nayar: Dr Duraiswami's Illness⁹⁴

July 8, 1963

My dear Sushila,

I am told that Dr Duraiswamy⁹⁵ has been rather seriously ill for a considerable time. No one has been able to find out what his illness is due to. It has been suggested by some of the doctors here that he should go to London to consult specialists there.

Duraiswami is a specialist in his own branch of high standing and we should try to help him to get the best treatment possible. I think that if the doctors here suggest it, as I am told they do, we should agree to send him to London in this connection.⁹⁶

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

350. To Sushila Nayar: Primary Health Centres⁹⁷

July 8, 1963

My dear Sushila,

I have your letter of the 6th July about doctors for Primary Health Centres and smaller hospitals. You spoke to me about this matter at Chandigarh and reference was made to it in our speeches at the Medical Institute there by both of us.

I entirely agree with you that we should draw up some scheme after previously getting the broad agreement of the State Governments. I do not know what else we can do in the matter.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

94. Letter to the Minister of Health. PMO, File No. 2 (280)/58-66-PMS, Sr. No. 91-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

95. Professor P.K. Duraiswamy, Orthopaedic Surgeon, Safdarjung Hospital.

96. For reply, see appendix 28.

97. Letter to the Health Minister. PMO, File No. 17 (552)/63-66-70-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

351. To Sushila Nayar: Drug Prices⁹⁸

July 15, 1963

My dear Sushila,

Your letter of the 15th July about fixing the price of drugs.⁹⁹ I agree with you that this matter should be taken up and every effort made to fix suitably the price of drugs. In this matter the advice of your Ministry should be taken. I am not quite sure about the legal aspect of the case. This can be looked into.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

352. To Sushila Nayar: Examine Dr Duraiswamy in India¹⁰⁰

July 15, 1963

My dear Sushila,

Your letter of July 11 about Duraiswamy.¹⁰¹ I agree with you that he should be thoroughly examined at the All India Institute of Medical Science before we take up the question of his going abroad. If necessary, the investigation can be carried out elsewhere in India also Calcutta or Bombay.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

353. To S.K. Sen: Specialised Hospitals¹⁰²

July 18, 1963

My dear Sen,

Your letter of July 18th. I was not aware of the fact that the proposed Pant Hospital was meant for specialised purposes only. Broadly I agree with you that

98. Letter to the Minister of Health. PMO, File No. 48(25)/58-66-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 61-A.

99. Appendix 30.

100. Letter to the Minister of Health. PMO, File No. 2(280)/58-66-PMS, Sr. No. 93-A.

101. Appendix 28.

102. Letter to a doctor; address: Dr Sen's Nursing Home, Hardinge Bridge, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 53(39)/61-70-PMS, Sr. No. 10-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

the basic demands of the people should be provided before the highly specialised work is taken up. But about the case you mention, I am not competent to express a firm opinion without knowing much more about it.

I would gladly see you, but in two or three days' time I am going away to Hyderabad. Perhaps after I return, you might see me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

354. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Constructing AIIMS Buildings¹⁰³

July 18, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

The All India Medical Institute has got to put up several major buildings, notably a big hospital. I think it will be far better to allow this building to be done by them through a competent committee that they may set up. This will be probably cheaper in the end and will certainly be much more expeditious. Government PWD rules are rather out of date and delay matters too much.

It is not much good to appoint a committee which has to follow all the governmental rules as that delays matters. Of course, PWD engineers can inspect the building from time to time.¹⁰⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Education

355. On Education¹⁰⁵

Ultimately all our progress and development and our Five Year Plans depend on the kind of education that we give to people. I am convinced that whatever else may suffer for lack of resources we cannot allow our education to do so,

103. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation. PMO, File No. 40(134)/59-64-PMS, Sr. No. 178-A. also available in the JN Collection.

104. See also item 347.

105. Message, 7 May 1963, to the Central Advisory Board of Education meeting in Panchmarhi, Madhya Pradesh. PIB.

whether this is primary education or higher education. We must aim not only at quantity, but at quality.

Unfortunately educational matters are often considered by politicians on the political plane. This makes them political issues and the educational aspect is not considered objectively and dispassionately. It is true that it is not always easy to separate them. Nevertheless it is desirable and such questions should be considered by educational experts. In doing so, we have to keep the end in view. This is not merely training for the job, although that is often necessary, but rather training for life and also training for a particular kind of society that we aim at.

356. To T.S. Soundram Ramachandran: Working Girls' Hostel¹⁰⁶

May 16, 1963

My dear Soundram,

I have your letter about the Working Girls' Hostel.¹⁰⁷ I have been distressed to learn of the trouble you have had there, but I really do not know what to suggest to you. You are the best judge. I should imagine that it will be better, as you suggest, that food arrangements should be made by the girls living there. Perhaps some little help can be given to them in this matter, but they should be responsible for their own internal arrangements.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

357. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Women's Education and Jamnalal Bajaj Memorial¹⁰⁸

May 16, 1963

My dear Sukhadia,

Your letter of April 30th about a memorial to Seth Jamnalal Bajaj,¹⁰⁹ at his birth place near Sikar. I am glad to learn that you intend putting up an institution for

106. Letter to the Deputy Minister of Education. PMO, File No. 2(682)/73-78-PMS, Sr. No. Nil. Also available in the JN Collection.

107. On Curzon Road, New Delhi. The problem was with increased charges for board and lodging.

108. Letter to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

109. Industrialist and philanthropist (1889-1942).

the education and social welfare of women. You have all my good wishes for this work. It is fitting that this should take the form of a memorial to Jamnalalji who devoted himself to national work and social welfare.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

358. To Morarji Desai: Importance of Primary Education¹¹⁰

May 18, 1963

My dear Morarji,

Dr Shrimali, Minister for Education, has written to me more than once about the difficulties they are facing in the spread of primary education. I was much concerned at this and I wrote to the Chief Ministers on the subject and pointed out to them that it would be exceedingly unfortunate if the growth of primary education was stopped in any way. This is after all basic to all our development plans. Indeed, it affects even our defence plans which depend so much on a basic education.

I think, therefore, that this growth of primary education is as important as any other aspect of defence, as it is of development, and we should avoid any restriction of it. You have rightly pointed out that this is constitutionally the charge of the States. Some of our States are better off than others and may perhaps be able to make some additional provision for this. Other States are unhappily in a bad financial state. Something has to be done to pull them out of the trough they are in. Otherwise they will remain backward and will not participate adequately in our schemes of development.

There is another aspect, unconnected with education, which faces us. Owing to the Emergency, some of the northern States have to face additional expenditure which is directly connected with the consequences of the situation created by the Emergency. This may be considered as a part of their law and order problem, such as border defence. This is not exactly an internal law and order problem, and I think that the burden of this has to be borne by us. It is clear that they cannot bear it and we cannot afford to allow any weakening in these defences.

110. Letter to the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 40(143)/58-63-PMS, Sr. No. 46-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

But I am writing to you mainly on the subject of education. I think we should help these States to the utmost of our capacity and ensure that the programme of our educational growth is carried on fully. I hope you will consider this matter in this larger aspect because of its essential importance. Unfortunately conditions in the different States vary very much, and the gap between them becomes bigger. One of the essential ways of laying the basis for a reduction of this gap is education.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

359. To Mohit Sen: Education on National Movement¹¹¹

May 18, 1963

Dear Shri Mohit Sen,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th May.

I think you are right in saying that the present generation of students, and indeed others also, have no real knowledge of our national movement. To some extent, this is perhaps inevitable. We who participated in that movement, had strong emotional experiences. The new generation cannot be expected to feel that way about it. Still I think that the fault is largely ours for not having tried adequately to make the new generation realise what our national movement was.

I think that it would be a good thing if there was a special effort made in our schools and colleges to tell boys and girls about this movement and the forces that were behind it. The objections to this that you mention, have little force.

Your second point is difficult for me to deal with. Briefly, I suppose it was to some extent a natural reaction to the ending of the national political struggle. The Congress, mixed as it was, had not enough clear direction. But the subject is a complicated and difficult one, and I cannot deal with it, even if I could, in a letter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

111. Letter to CPI member; address: 3/4/614 Narayanaguda, Hyderabad.

360. To K.L. Shrimali: Education on National Movement¹¹²

May 19, 1963

My dear Shrimali,

I enclose a letter which might interest you. It is from a Communist who appears to be nationalistically inclined.¹¹³

He makes a proposal that a compulsory paper be set for all our students on our freedom struggle. Whether this is done or not, I think it should be a subject taken up in all our colleges. At present, so far as I know, all the information that is given is very scrappy and deals chiefly with prominent individuals. Little or nothing is said about the deeper nature and causes of the struggle and the forces that were behind it.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

361. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: University Autonomy¹¹⁴

May 21, 1963

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

I have received a letter from S.B.P. Pattabhi Rama Rao, Pro-Chancellor, Andhra University, a copy of which I enclose.¹¹⁵

I do not know what has happened in the Andhra University which led your Government to order an enquiry. But some of the points raised in the Pro-Chancellor's letter appear to me to deserve attention. Before ordering an enquiry, it would have been desirable to refer the matter to the University authorities. Also the Committee of Enquiry, as suggested, might preferably have consisted of some prominent people outside Government. Personally, I attach some importance to the autonomy of Universities. If this autonomy is abused, something has to be done. But a Government should be careful not to interfere unnecessarily in this autonomy, and even if some step has to be taken, it should be an enquiry which is not purely a departmental one.

112. Letter to the Minister of Education.

113. From Mohit Sen. See item 359.

114. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. PMO, File No. 40(251)/63-75-PMS, Sr. No. 3-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

115. Appendix 6.

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I am suggesting this without knowing the facts of the case. I do not want this matter to assume large proportions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

362. To S.B.P. Pattabhi Rama Rao: University Autonomy¹¹⁶

May 21, 1963

Dear Shri Pattabhi Rama Rao,

I have received your letter of the 18th May.¹¹⁷ I have read it with great care, but it does not disclose the background or why the Andhra Pradesh Government has considered it necessary to take some step. I am, therefore, writing to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and sending him a copy of your letter to me.

Generally speaking, I agree with you that Universities should have a large measure of autonomy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

363. To D.S. Kothari: Appointing National Professors¹¹⁸

May 31, 1963

My dear Kothari,

Thank you for your letter of the 31st May¹¹⁹ in which you suggest appointing a number of “gifted men” professors on a national basis to teaching posts in Universities. I rather like your idea. I think it is worth working out this scheme fully.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

116. Letter to the Pro-Chancellor of Andhra University. PMO, File No. 40(251)/63-75-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

117. Appendix 6.

118. Letter to the Chairman of the UGC. PMO, File No. 40(161)/58-76-PMS, Sr. No. 28-A.

119. Appendix 12.

364. To S.A. Haidar: UP Engineering Institute Offer¹²⁰

June 2, 1963

Dear Shri Haidar,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th May. I am glad to learn of the good work being done by the UP Engineering Institute and your offer to train the sons of our officers and jawans who have lost their lives or have been disabled in the defence of our country.

You suggest that these scholarships should be called “Motilal Nehru Scholarships”. I do not particularly like the use of my father’s name in this connection. But if you and your Institute are anxious to use his name, I have no objection to it.

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

365. To Hiralal Shastri: Women’s Education at Banasthali Vidyapith¹²¹

June 2, 1963

My dear Hiralalji,

Your letter of 30th May. I received your previous letter also of April 25th, with the note on Banasthali Vidyapith.

From my personal visits to the Vidyapith, I know what good work it has been doing in the cause of women’s education. Reading your note, I find that it has progressed in many directions still further and the scope of its work is much broader now. I am sure that this work is of national importance. The Banasthali not only gives good training to the individuals, but also helps in the process of national integration. I wish it every success.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

120. Letter to the Director of the UP Engineering Institute, Ranikhet, Uttar Pradesh. Sent from Dehra Dun.

121. Letter to former Chief Minister of Rajasthan and founder of Banasthali Vidyapith ; address Banasthali Vidyapith, Rajasthan. Sent from Dehra Dun.

366. To K.L. Shrimali: Lionel Gregory's Commonwealth Expedition¹²²

June 20, 1963

My dear Shrimali,

I wonder if you met Col. Lionel Gregory¹²³ or have read about his scheme for a Commonwealth College and the Commonwealth Youth Expedition. He came to India twice, once last year. Possibly I wrote to you about him then. He has written to me again and I enclose his letter with a note attached.¹²⁴

I do not quite know what we can do about this. We have too many burdens to carry and it is not feasible to add to them. However, I am sending these papers to you for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

367. To C.B. Gupta: Land for Aligarh Medical College¹²⁵

June 20, 1963

My dear Chandra Bhanu,

I enclose a letter from the Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University at Aligarh. This is about some acquisition of land for the Aligarh Medical College. He spoke to me about this matter when he saw me some days ago. I enquired as to what the land was like. He tells me now that one-third of the land is completely uncultivable and that the rest is of poor quality.

Badruddin Tyabji, the present Vice-Chancellor, is doing good work in the University and I believe he has succeeded in changing the atmosphere there. You should try to help him as far as it lies in your power.

So far as this hospital is concerned, you will remember that the Medical College and Hospital business there has been pending for many years. It took a long time for permission to be given. The sooner the hospital building is put up the better.

122. Letter to the Minister of Education, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. Also available in the JN Collection. PMO, File No. 40 (252)/63-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

123. An officer of the Gurkha Regiment.

124. Letter of 6 June 1963, not reproduced, available in NMML, PMO, File No. 40(252)/63-PMS, Sr. No. 1-A.

125. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 40(6)/56-70-PMS, Volume I, Sr. No. 78-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

As for their having other land, that is true, but I believe that the Vice-Chancellor proposes to utilise this land for agriculture and like purposes. It is proposed to open an agricultural college there.

I think it will be a good thing if you expedite the acquisition of this land for the Aligarh Medical College.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

368. For the NCC¹²⁶

The NCC is entering a new phase of its existence with the scheme of compulsory training for all the able-bodied young men in our colleges and universities. This has been one of the many responses from our people to the Chinese aggression on India and the future threat that it holds at the time.

We are not a military-minded people but nor do we wish to create a State in which the military aspect has dominance, yet when danger threatens our country and our freedom we have to take to the sword or to the gun to defend it. We have to develop the mentality to defend our country and freedom at all costs. If we lose them what will life hold out for us.

For people of my generation the challenge was of foreign rule in India and under the inspiring and wonderful leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the Indian people accepted that challenge and met it, not with swords and guns, but in a peaceful way and succeeded in their object. That was a wonderful experience for those of us who participated in this great struggle.

Now another challenge has come to us, a deeper one and in some ways more difficult one. Essentially it is a challenge to the spirit of India and the present generation has to answer it. There are many ways in answering it. Cultivate a unity of India, a spirit of cooperative endeavour and strengthen India by our work in whatever field or activity we may be, so as to strengthen the wealth and economy of India and thus get rid of the curses of poverty and inequality.

Military training is a thing good for all our young men and women. If necessary that may lead to the battle field, but even more important in this training is to inculcate discipline and fearlessness, capacity to cooperate in a spirit of equality and to devote ourselves to higher causes. I am glad that the NCC has grown considerably and will grow even more and will thus help in producing that spirit in our younger generation which is the life breath of

126. Message, 22 June 1963. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

a nation. I wish, therefore, to NCC and all the young men and women in it success and great future in their endeavour to become worthy citizens and real soldiers of free India.

369. To Samuel Mathai: Foreign Exchange to Attend Conference¹²⁷

June 29, 1963

Dear Dr Mathai,

I have your letter of the 27th June.

While I sympathise with your wish to attend the Commonwealth Conference of Vice-Chancellors, I confess I do not understand the objection taken to limiting the number of Vice-Chancellors who might go there. The objection specially applies, of course, to expenditure in foreign exchange.

It is true that quite a number of people are going abroad from India, but each particular person's credentials for this purpose are supposed to be examined.

Surely academic freedom can hardly be said to include the right to obtain foreign exchange in a period of special difficulty.

I am sending your letter to our Education Minister.¹²⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

370. To K.L. Shrimali: Samuel Mathai's Foreign Travel¹²⁹

June 29, 1963

My dear Shrimali,

I enclose a letter from Samuel Mathai and my reply to him.

He does not ask for any foreign exchange. I do not see why he should be prevented from going or from buying a ticket.¹³⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

127. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Kerala. PMO, File No. 40 (256)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 5-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

128. See item 370.

129. Letter to the Education Minister. PMO, File No. 40 (256)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 6-A.

130. See item 369.

371. To Ramlal Parikh: Gujarat Vidyapith Convocation¹³¹

June 29, 1963

Dear Ramlal Parikh,

I have your letter of the 29th June. I am attracted to your invitation to attend the Convocation of the Gujarat Vidyapith. But the dates you have suggested will clash with the sittings of Parliament. These sittings are going to be very important, and it will not be an easy matter for me to be absent from them. At the present moment, therefore, I am unable to give you a definite reply.

I am going to Calcutta on Monday early morning for two or three days. I am sorry I shall not be able to see you tomorrow as I am heavily engaged.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**372. To A.K. Majumdar: Keeping Secrets from
Historians¹³²**

July 2, 1963

Dear Dr Majumdar,

I have your letter of July 1st. I am enquiring from the Home Ministry about the matter you have referred to in it.¹³³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

131. Letter to the Registrar, Gujarat Vidyapith ; address: c/o Shri Amarish Trivedi, 7A/12 WEA, Karol Bagh, New Delhi.

132. Letter to the historian: c/o Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mehta Sadan, Curzon Road, New Delhi-1. MHA, File No. 50/5/63-Poll-II. p.18. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Calcutta.

133. See items 373 and 374.

373. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Keeping Secrets from Historians¹³⁴

July 2, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I enclose a letter from Dr A.K. Majumdar who is writing *History and Culture of the Indian People*.¹³⁵ I do not understand why some ancient rule of the Home Ministry of about thirty years should be applied in this or indeed any other case. If it is a fact that these papers were shown to Brecher,¹³⁶ then it is all the more unfair not to show them to Dr Majumdar.¹³⁷

In any event, why should a rule made long ago under British times apply now? When there is a competent historian wanting to see our old papers, we should have no objection. The only thing that we should lay stress on is that no quotation from our secret papers should be made without reference to Government.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

374. In Calcutta: At the Indian Statistical Institute¹³⁸

Statistical Institute work praised

Calcutta, July 2 – Prime Minister Nehru today described the Indian Statistical Institute as “a vital organisation” for the nation’s developmental work.

Pandit Nehru was addressing the workers and students of the institute in the northern area of the city.

134. Letter to the Home Minister. MHA, File No. 50/5/63-Poll II. p. 5. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Calcutta.

135. Majumdar was an editor and contributor in this series. See items 372 and 378.

136. Michael Brecher, author of *Nehru. A Political Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

137. Extract from A.K. Majumdar’s letter of 1 July 1963 to Nehru: “I have now received a letter from the Ministry of Home Affairs (copy enclosed) informing me that I cannot be allowed to consult *India & Communism* (1935) and the *History of Civil Disobedience Movement*, both of which however, were consulted by Michael Brecher.

As for the rest, I have been allowed to consult the index of records up to 1940 only and submit a duplicate list of files to the Ministry who will presumably then decide which files are to be shown to me.” MHA, File No. 50/5/63-Poll-II. Pp.6-7.

138. Report of speech, 2 July 1963, reproduced from the *National Herald*, 3 July 1963.

An institution of this kind, he said, really depended not only on its broad outlook but also on the workers and the students, their cooperative effort and research work. Every year a large number of students came out of the institution after receiving training to spread its message all over the country and the world. They were privileged to work in “this worthy institution” which, he said, had done very good work. He had no doubt it would do better work in the future as well.

Earlier on arrival at the institute, Pandit Nehru was received by its director, Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis. Mrs Mahalanobis welcomed the Prime Minister by applying “tilak” on his forehead.

Advanced Studies

Pandit Nehru said that one difficulty that India had been facing was lack of certain facilities needed by students for advance studies. Indian students, he said, had extraordinarily good talent but “we have not got full opportunities to exploit it”. So, they had sometimes to go abroad to get these facilities. The urge for this was however, gradually lessening with the improvements taking place within the country. “Obviously, we cannot afford to send our bright young people abroad.”

“I think here, at this institute, you get better facilities to work. But I cannot compare it with other institutes in the rest of the world. This institute, I am told, has a reputation amongst the statistical institutions all over the world and so you have facilities to work here and I hope you will take advantage of them”, he said.

Praising the growth of the institute, Pandit Nehru recalled his long association with it and said that his first visit to it was about eighteen years ago.

Sen’s Tribute

Mr P.C. Sen, Chief Minister, said that he was amazed at the development of the institute. It was doing not only fundamental but also practical work. “As a Bengali, I am proud of this institute”, he said.

Immediately on his arrival, Pandit Nehru, accompanied by Prof. Mahalanobis and Mr P.C. Sen, went round the various departments of the institute and spent 150 minutes inquiring about the intricate equipment there.

The Prime Minister shook hands with three Russian technicians, who were helping the research workers in the institute handle various equipment for statistical work, which were received from the USSR under the United Nations Technical Assistance Scheme. He watched with great interest the performance of the electronic computer got from the Soviet Union.

Pandit Nehru also saw the excavated bones of dinosaurs, which were discovered in the Pranhita-Godavari Valley. The institute also recorded the Prime Minister's voice for keeping it in the library room as he gave a short message wishing the institution success—PTI

375. To Mirza Anwar Beg: Institute in Memory of Azad¹³⁹

July 3, 1963

Dear Mirza Sahib,

I have your letter of the 1st July. I am glad to learn that you have established a Technical Institute in memory of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. I wish you success in it. I am afraid, however that I am unable to associate myself with it. I have been associated with some other memorials to Maulana Azad and it is difficult for me to accept any responsibility for other such institutions.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

376. To K.L. Shrimali: Allowances for Students in UK¹⁴⁰

July 5, 1963

My dear Shrimali,

Some time ago, our High Commissioner in London¹⁴¹ wrote to me and said that the present foreign exchange allowances given to students, especially in Oxford and Cambridge, were wholly insufficient. He suggested that these allowances should be raised from £ 600 to £ 750 in the case of Oxford and Cambridge and from £ 600 to £ 700 in the case of students in other Universities. I sent this letter to the Finance Minister¹⁴² who was not agreeable to making this change.

Now the Tutor of Trinity College Cambridge has written to the High Commissioner and said that the present situation is a highly unsatisfactory one and that at a meeting of the Tutorial Representatives of Cambridge, it has been unanimously decided that immediate action is necessary. He suggests that the amount of foreign exchange should be raised to at least £ 775 for Arts students and £ 825 for Science students, and preferably rather more than these sums. He

139. Letter to the Secretary of the Maulana Azad Talimi Markaz, Usrehta, Shahganj, Jaunpur.

140. Letter to the Minister of Education.

141. M.C. Chagla.

142. Morarji Desai.

further points out that unless such a change is made in the immediate future, the result can only be that the colleges may hesitate to accept students from India.

I think that in the circumstances there is no choice left to us but to accept the recommendations made by the Tutorial Representatives of Cambridge.

In case that is done for Oxford and Cambridge, there should be some increase in the allowance of students at other Universities. The High Commissioner suggests this should go up from £ 600 to £ 700.

I have sent the High Commissioner's letter as well as the letter from the Tutor of Trinity College to the Finance Minister.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

377. To Humayun Kabir: Scientists' Conference¹⁴³

July 12, 1963

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of July 12th.¹⁴⁴ I would like to come to your conference of scientists on the 4th August. But I must confess that these days early in August would be very heavy for me. However, I shall try to come.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

143. Letter to the Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. PMO, File No. 40(255)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

144. Extracts: "You may remember that in July 1958, we called a conference of representative scientists to discuss measures for giving effect to the Scientific Policy Resolution which you had earlier moved in Parliament. ... I had intended to call a second conference of scientists last August, but it was just about that time that Professor Thacker fell ill and had to leave suddenly for London. I am now planning to call a conference of scientists at New Delhi on Sunday, 4th August, at 11.30 A.M. We would be honoured and delighted if you could kindly give the opening address." PMO, File No. 40(255)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 1-A.

378. To A.K. Majumdar: Permission to use Archives¹⁴⁵

July 21, 1963

Dear Dr Majumdar,

You wrote to me on July 1st about certain facilities to be given to you to see the files and papers in the Home Ministry. I had referred this matter to the Home Ministry.¹⁴⁶ I now understand that they are prepared to give you the necessary facilities to consult these files.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Culture

379. To R.R. Diwakar: *Nine Hours to Rama*¹⁴⁷

May 3, 1963

My dear Diwakar,

I have just received your circular letter of April 30th about the film, *Nine Hours to Rama*.¹⁴⁸

Lord Mountbatten¹⁴⁹ came here three days ago and expressed his extreme dislike of this film. He gave me a letter from a film producer in the UK, copy of which I enclose.¹⁵⁰ You will notice in this letter also that there is an expression of strong disapproval of the film, *Nine Hours to Rama*.

You will see from the letter enclosed that he proposes to make a film about Gandhiji's life. The letter he has written is a good one and shows a fairly correct approach. I understand that he has been in touch with Pyarelal¹⁵¹ and one or two others. I have told Lord Mountbatten that the man should get in touch with

145. Letter to historian; address: c/o Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mehta Sadan, Curzon Road, New Delhi 1. MHA, File No. 50/5/63-Poll.II, p. 19.

146. See items 372 and 373.

147. Letter to the Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Rajghat, New Delhi-1. PMO, File No. 43(183)/62-70-PMS, Sr. No. 50-A.

148. Produced by Mark Robson of the Red Lion Film, London. For a discussion on this film in the Lok Sabha, see SWJN/SS/75/item 211.

149. Chief of the Defence Staff of UK, he was in Delhi on a four-day personal visit.

150. This was in regard to the proposal made by Richard Attenborough of the Indo-British Films Ltd. for the production of a film on Mahatma Gandhi.

151. Mahatma Gandhi's Secretary.

II. DEVELOPMENT

our Films Division and if he comes to India, he can see me and some others and we can discuss this matter with him.¹⁵²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

380. To B. Gopala Reddi: British Film on Gandhi¹⁵³

May 3, 1963

My dear Gopala Reddi,
Lord Mountbatten gave me a letter he had received from a British film company. I enclose a copy of it. This deals with a probable film on the life of Mahatma Gandhi. I believe the idea is that the film should be jointly produced by the British film company and an Indian associate.

I must say that the letter written to Lord Mountbatten is a good one and creates a favourable impression. I told him that the writer of the letter should get into touch with your Films Division, and if he comes here I shall also see him.¹⁵⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

381. To L. Ariyawansa: Buddha Purnima¹⁵⁵

May 3, 1963

Dear Shri Ariyawansa,
Thank you for inviting me on the occasion of the Buddha Purnima function. I would have greatly liked to attend on this auspicious day. I am sorry, however, that owing to heavy work, I shall not be able to do so.

I send my good wishes on this occasion and my homage to The Buddha. I do believe that his message of peace is more needed today than perhaps ever before. Peace is not merely a negative abstention from violence but something

152. See also item 380.

153. Letter to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting. PMO, File No.43(208)/63-64-PMS, Sr. No. 5-A.

154. See also item 379.

155. Letter to the Secretary of the Maha Bodhi Society of India, Reading Road, New Delhi.

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much more positive of the mind and the heart. Both for individuals as well as for nations, this path of peace is the only one which will get rid of the present day discords and bring blessings to humanity.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

382. To Dhruva Kumar: Himalayan Expedition¹⁵⁶

May 5, 1963

Dear Dhruva Kumar,

I have your letter of April 30th. I am glad to learn that “Paribhraman”¹⁵⁷ is organising an expedition to the Himalayas. I have looked through the detailed plan you have sent and from this it appears that you have given much thought to all aspects of your Himalayan expedition.

I think this expedition of young men and young women in the high Himalayas is excellent. I must congratulate all of you who are participating in it. I would like more and more of our young people to acquaint themselves with these famous mountains of ours which have dominated Indian history and culture for so long. You all have my good wishes and blessings.

I shall be glad to see you in Delhi on your return.

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

156. Letter to the Secretary of “Paribhraman”, Opp. Court, Bhadra, Ahmedabad 1. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 86-A.

157. *The Himalayan Journal*, Vol. 24 (1963) carried the following information: “The ‘Paribhraman’ of Ahmedabad led by D. Pandya climbed Shri Kailas (22,742 feet) and two other unnamed peaks in the Gangotri region.” See <https://www.himalayanclub.org/hj/24/21/club-proceedings-1962-63/> accessed on 26 March 2019.

383. To R.R. Diwakar: Gandhi Peace Foundation Building¹⁵⁸

May 6, 1963

My dear Diwakar,

I have your circular letter dated May 3rd addressed to the members of the Executive Committee of the Gandhi Peace Foundation. This is about the construction of buildings for the Peace Foundation.

It seems to me that a building which will occupy nine acres will be something very big. Anyhow I am wholly agreeable to leaving a portion, as suggested, unbuilt.

While I am sure that Shri Bhuta will make plans for a suitable building, I suggest that the architects of the Works Ministry as well as of the Delhi Planning Authority might be shown these plans before they are finalised.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

384. In the Lok Sabha: Foreigners in AIR¹⁵⁹

Hari Vishnu Kamath:¹⁶⁰ Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 977 on the 22nd April, 1963 and state.

- (a) The number of foreigners employed in each of the language units of All India Radio separately on the 1st April 1959, 1st April, 1961 and 1st April, 1963.
- (b) Whether steps are being taken towards complete Indianisation of the personal of such units, where foreign nationals are still employed, and
- (c) if not, the reasons thereof.

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (Sham Nath):

158. Letter to the Chairman of the Gandhi Peace Foundation. PMO, File No. 2(249)/61-64-PMS, Vol. I & II, Sr. No. 58-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

159. Oral Answers to questions, 6 May 1963. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 18, Third Series, April 25 to May 7, 1963, cols 13958-13963.

160. PSP.

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- (a) A statement is laid on the Table of the House (Placed in the library, see No. LT – 1312/63).
- (b) and (c) Efforts are being made to Indianise the language units of All India Radio to the extent practicable.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: It is a matter of gratification that complete Indianisation of personnel has taken place in only two units, English and Portuguese. In the other units there are still foreign nationals employed. Is it a fact that, taking one of the language units as an example, some of the personnel employed formerly in the Chinese unit were arrested recently for anti-Indian activities, espionage operations? Is it a fact that the announcer or the broadcaster actually used to depart from the script that had been earlier approved to suit his own purposes? May I know what precautions, what steps, are being taken to prevent repetition of this kind of activity in these foreign language units which may be friendly to the Chinese, including the Chinese unit itself?

Sham Nath: There was some trouble regarding some announcers in the Chinese unit and one of them was arrested and some enquiry was made. As regards the foreign language units, generally we take all possible care to scrutinise the antecedents of the people who are employed in these language units and I do not think there has been any trouble or difficulty in regard to the personnel of any other units.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: The Minister said, steps are being taken to Indianise the personnel in the foreign language units. But actually, the statement laid on the Table of the House shows that in some units there has been increase in the number of foreign personnel employed in these language units. What is the reason for this foreignisation, if I can use that word?

Sham Nath: We take all possible steps to employ as many suitable Indians as we can, but for broadcasting purposes it is very necessary to have people who can speak foreign languages with the correct accent, pronunciation and fluency. So, sometimes it is very difficult to get suitable Indians. At the same time as I have already said, Sir, we are always trying to have more and more Indians in all our units.

Hari Vishnu Kamath: That is a serious reflection upon our own Indian personnel, because he says that Indians cannot speak for instance French with good accent. The Prime Minister knows that Indians can speak foreign languages with good accent.

Speaker.¹⁶¹ The answer has been given.

Hem Barua:¹⁶² India occupies the second place in the world, so far as knowledge of foreign languages is concerned.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Apart from some individuals speaking good French or good anything else, it is very, very difficult to reproduce the manner of speaking of a foreign tongue, by a foreigner, by us. It may be, having adopted English as a step-mother tongue, so far as English is concerned, we may be able to speak with tolerable facility but so far as other languages are concerned, it is extraordinarily difficult. It is difficult for an Englishman to speak French properly, leaving out the Indians. In fact, generally, if an Indian knows French he will probably speak with a better accent than an Englishman. It becomes a matter of laughing stock to the listener at the other end if the language is distorted in pronunciation, accent etc. by the announcer.

Mahavir Tyagi:¹⁶³ How long were the Chinese employees of these units allowed to continue after the Chinese aggression? For how many months? Were these worthy Chinese taken on the recommendation of Chou En-lai's Government?

Sham Nath: I have no information whether these persons were employed on the recommendation of any foreign government, but it is a fact that some of them continued there and there was an inquiry because of a complaint against one of them.

Mahavir Tyagi: For how many months were they continued?

Sham Nath: About two months, Sir.

गोविन्द दास:¹⁶⁴ प्रधानमंत्री जी ने जो यह कहा है कि विदेशी भाषा का ठीक तरह से उच्चारण करने में बहुत दिक्कत होती है यह बिल्कुल सही है। लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि इन सब स्थानों पर भारतीय नियुक्त हो सकें, इसके लिए क्या प्रयत्न

161. Hukam Singh.

162. PSP.

163. Congress.

164. Congress.

किये जा रहे हैं? क्या कुछ एक भारतीयों को कोई विदेशी भाषायें सिखाई जा रही हैं या और किसी प्रकार का प्रशिक्षण दिया जा रहा है?

.शाम नाथ: मिनिस्ट्री आफ एजुकेशन की जो फारेन लेगुंएजिज स्कालरशिप स्कीम है, उसके सिलसिले में ए0आई0आर0 परसनेल को फारन लैगुंएजिज की ट्रेनिंग के लिए भेजा जाता है। उसके साथ साथ जो हमारी इंडियन मिशन हैं, दूसरी कंट्रीज में, उनके जरिये भी जो क्वालिफाइड लोग हैं, उनको हासिल करने की कोशिश की जाती है।

[Translation begins:

Govind Das: ¹⁶⁵ The Prime Minister has spoken quite rightly about the difficulties in pronouncing foreign languages. But I want to know what is being done to fill up these positions by Indians. Are a few Indians being taught foreign languages or given some kind of training?

Sham Nath: AIR personnel are sent for training in foreign languages under the Foreign Languages Scholarship Scheme of the Ministry of Education. Qualified people are also recruited through our Indian Missions abroad.

Translation ends]

T. Manaen: ¹⁶⁶ May I know if Government will indicate whether it is a fact that the Kurseong station of the All India Radio is manned almost entirely by the Nepalese-knowing people who are Indians and who are giving excellent service? If so, may I know whether Government has considered it feasible to have Nepalese-knowing people of Indian origin in the Nepalese programme of the All India Radio in Delhi also?

Sham Nath: As regards the Nepalese unit, we have got two Indians and four foreigners. In all, six persons are working in the Nepalese unit. We will note the suggestion of the hon. Member and try to do the needful, if possible, Sir.

यशपाल सिंह: ¹⁶⁷ २६ अप्रैल की शाम को पौने आठ बजे एक ऐसी टाक ब्राडकास्ट की गई थी जिसकी लैगुंएज गलत थी और प्रोनंसिएशन फाल्टी था, क्या यह सही है।

165. See fn 164 in this section.

166. Congress.

167. Independent from Kairana, UP.

Sham Nath. I would require notice, Sir.

अध्यक्ष महोदय: न तो आपने जुबान बताई हैं कि किस जुबान में वह टाक थी और न ही आप ने बताया

यशपाल सिंह: पौने आठ बजे बताया है और तारीख भी बताई है कि २६ अप्रैल थी।

[Translation begins:

Yashpal Singh:¹⁶⁸ A talk was broadcast on 29 April in the evening at 7.45 p.m. whose language was wrong and pronunciation faulty, is it true?

Sham Nath. I would require notice, Sir.

Speaker: You have neither told us the language of the talk nor....

Yashpal Singh: Time was 7.45 p.m. and date was 29 April.

Translation ends]

Hem Barua. In view of the fact that the hon. Prime Minister has stated that our accents are not good and we may be laughing stock abroad, may I draw the attention of the Prime Minister to the fact that broadcasts in foreign languages like French and Spanish are done in the South East Asian countries by the local people? In view of that, may I know from the Prime Minister whether the security of our country is not of better or more importance than accent?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The importance is for the recipient to receive it, to hear it, to understand it and to appreciate it. All these factors go if it is not properly done. If the reception is not good, the reaction on the mind also is not good.

168. See fn 167 in this section.

385. In New Delhi: Din Dayalu Sharma Centenary¹⁶⁹

अध्यक्ष महोदय,¹⁷⁰ बहनो और भाइयो,
आज आपने मुझे इस शुभ अवसर पर निमंत्रण दिया, बुलाया यहाँ, मैं आपका बहुत आभारी हूँ क्योंकि इससे मुझे मौका मिला कि मैं भी अपनी श्रद्धांजलि पंडित दीनदयालु जी¹⁷¹ के लिए पेश करूँ। अच्छा होता है कि आजकल की दुनिया में जबकि नये-नये सवाल उठते हैं, प्रश्न उठते हैं, हम ज़रा अपनी निगाह डालें उन महापुरुषों की ओर जिन्होंने कुछ पहले से रास्ता दिखाया। दुनिया बदलती है और नयी-नयी बातें निकलती हैं, नये-नये रास्ते निकलते हैं लेकिन बुनियादी बातें रहती हैं बदलती हुई दुनिया में भी, सिद्धांत की बातें रहती हैं, ऊपर की चीज़ें बदलती हैं। और जो लोग उन बुनियादी बातों पर, सिद्धांत की बातों पर देश का और जनता का ध्यान देते हैं वो एक बहुत आवश्यक काम करते हैं, क्योंकि हम लोग नहीं तो बहकते रहते हैं वक्रत के गुज़रने से, वक्रत के सवालों पर। और खासकर आजकल एक तो बहुत बातों में दुनिया भी बदल रही है तेज़ी से, भारत भी बदल रहा है और हमारे यहाँ जो गणतंत्र है उसमें भी एक मौका मिलता है बहुतों को अपनी राय देने का और किसी क़दर आपस में झगड़ा करने का भी, वो भी एक ज़िन्दगी की निशानी है, ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा हो तो बुरा होता है लेकिन कुछ होना बुरा नहीं है, झगड़ा मेरा मतलब नहीं, लेकिन जागृति हो, बहस हो, शास्त्रार्थ हो। बुरे माने में मैं नहीं कहता लेकिन अच्छे माने में वो भी एक जीवन की निशानी है एक जाति की। ये सब बातें होती हैं जब देश स्वतंत्र होता है, लोगों की शिक्षा बढ़ती है, बहुत सारे लोग दिलचस्पी लेने लगते हैं इन प्रश्नों में, उसमें ख़राबियाँ भी होती हैं इसमें कोई शक नहीं।

आजकल हम स्वतंत्र हैं, हमारे यहाँ चुनाव होते हैं, आप जानते हैं चुनाव में बहुत गर्मा-गर्मी होती है और अक्सर ग़लत बातें होती हैं, कहीं ज़्यादा होती है, तो बुरा तरफ़ है उसका, बहुत कठिन होता है ऐसी हालत में अच्छे और बुरे को अलग करना, यह साथ-साथ से चलते हैं। अच्छी बातों को हम पकड़ें तो उसके साथ कुछ बुरी बातें भी उसके पीछे-पीछे आती हैं, विचार यह करना होता है कि अच्छी बात पकड़ी है, हम बहक नहीं जाते बुरी बातों में और बुरी बातों को रोकना होता है। गरज़ कि क्या मूल सिद्धांत हैं जो हमें याद रखने चाहियें और जो हमारा मार्गदर्शन करें।

हज़ारों बरस का हमारा, भारत का इतिहास है, ऊँच-नीच हुई है बहुत कुछ, और, लेकिन एक बात है जो कि और किसी देश में शायद नहीं है, एक और देश में कहा जा सकता था कि कुछ है अपने ढंग की, लेकिन वो भी शायद उसका भी अन्त हो गया। वो यह है कि बावजूद इन हज़ारों बरस की ऊँच-नीच के एक सिलसिला भारत में चला आता

169. Speech at the Constitution Club, New Delhi, 7 May 1963. AIR Tapes, TS No. 9854, 9855, NM No. 1803, 1810.

170. Yadavendra Singh, Maharaja of Patiala.-

171. Din Dayalu Sharma (1863-1937); founder of Bharat Dharma Mahamandala for starting the Sanatan Dharma movement.

है, जो कुछ भी आप उसे कहिए, कुछ संस्कृति का, कुछ आदर्शों का, कुछ विचारों का, बदलती हुई इस दुनिया में भी वो रहा यहाँ और उसने भारत में एक ढंग की एकता पैदा की। हालांकि भारत के बहुत टुकड़े थे, अलग-अलग राज्य थे लेकिन फिर भी एक संस्कृति की एकता थी, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं उसी ने बांधा और वो सिलसिला चलता आया है हजारों बरस। कोई चीज़ इतने दिन चल नहीं सकती जब तक कि उसमें अन्दर की शक्ति न हो और वो शक्ति थी, बहुत कमज़ोरियों के होते हुए भी वो चलती आयी। और अब प्रश्न यह होता है कि उस शक्ति को हम कैसे पकड़ें? उसकी अच्छी बातें रखें, उसको आजकल की दुनिया में उसको एक नया वस्त्र पहनायें लेकिन कुछ अंदरूनी शक्ति रहे। मुश्किल यह होती है कि बाज़ लोग अंदरूनी शक्ति को समझें कि महज़ एक बाज़ पुरानी बातों को दोहराना है, पुरानी बातें अच्छी हैं, सब अच्छी नहीं होती। कालीदास ने कहा पुराने होने से तो अच्छा नहीं हो जाता, न नये होने से अच्छा हो जाता है, अच्छी बात है तो है, पुरानी हो या नयी हो। तो अच्छी बात हो तो उसको, अच्छी बातों को रखना, जो पुरानी अच्छी हैं उसको रखना और उसको बदलती हुई दुनिया में खपाना, दोनों बातें करनी होती हैं। अगर एक बात को छोड़ें तो ख़राबी होती है क्योंकि बदलती हुई दुनिया को हम न समझें तो हम अलग हो जाते हैं, हम चाहे अपनी राय में ठीक हों लेकिन हम खपते नहीं इस दुनिया में। बग़ैर खपे चाहे दुनिया को आप लीजिए, चाहे देश को लीजिए, चाहे एक परिवार को क्यों न लीजिए, अगर आप किसी तरह से अपने परिवार में खपते नहीं तो आप कितने ही अच्छे हों, कुछ कमी है आप में जो आप खपते नहीं अपने परिवार में, अपने देश में, औरों से खपते नहीं तो कमी हो जाती है। [संबंध] और बड़ा कीजिए संसार में सभी से, सभी को समझना कुछ और कम से कम यत्न करना, समझ के उनसे मिल के रहना, कठिन बात है, मैं मानता हूँ लेकिन एक रास्ता वही है। और आजकल की दुनिया इतनी बदल रही है कि जबकि कोई देश इतनी दूर नहीं रहा, सब एक-दूसरे के पड़ोसी हो गये, दो-चार घंटे में हवाई जहाज़ से आप पाँच-सात देशों के पार हो जाते हैं, कहीं पहुँच जाते हैं, यह और भी आवश्यक हो गया।

अब भारत के इतिहास में यह मालूम होता है कि भारतीय लोग प्राचीन समय से बहुत संबंध रखते थे और देशों से, बहुत आते-जाते थे और एशिया में तो जाते ही थे, एशिया के देशों में, और भी जगह। इस समय भी आप भारत की संस्कृति को पूरी तौर से समझना चाहें, यहाँ की कलाओं को और संस्कृति को, तो शायद आप पूरी तौर से नहीं समझ सकते बग़ैर उसकी खोज किए [कि] भारत के बाहर भी, भारत के बाहर कितनी दूर-दूर वो पहुँची है। हमारी बाज़ प्रसिद्ध पुस्तकें, पुराने समय की गोबी [Gobi] में निकलीं, गोबी डेज़र्ट [Gobi Desert] में, वहाँ से आयी हैं, उनका नाम यहाँ खो गया है, वहाँ से आयीं या उसका अनुवाद मिला कहीं तिब्बती भाषा में या चीनी भाषा में, असली नहीं मिलती, शायद मिल जायें। सारे में फैली, इंडोनीज़िया में तो गयी और सारे हिन्दचीन के इलाक़े में, इधर भी पश्चिमी एशिया में भी पहुँची। तो क्या बात थी? एक शक्ति थी फैलने की और और लोगों से मिलने की, और लोगों से सीखने की, और लोगों को सिखाने की जो के बड़े देशों में होती है। फिर आप देखें कि कुछ हमारे देश में कुछ बन्द सा हो गया है और बन्द

होने में एक यह बात थी कि देश के अन्दर ही काफ़ी ख़ज़ाने थे, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं बड़े ख़ज़ाने थे विचारों के, संस्कृति के, सब ठीक है, लेकिन फिर भी बन्द होना ठीक नहीं होता। कितना ही ऊँचा आदमी हो, ऊँची जाति हो, जहाँ वो बन्द हो जाती है [फिर] और जगह से हवा नहीं आती, उस समय कुछ सिकुड़ सी जाती है, ताज़ी हवाएँ और कहीं से नहीं आती। वो समय आया और कई सौ बरस तक वो रहा, जिसमें हम हल्के-हल्के दुर्बल होते गये और हमारे ऊपर हमले हुए। हमले हुए कई प्रकार के—फ़ौजी हमले हुए, कुछ को हमने हरा दिया, हटाया, कुछ सफल हो गये, ये सब बातें हुई, लेकिन इन सब बातों में बावजूद इन हमलों के बहुत ज़्यादा असर हमारे बुनियादी विचारों पर और संस्कृति पर नहीं पड़ा, कुछ पड़ा, बहुत नहीं पड़ा।

फिर अंग्रेज़ आये, वो एक नयी विद्या को ले के आये और नये ज़माने की तस्वीरें ले के आये, नये ज़माने से मेरा मतलब है विज्ञान का ज़माना, मशीन का ज़माना, यंत्रों का, जिससे उनकी शक्ति हुई थी, बढ़ी थी और जिससे वो फैले। तब एक नये प्रकार का हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण हुआ, कुछ अच्छा और कुछ बुरा, एक नयी बात थी, उसका आना अच्छा हुआ, लेकिन उसने कुछ हमारे बुनियादी विचारों पर हमला किया, हमारी कुछ संस्कृति पर हमला किया इस माने में कि एक नयी चीज़, नयी संस्कृति, नयी बात रखी और देखने में वह दुनिया में सफल हो रही थी, कोई इसमें संदेह नहीं। हालांकि उस संस्कृति का संबंध कोई ख़ास अंग्रेज़ीयत से नहीं था, वो विज्ञान की थी, वो यंत्रों की थी लेकिन हमारे पास जो आयी रूप ले के वो कुछ अंग्रेज़ीपन की, अंग्रेज़ी भाषा की भी और और बातों की। इसलिए यहाँ लोग झुकने लगे, कुछ लोग, करोड़ों लोग तो नहीं, काफ़ी लोग झुकने लगे और उससे इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि एक लाभ हुआ, वो यह कि कुछ हमारे दरवाज़े खुलने लगे बाहर की दुनिया पर, जो हमने बन्द कर दिए दरवाज़े और खिड़कियाँ और हानि यह हुई कि वो छापा उसने मारा हमारे ऊपर और हमारी जो जड़ें थीं वो कुछ खुद गई, वो अच्छी बात नहीं होती। कोई भी जाति, उस देश के रहने वाले अपनी जड़ों से खुद जायें, अलग हो जायें तो वो पूरीतौर से कोई न अपने रहते हैं, न किसी और संस्कृति को पकड़ सकते हैं। तो मैं इसके हक़ में हूँ कि हमें विशेषकर आजकल, हमेशा ही से, आजकल ख़ूब और मुल्क, और देशों के बने हुए विचार वगैरा को आने देना चाहिए, दरवाज़े-खिड़कियाँ खुली रहें, लेकिन उससे भी पूरीतौर से लाभ जभी उठा सकते हैं जब हम अपनी भूमि में कुछ मज़बूती से जमें। जैसे गांधी जी ने एक दफ़े कहा था कि हर जगह की हम चाहते हैं हवाएँ हमारे पास आयें और हमें ताज़ा करें, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं कि हमें उखाड़ के तूफ़ान की तरह अपने मुल्क से गिरा दें, अपनी भूमि से, यह बात सही नहीं।

तो अंग्रेज़ों के यहाँ आने से एक लाभ हुआ इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं और वो लाभ यह कि जो दरवाज़े-खिड़कियाँ हमारी बन्द हो गयी थीं और दुनिया की, वो खुलीं, वो भी बहुत नहीं खुलीं, खुलीं अंग्रेज़ों के मुल्क या देश की तरफ़, इतिहास की तरफ़। एशिया से तो हमारी खिड़कियाँ बन्द हो गयीं, पहले बहुत खुली थीं, बन्द हो गयीं, वो नहीं खोलीं उन्होंने, वो और भी बन्द हो गयीं। यह लाभ हुआ और हानि, हानि तो बहुत हुई, हमें मालूम है हमारी आर्थिक हानि हुई, हमारी सांस्कृतिक हानि हुई, सब हुई।

तो अब इस सिलसिले में आप देखें कि उन्नीसवीं सदी में भारत में बहुत सारी पुरानी हवाएँ ताज़ा हुईं और नयी हवाएँ भी आयीं। एक तरफ़ से वो हवा थी, जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा अंग्रेज़ीयत की, जिसमें कुछ अच्छाई थी और कुछ बुराई थी। दूसरी तरफ़ से उसके असर से हमारी पुरानी बहुत बातें जाग उठीं, और कितनी बातों में हमारे अगर, मुझे अधिकार नहीं है बहुत धर्म वगैरा का चर्चा करना, लेकिन आप मुझे माफ़ करेंगे अगर कुछ कहूँ। धर्म को लीजिए आप, हिन्दू धर्म को लीजिए, सनातन धर्म को लीजिए, उसकी भी कुछ, वो कुछ किसी क्रूर पर्दे में पड़ गया था, पर्दे से निकला, नया रूप धारण किया, सिद्धांत उसके पुराने थे लेकिन नया रूप हुआ, नयी भाषा में बोला, नये शब्दों में, और इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं उन्नीसवीं सदी में बहुत सारी बातें भारत में हुईं, वो एक समन्वय की थीं, मिलाने की थीं कुछ नयी दुनिया को पुरानी दुनिया के साथ। हालांकि उसमें सिद्धांत रूप से वो पुराने कहे जायें लेकिन नये वस्त्र पहने, नया ढंग हुआ, नये तरीक़े बोले और हल्के-हल्के एक नयी जागृति हुई। इस नयी जागृति में बहुत सारे महापुरुष हुए हमारे देश में। बहुतों में शुरू में उन्नीसवीं सदी के राजा राममोहन राय थे, और लोग बहुत बड़े आदमी हुए, दयानन्द सरस्वती भी थे और बाद में पंडित दीनदयालु थे, महापुरुष थे, उन्होंने काफ़ी मदद की और काफ़ी इस पुराने सनातन धर्म को कुछ नयी पोशाक पहनायी और उससे उसकी शक्ति बढ़ायी। और कैसे पहनायी? देखिए एक चीज़ जब बढ़ती है सुकड़ के नहीं बढ़ती, वो फैल के बढ़ती है। उन्होंने जैसे कि आप जानते हैं यह कोशिश की हिन्दू का नाम ख़ाली एक, जिनको आप एक, एक तरह से ख़ाली हिन्दू कहें आजकल वो नहीं, बल्कि उसमें उन्होंने मिलाया सब और धर्मों को जैसे सिख हैं, जैन हैं, बौद्ध हैं, सब भारत के ऐसे धर्मों को मिलाया, उन्होंने कहा सब हिन्दू हैं। अब वो हिन्दू आप कहें न कहें लेकिन इस तरह से देखने ही से एक तरीक़ा एक फैल जाता है, आपका मन और दिमाग़ और आप अपनाते हैं बहुतों को। उन्होंने, काफ़ी उनकी इच्छा थी और कोशिश की हिन्दुओं को मुसलमानों में मेल करने की और मिल के रहें और आप जानते हैं वो बहुत लायक़ थे, विद्वान थे, ख़ाली संस्कृत-हिन्दी में नहीं बल्कि अरबी-फ़ारसी में भी। तो उनके हाथ में शक्ति थी इसको करने की और उन्होंने नयी-नयी बातें शुरू की, फैलायीं, जिससे भारत को काफ़ी लाभ हुआ। मैं समझता हूँ और जो बाद में, बाद में या उनके ज़माने में भी राजनीति में भारत ने तरक्की की उसकी बहुत वजह यह थी कि उसके पहले ऐसी बातों में, जो राजनीति की ख़ाली न कहलायें, सांस्कृतिक बातों में, समाज की बातों में, कुछ धर्म की बातों में भारत जाग उठा था, जाग रहा था, उससे कुछ उसकी ताक़त और शक्ति बढ़ी थी।

अब महाराजा ने [recording indistinct] साहब ने काफ़ी ज़ोर दिया इस बात पर, एकता पर। यह तो एक बुनियादी बात है जो कि हमेशा ही से भारत के सामने सवाल है और आजकल भी है, आजकल नये भारत में भी है और जिस आदमी ने, जिस राजा-महाराजा ने, सम्राट ने, एक भारत की ज़िम्मेदारी उसके ऊपर आयी है, उसके सामने यही तस्वीर थी भारत की एकता की। यहाँ तक कि आप लीजिए प्राचीन समय में तो यह था ही, पूरी तौर से बाद में यह बीच के ज़माने में जब मुग़ल वगैरा आये। मुग़ल कैसे रहे यहाँ? मुग़ल बादशाह जैसे अकबर बड़े बादशाह हुए, किसलिए पूरे समय वो एकता की कोशिश करते

गये? इसलिए कि उनका राज था, वो मुगल राज कहलाये, लेकिन असल में वो एक मेल था राजपूतों का और मुगलों का, राजपूतों को मिलाने से उसको कायम रख सके, नहीं तो नहीं, और जहाँ वो मेल था वो टूट गया, औरंगज़ेब के ज़माने में तो राज टूट गया उनका। और कोई तरीका नहीं है भारत को रखने का, भारत या तो मिलकर बहुत बड़ा देश हो सकता है या आपस में लड़कर निकम्मा हो जाता है, गिर जाता है, दुर्बल हो जाता है। और खैर, यह तो एक राजनैतिक बात है लेकिन संस्कृति में भी, भारत की बुनियादी संस्कृति दरवाज़े बन्द करने की नहीं है, दरवाज़े खोलने की है और एक-दूसरे से लड़ने की नहीं है। सांस्कृतिक लड़ाइयाँ होती हैं, बहुत ज़ोरों की, चाहे वो शास्त्रार्थ से हों या किसी तरह से, बल्कि वो अपनाने की रही है, यही उसकी शक्ति है और यह एक समन्वय करना चीज़ों का, विचारों का। हमारा धर्म भी ऐसा रहा, धर्म के बहुत सारे अंग होते हैं लेकिन उसके जो बुनियादी विचार हैं वो अपनाना है, वो मिलकर रहना है, अपने-अपने रास्ते पर चलें, दूसरे के रास्ते पर अटकाव न डालें।

एक माने में आप देखिए आजकल जो हम कहते हैं राजनीति के, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय राजनीति के बारे में, अंग्रेज़ी का शब्द है नॉन-एलाइनमेंट, यानी हम सब देशों से मिलकर रहेंगे और किसी से फ़ौजी समझौता नहीं करेंगे, क्योंकि फ़ौजी समझौता किसी से करने के माने किसी और के विरोध में फ़ौजी समझौता करना। और हरेक देश को अधिकार है अपने-अपने ढंग से रहे, आज़ाद रहे, हमें खुशी है, हम न उस पर हमला करें, न हम पर कोई करे। यह चीज़, आप इस पर विचार करें, यह बुनियादी तौर से जो हमारे देश के प्राचीन विचार हैं वो शक्ति है, खासकर जिसको मैं कहूँ, जिसको आप सनातन धर्म कहिए, जो कुछ कहिए एक विशेष शक्ति है, लेकिन सनातन धर्म भी अगर वो एक बन्द हो के रह जाये, एक पोटली में हो जाये और ताज़ी हवा और जगह की नहीं आने दे तब तो हानि होती है, कितना ही वो अच्छा हो वो सिकुड़ जाता है। सिकुड़ा हमारा देश जब ये बातें हुई बाद में, उसमें, बीच के ज़माने में और यह जातिभेद बहुत बढ़ गया और जातियाँ दबाई गयीं जिनको हम आजकल हरिजन कहते हैं, वो दबायी गयीं। क्या उसका नतीजा हुआ? कुछ दिन दबा लिया, कुछ लोग ऊँचे रहे, लेकिन देश नीचा होता गया, देश दुर्बल होता गया और आम लोग गिरते गये और उसका नतीजा हुआ हम पर हमले हुए, हमारी शक्ति नहीं थी।

और अब फिर समय आया है उसको बदलने का, उठने का और वो एक ही तरह से हो सकता है कि हम अपने धर्म का अर्थ निकालें कि वो हरेक के लिए हो, यह नहीं कि थोड़े से चुने हुए आदमियों का। आजकल की दुनिया में जो हवाएँ हैं उसको समझें और उसके खिलाफ़ जाने से तो हम बढ़ नहीं सकते और अपनी ज़मीन पर रह के मज़बूती से उस हवा से लाभ उठायें। और हम कहते हैं कि यहाँ लोकतंत्र है, समाजवाद है, क्या माने हैं उसके? असम्भव है उसके माने कोई भी निकाल सके। उसके माने अगर ये हैं कुछ ऊँची जातियाँ ऊपर रहें, और लोग दबाये जायें, वो न लोकतंत्र है, न समाजवाद है, कोई नये माने पहनाये हैं इन सब बातों को। ज़ाहिर है कुछ लोग अपने आचार से, अपनी विद्याओं से, अपनी बहुत बातों से ऊँचे होते हैं, हरेक आदमी तो नहीं होता बहुत ऊँचा, उसको तो कोई बराबर नहीं कह सकता, लेकिन बराबर का मौक़ा हरेक को मिले, जितना है, जैसा है

वो बड़े, इसमें खपाना है, हमें अपने धर्म को खपाना है, तब वो धर्म आजकल की दुनिया में मज़बूती से चलता है, नहीं तो बहुत ठोकरें लगेंगी उसे और अगर बदलती हुई दुनिया में वो नहीं खपता तो ज़ाहिर है वो कमज़ोर होता जाता है। हमारे धर्म, धर्म के क्या माने हैं? धर्म के काफ़ी ऊँचे माने हैं, कुछ और तो है शब्द, बहुत कुछ है, रिलिजन है, मज़हब है, वैसे ये माने काफ़ी नहीं बताता, लेकिन धर्म के माने कुछ इससे अधिक हैं, अपना कर्तव्य का पालन करना ये बहुत माने हैं उसके। अच्छा, कर्तव्य कुछ न कुछ बदलती हुई दुनिया में बदलता है। अगर उन्हीं कर्तव्य का पालन करें तो हम अलग हो जाते हैं बदलती दुनिया में। तो उसकी मूल बात जो है धर्म की उसको मानकर हमें अपने कर्तव्य को बदलना होता है बदलती हुई दुनिया के साथ, इसका हमें विचार करना है, तभी हम एक हमारी जाति, क्रौम जीवित रहती है, नहीं तो पिछड़ जाती है, जैसे पिछड़े हैं हम सब। अब हमें मौक़ा मिला है कुछ फिर, फिर से अपने को सम्भालने का, बढ़ने का और आजकल की दुनिया में बढ़ने का। हम आजकल की दुनिया को नहीं समझें और ख़ाली कोई प्राचीन दुनिया की एक सामने तस्वीर रखें, प्राचीन विचारों की जो तस्वीर रखें वो ठीक है, प्राचीन संस्कृति की, वो बातें ठीक हैं लेकिन दुनिया बदल गयी।

अब आप यहाँ सब बैठे हैं, शायद आप में से भी कोई भी ऐसा न हो जो यहाँ से बम्बई जाये बैलगाड़ी पर बैठकर जाये, क्योंकि प्राचीन दुनिया में बैलगाड़ी चलती थी, नहीं [जायेगा]। आप रेल [पर] जायेंगे, आप मोटर पर जायें, आप हवाई जहाज़ पर जायें, यह सब बातें हम स्वीकार कर लेते हैं लेकिन अक्सर अपने विचारों को उसके मिलाते नहीं और विचारों को न मिलाना अपने एक काम से, अपने अमल से तो उससे एक गड़बड़ी पैदा होती है, दोनों को साथ-साथ चलना चाहिए।

तो ये सब प्रश्न आते हैं और यह कहलाता है उन्नीसवीं सदी में, यह सब प्रश्न उठे जब भारत उठा, हाँ हमला हुआ था हमारे पर अंग्रेज़ों का, फ़ौजी हमले का नहीं कह रहा हूँ, उनकी संस्कृति का, उनकी भाषा का। ये सब हमले हुए तो बहुत सारे लोग, बहुत सारे तो नहीं लेकिन ऊपरी लोग, अंग्रेज़ी पढ़े-लिखे लोग अधिकतर देखने लगे उधर, कुछ अपनी संस्कृति को भूल गये, लेकिन उन्नीसवीं सदी में हल्के-हल्के वापिस आना हुआ और बहुत महापुरुष हुए जो उधर, जिन्होंने रास्ता दिखाया वापसी का, और मेरा विचार है कि हिन्दू धर्म इन बातों से पहले के मुक़ाबले में ज़्यादा मज़बूत हो गया। मज़बूत हुआ बुनियादी बातों में, ऊपरी बातों में नहीं और आजकल कोई उसे कमज़ोर नहीं कह सकता, दुर्बल नहीं है, मज़बूत है, क्योंकि कुछ न कुछ, कुछ न कुछ मन में जो पहले लड़ाई थी, भारत के मन में वो कुछ ठंडी हो गयी। बहुत बड़े-बड़े आदमी इसमें इन बातों को करने वाले स्वामी विवेकानन्द थे, उन्होंने जो हिन्दू संस्कृति, हिन्दू धर्म को उठाया और नयी दुनिया में ले आये उसको, उन्होंने किया, और बहुतों ने किया। तो इन महापुरुषों ने, जिनने यह सब बातें की उन्नीसवीं सदी में, बीसवीं सदी में पंडित दीनदयालु शर्मा एक बड़े आदमी थे, महापुरुष थे, जिन्होंने काफ़ी मदद की।

और बातों का मैं चर्चा नहीं करता। हिन्दी, आजकल बहुत भाषा का चर्चा है और वो बहुत बड़े विद्वान थे हिन्दी में, और एक और उसमें बात है जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम हुआ है,

वो हिन्दी को भारत के दक्षिण में भी ले गये और उसको काफ़ी लोगों ने स्वीकार किया। उस समय कोई इस बारे में, भाषा के बारे में लड़ाई-झगड़ा नहीं था फिर भी वो हिन्दी वहाँ ले गये और लोगों ने पसंद की, लोग समझे। इसलिए, और आजकल हिन्दी तो फैल रही है, तेज़ी से फैल रही है क्योंकि कोई भाषा फैलना ख़ाली ऊपरी तौर से नहीं होता बल्कि असल में होता है वो भाषा की अंदरूनी शक्ति कैसे बढ़े, कैसे लोग हैं, उसमें लिखने वाले कैसे हैं, कैसी पुस्तकें लिख रहे हैं, कैसे विचार उसमें आ रहे हैं उससे नमूना होता है। क्योंकि भाषा में कुछ नयी दुनिया का दिखाना होता है, ख़ाली पुरानी बातें दोहराने से, वो भी अच्छी होती हैं, सुन्दर होती हैं लेकिन नयी ताक़त, शक्ति नहीं आती। हिन्दी बढ़ रही है और बढ़ेगी यक़ीनन और बढ़नी चाहिए लेकिन हिन्दी की भी बढ़ने में, इस तरह से हमें बढ़ाना है कि जो भारत का पुराना दस्तूर है उनको अपना के, न कि किसी से लड़के, किसी और भाषा से लड़कर। लड़कर ख़ामख़्वाह के लिए उसको, औरों को आप अपना शत्रु बना लेते हैं और रोकते हैं। इस तरह से बढ़ें, मुझे पूरा यक़ीन है, विश्वास है बढ़ेगी वह और इस हिन्दी के बारे में पंडित दीनदयालु ने तो बड़े काम किए, बहुत नाम हासिल किया और बहुत बढ़ाया।

तो आज जो हम उनकी शताब्दी पर मिले हैं, एक शुभ अवसर है। ठीक है कि हम उनको याद करें, उनके आदर्श को याद करें और उससे कुछ सीखें। मुझे ख़ुशी है कि आपने मुझे मौक़ा दिया कि मैं यहाँ आऊँ, भाग लूँ इस सभा में और अपनी श्रद्धांजलि पेश करूँ।
जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Mr President,¹⁷² Sisters and Brothers,

I am grateful to you for inviting me to be present on this auspicious occasion because it has given me an opportunity to pay homage to Pandit Din Dayaluji's¹⁷³ memory. It is always a good thing to cast one's eyes backwards on the lives of great men who have led the way, especially when we are confronted with all kinds of new problems. The world is always in a state of flux and new paths emerge. But there are certain fundamental principles and ideals which always remain constant. The lives of great men who laid stress on those fundamental principles and draw the people's attention to them do a very great service. Otherwise we stand in grave danger of being led astray by momentary passions and changes. Rapid changes are taking place in the world and India today. Being a democracy, people are free to express their opinions and to some extent, squabble among themselves, if they want to. This is also a sign of vitality. When it goes out of bounds, it is bad. But in small doses, awareness and debates and

172. See fn 170 in this section.

173. See fn 171 in this section.

arguments are healthy. I am talking about healthy debate, not vicious squabbles. When a nation is free and education spreads, the people start taking an interest in these issues. There is no doubt about it that there are certain drawbacks too.

We are a free country. As you know, we have elections which generally generate great heat and passion, all kinds of excesses are committed. It becomes extremely difficult to separate the right from the wrong at such evils attached to them. Our job is to hold on to the good and try to prevent the bad. In short, we must always keep before us the basic principles which can guide us.

During the thousands of years of our history there have been great many ups and downs. But India is unique in a sense in that, in spite of great upheavals and turmoil, there is an unbroken link with thousands of years of tradition, thought and ideals which has created a bond of unity. Though India was divided politically into various kingdoms, there is a bond of cultural unity which has been responsible for continuity of thousands of years of her history. Nothing can exist for so long unless it has an internal strength, India possessed that strength which has successfully overcome innumerable weaknesses. Now the question is how to harness that strength and while retaining all that was good in our past, give it the garb of modernity. The problem is that most people merely keep repeating lessons learnt by rote. As Kalidasa has said, a thing does not become good merely because it is old or new. What is intrinsically good remains so for all times. So we have to retain the good thing from the past and try to fit them into the modern age. Exchanging one for the other would be bad. We will cut ourselves off if we fail to understand the modern age. We cannot fit into it even if we feel that we are right. This is true of a family or a nation. An individual who does not fit into a family is bound to have some shortcomings. We must understand the world that we live in to fit into it. I agree that it is difficult. But there is no alternative. The world is changing so rapidly that distances are no longer a barrier. You can travel thousands of miles and cross five-six countries in a few hours.

The history of India shows that Indians were in contact with the outside world. People travelled to the far corners of Asia. Even today, it is not possible to understand what Indian culture is all about without looking for traces of it outside the country. Many of our great and rare manuscripts have been discovered in the Gobi desert in translations in Tibetan and Chinese. Indian culture spread to Indonesia, to the whole of Indo-China and West Asia. It was because there was unity and strength in the people and the capacity to learn and to teach others, as befitting a great nation. Then you find that the country began to shrink within itself. There is no doubt about it that India was vast storehouse of rich treasures of ideas and culture and what not. But it is not a good thing to close one's mind, no matter how great a nation or an individual may be. The

moment it is closed and fresh winds of change do not blow, it begins to shrink within itself. This is what happened in India and the situation continued for centuries. As a result we became weak and vulnerable to foreign invaders who came and conquered us. But in spite of the constant inroads of foreigners, there was no appreciable impact upon our ideas and culture.

Then the British came with modern knowledge and a picture of a new age of science and machines which had made Britain so powerful. This was a novel kind of attack which had some good results. There was an impact on our fundamental thinking and culture. We caught a glimpse of a new culture which was spreading in the West. It was not peculiar to Britain alone but had sprung from the new scientific discoveries and technology. But it came to us through the British. Large numbers of people in India were influenced by it and there is no doubt about it that the doors and windows of our minds which had been closed for so long were flung open. Any nation which cuts itself off from the outside world cannot retain its own identity successfully or adopt something else in its place. Therefore I am in favour of keeping the doors and windows open to fresh ideas and thinking. But at the same time we can take full advantage of them only if our roots are firmly in our own soil. As Gandhiji had once said, we want the winds to blow in from all sides to refresh us but not a whirlwind which will uproot us from our soil. That would not be proper.

There is no doubt about it that the coming of the British opened the doors and windows of our minds which had been closed for centuries. It is true that our contact was limited to England. We were still cut off from Asia. There were some advantages but the British rule did great harm to us economically and culturally.

In this process, you will find that the 19th century brought great changes into India. On the one hand, there were the changes brought about by British rule which had its good and bad side. On the other hand, the impact of the British rule led to a renaissance of Indian religion and culture. I am not competent to talk about Indian religion. But you will forgive me for pointing out that Hinduism which had become somewhat stagnant, began to be rejuvenated and speak a new and vigorous language. There is no doubt about it that in many ways, the 19th century was an age of synthesis of the old and the new worlds. The age old principles and ideals which had governed us began to don a new garb. Gradually there was an awakening. India produced many great souls during this period like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati and later Pandit Din Dayalu Sharma. Pandit Din Dayalu contributed a great deal in giving a new garb to our ancient religion, which gave it greater strength. So you can see that when something is not stagnant, it grows and spreads. As you know he tried to bring together all the Indian religions like Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Sikhism,

etc. He said that they were all Hindus. Whether they called themselves Hindus or not, their thinking is very similar. Pandit Din Dayalu was very keen to bring the Hindus and Muslims together. As you know, he was a great scholar, not only of Sanskrit and Hindi but of Arabic and Persian too. So he was fully equipped to bring about a synthesis and his efforts contributed greatly to political unity later. The successful struggle for freedom was helped in the first place by the renaissance which occurred in social, religious and cultural matters. The new awakening led to greater strength and unity.

Maharaj Saheb [recording indistinct] laid great stress on unity. This is a question which has been of paramount importance down the ages. All great rulers and emperors in India cherished dreams of one India. Even in the time of the Mughals, all the kings constantly made efforts to bring about unity in the country. It was known as the Mughal rule but in fact the Mughal rulers could keep themselves in power only because they had the support of the Rajputs. The moment that link was broken during the time of Aurangzeb, the Mughal empire broke up. There is no other way of keeping India together except through unity. Otherwise internal squabbles lead to a weakening of the country and downfall. This is in the political sphere but even in the realm of culture, fundamentally India has never believed in keeping its doors closed to outside influences. The basis of Indian culture has been synthesis and an open mind to new ideas. This is true of our religion also. India has always believed in religious tolerance and treating all religions with respect.

Our foreign policy is based on the principle of nonalignment, friendship with all nations and keeping aloof from military alliances and pacts. A military alliance implies enmity with some country or the other. Every nation has the right to its independence. We do not wish to go to war with anyone. If you look at these ideas closely, you will find that they spring fundamentally from ancient traditions of India. The strength of our religion lies in its open mindedness. If it becomes stagnant and closed, it is bound to shrink within itself. This happened in India when the rigidities of the caste system grew and the so called untouchables and other lower castes were brutally suppressed. The result was that India fell and became weak and lay itself open to attacks from outside. We did not have the strength to throw the invaders out. So we fell.

Now the time has come once again for us to rise and change. It can be done only if we believe in respect for all religions and understand the trends of the modern age. We cannot grow by going against them. We must remain firmly attached to our ancient moorings and take advantage of the new age. What do we mean by socialism and democracy? It is impossible to define these. But so long as some sections of society have the upper hand and continue to suppress others, there can be neither socialism nor democracy. It is obvious some people

are naturally endowed with superior intellect or physique. All individuals cannot be alike. But everyone must get equal opportunities so that they can go as far as they can. We have to fit into the modern age if we have to survive. Dharma is a very great concept which stresses that every individual should do his duty. Duty changes with the times. If we continue to adhere to old definitions rigidly, we will be cut off from the rest of the world.

Therefore, it is our duty to change with the changing world. Otherwise a nation or race loses its vitality and becomes backward as it happened in the past. We have been given yet another opportunity to take a grip on ourselves and progress in the world. We must cherish our great heritage. But the world has changed. I think there will be no one among you who would travel by bullock cart to Bombay. You will go by train or car or aeroplane. We accept these things but our mental outlook does not change so easily. The great dichotomy between our thinking and what we practice creates great confusion. The two should be in harmony.

In the 19th century, when British rule was established in India, many English educated, upper class Indians began to forget their culture under the onslaught of westernisation. But towards the end of the century, many great men were born who paved the way for a renaissance and I think that it gave a shot in the arm to Hinduism. It acquired a new strength and vitality and the earlier conflict was to some extent resolved. Swami Vivekananda was one of the great Indians who played a major role in revitalising Hinduism. Pandit Din Dayalu Sharma was also one of them.

I will not go into other things. There is great deal of talk about Hindi. He as a great Hindi scholar and as far as I have discovered, he played a big role in introducing Hindi in South India and getting it accepted by a large number of people. At that time, there was no quarrel over languages. But he was responsible for making the people of the South accept Hindi. This is one of the reasons for the rapid spread of Hindi in the South today. A language cannot grow by superficial methods but only by its inner strength and the ideas and writings in that language. A language has to represent the changing times. If it repeats old lessons the language may become ornate but does not have real strength. Hindi is spreading and will continue to do so. But we must ensure that it does so in the best Indian tradition of assimilation and synthesis and not by trying to suppress other languages. I am sure that Hindi will grow. Pandit Din Dayaluji has contributed a great deal in this respect.

We are assembled here today to celebrate his birth centenary. This is an auspicious occasion. We must take this opportunity to refresh our memories about the ideals that he stood for and learn something from them. I am happy

that you have given me this opportunity to come here and participate in this function to pay homage to his memory.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

386. To C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar: Kalakshetra Building¹⁷⁴

May 13, 1963

My dear CP,

Thank you for your letter of April 26th. I am well aware of the fine work done by Rukmini Devi [Arundale] in the Kalakshetra. I am glad to learn from your letter that some Ministry of the Government of India as well as the Madras Government have been helping her and have now sanctioned a grant for the construction of a building.

I would have been glad to attend the opening ceremony of this building. I am afraid, however, that I shall not be able to do so. I am going to Madras on the 12th June for two days. I have a large number of visits to make to other parts of the country and it will not be possible for me to go to Madras again on the 4th July. As a matter of fact, I have been strongly advised to take a few days off in the hills, but it is difficult for me to find any time for this at least for the next two months.

You will, I trust, understand my predicament and forgive me.

I send all my good wishes to the Kalakshetra.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

387. To Sanjit Kumar Dey: No Statues¹⁷⁵

May 13, 1963

Dear Shri Dey,

I have your letter of the 7th May. I am afraid I cannot provide you with a suitable statue of my father. I do not particularly fancy statues being put up. The statue

174. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University.

175. Letter; address: No. 3, Pandit Motilal Colony, P.O. Sultanpur, 2½ Gate Airport, Dum Dum.

that has been put up in Parliament has been done by a committee, of which I was not even a member.

Though statues may occasionally be desirable, I think that it is better to commemorate the memory of a great man in more useful ways.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

388. In Sariska: Value of Discipline¹⁷⁶

राष्ट्रीय अनुशासन योजना के युवक,
क़रीब दो साल से कुछ चर्चा हो रही थी मेरे यहाँ आने की, जनरल भोंसले¹⁷⁷ ने बार-बार मेरी दावत की थी आने की और मेरी बहुत इच्छा थी यहाँ आने की, लेकिन कुछ ऐसा हुआ कि इसके पहले मैं नहीं आ सका। अन्त में यह निश्चय हुआ कि मैं यहाँ पर कल आऊँ और आप लोगों को देखूँ जो यहाँ काम करते हैं, पहले भी मैंने बहुत सुना था इस योजना के, यहाँ काम का और जिन-जिन ने इसको देखा था उन्होंने इसकी प्रशंसा की थी। मेरी इच्छा थी बहुत देखने की, तो कल मैं यहाँ आया और कुछ आपके काम को, तरह-तरह का काम आप यहाँ करते हैं उसको देखा। कुछ और भी देखने का इरादा था और हम सब जमा हुए थे जैसा आप जानते हैं कल शाम को जबकि आपके, उनके, हमारे, सबके जो डाइरेक्टर थे, जनरल भोंसले उनको दिल का अटैक हुआ और बाद में वे गुज़र गये।¹⁷⁸ हम सबको बहुत रंज हुआ, आपको भी हुआ, हमें भी हुआ, लेकिन वे एक माने में, यह उचित था कि ऐसे मौक़े पर वो गुज़रे, अपने काम के बीच में, जो काम उन्होंने इत्ता अच्छा किया था उसके होते हुए, इससे ज़्यादा अच्छा कोई नहीं होता कि हम अपना काम पूरा करके अपने जीवन को छोड़ें। हमें रंज हुआ क्योंकि हमारे विशेष काम करने वाले थे वे और अपनी ज़िंदगी में बहुत कुछ उन्होंने किया था। आप जानते हैं कि पहले वे फ़ौज में थे और पिछली लड़ाई के ज़माने में इंडियन नेशनल आर्मी के एक अफ़सर बने नेता जी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस के नीचे, फिर उसके बाद जब आज़ादी आई, गवर्नमेंट बनी थी तो उसके वे भी एक सदस्य थे।¹⁷⁹ बाद में कुछ दिन बाद उन्होंने यह योजना शुरू की थी हमारी सलाह से और यह बढ़ती गई है और अब सारे देश में क़रीब-क़रीब फैल गयी है और मैं समझता हूँ कि इसकी वजह से बहुत अच्छा काम हुआ और बहुत सारे हमारे लड़के और

176. Speech, 15 May 1963, to the trainees of the Central Training Institute of the National Discipline Scheme. NMML, AIR TS No. 10118, NM No. 1825.

177. General J.K. Bhonsle.

178. J.K. Bhonsle died on 14 May, at night, after dinner with Nehru. See item 389 and 401.

179. Bhonsle was Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Rehabilitation, August 1952- April 1957.

लड़कियाँ तैयार हुए, देश का काम अच्छी तरह से करने को, औरों को सिखाने के लिए, स्कूलों में, और जगह, कि कैसे रहें।

क्योंकि हमारा देश तभी ठीक-ठीक हो सकता है जब हमारी जनता में अनुशासन हो, हमारे लड़के-लड़कियों में हो, और उनके ज़रिये से औरों में भी हो, एकता हो देश में और सब मिलकर बड़े-बड़े काम उठावें। हमारे बहुत बड़े काम हैं, देश को उठावें, बड़े देश को और यह जभी हो सकता है जब हम सब लोगों में एकता हो, चाहे किसी भी प्रान्त के हों, चाहे किसी भी, कोई भाषा हो और बड़े काम में मिलकर लगें, सारी जनता का काम है, खाली ऊपर से सरकार का। क़ानून बनते हैं, क़ानून से बड़े काम नहीं होते, लेकिन जनता की सहायता से, सहयोग से होते हैं और उसके समझने से।

तो आप लोग, और लोगों को जो सिखाया गया है वह इसलिए कि आप औरों को बतावें, औरों में अनुशासन रखें और मिलकर देश का काम करें। तो आप लोगों की बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी है कि आप लोग अपनी-अपनी जगह एक नेता की तरह लोगों को बताते हैं [कि] क्या करें और उससे करवाते हैं। यह सब काम जनरल भौंसले ने आपको बतलाया और अपने सहायक लोगों के ज़रिये से सिखाया। तो बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी आप पर है।

आपका यहाँ पर कोर्स ख़त्म हुआ और आप लोग अब जायेंगे अपने-अपने प्रान्तों में, अपने-अपने घर और वहाँ इस काम को करेंगे। यह दुख की बात है कि जिन साहब ने इस सब काम को किया था और इस बड़ी योजना को संभाला था वे ऐसे मौक़े पर गुज़र गये, हम सबको बड़ा दुख है लेकिन इसी के साथ जैसा मैंने कहा हमें याद रखना है कि हमारा काम चलता जाये। हमने कल रात को सोचा कि आज की परेड हो कि न हो। इस परेड के साथ बहुत कुछ और भी था, वह तो हमने आवश्यक नहीं समझा, लेकिन मेरी राय में इस पासिंग आउट परेड का होना उचित था। हम अपना काम पूरा करें, कितना ही दुख हो, तकलीफ़ हो, परेशानी हो, इस काम में हर्जा नहीं होना चाहिए, देश का काम चलता रहता है और चलता जाना चाहिए। तो इसलिए हमने किया। इसलिए नहीं कि हमें दुख नहीं था लेकिन इस दुख ही की वजह से हमें और भी तैयार होना चाहिए काम करने के लिए, जो कुछ काम हो और काम को पूरा करके फिर कोई दूसरी बात करनी चाहिए।

तो अब आप लोग यहाँ से जायेंगे, तो एक तो आपने बहुत कुछ सीखा और दूसरा आपको यह तजुर्बा हुआ तकलीफ़ का कि हर तरह के काम में हमारे जो इसके प्रबंधक थे, डाइरेक्टर थे वे गुज़र गये। यह चीज़ आपको याद रहे कि आपने अभी शपथ ली, प्रतिज्ञा ली ऐसे ख़ास मौक़े पर, तो यह पूरी हो, पूरी की जाये, और लोगों को बताइये। कैसे करें? हर सूरत से, जो कुछ हो, हमें अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करना चाहिए, लोग आते हैं, जाते हैं और हमें दुख होता है लेकिन देश चलता जाता है, देश का काम चलता जाता है और उसको हमें चलाना है जहाँ तक हम कर सकते हैं। तो आप यहाँ से बहुत सी बातें सीखकर जाइयेगा और उनको फैलाइयेगा और इस तरह से हम अपने देश को मज़बूत करें, तगड़ा करें, और उसको सिखायें सबक़ कर्तव्य पालन करने को।

आजकल विशेषकर आप लोग जानते हैं कि देश के सामने बड़े-बड़े संकट हैं और उनका सामना हमें करना है, सामना करना है हिम्मत से, दिलेरी से, अनुशासन से और

अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करके। मुझे कोई संदेह नहीं है कि हमारा देश इसको कर सकता है और करेगा, लेकिन इसको करना न करना देश के नौजवानों के हाथ में है और देश भर इसके लिए तैयार हो, कर्तव्य पालन करने के लिए, तो देश हमारा बहुत बढ़ेगा, ऊँचा होगा इसमें मुझे कोई संदेह नहीं है। तो अब आपको मैं आशीर्वाद देता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि आप जाकर इस काम को जो आपने सीखा है पूरीतौर से कीजिएगा।

जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Trainees of the National Discipline Scheme,

For almost two years now, there has been talk of my coming here. General Bhonsle¹⁸⁰ has invited me again and again and I have also wanted to come. But something or the other has always cropped up to prevent me. Finally it was decided that I should come here and meet those of you who are involved with the work. I have heard a great deal about this scheme and those who have seen it have been full of praise for it. So I was very keen to see for myself. I came here yesterday and saw the various things you are doing. The idea was to see some other things too, and all of us had assembled here when, as you know, the director, General Bhonsle suffered a sudden heart attack and died.¹⁸¹ We were all grieved by his sudden death. But in a sense, it was fitting that he should have passed away doing the work that he loved. He had done excellent work and there is nothing better than to leave world with the satisfaction of work well done. We are naturally grieved because he was one of our special workers and had done a great deal of work in his lifetime. As you know, he was in the army and during the Second World War joined as an officer in the Indian National Army under Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Later, when India became free, he became a member of the Cabinet.¹⁸² A few days later he started this project at our advice and it has grown and spread to almost the whole country. I feel that it has done excellent work in preparing our young boys and girls and teaching them discipline and good behaviour in schools, colleges and elsewhere.

India can progress well only when there is discipline among the boys and girls, in our youth and through them others. There must be unity and cooperation among the people. Only then can the great national tasks be accomplished. Only when there is unity among the people of different provinces, speaking different languages can we achieve something. The government cannot do

180. See fn 177 in this section.

181. See fn 178 in this section.

182. See fn 179 in this section.

very much by passing orders from above. The cooperation and understanding of the people is crucial.

So you are being trained in order that you may teach others to be disciplined and cooperate in the great national tasks. You have a great responsibility. You will be a leader in your own areas to show the people where their duty lies. General Bhonsle had thought of this plan and trained you with the help of his assistants. So it is a great responsibility.

Once your course is over, you will go back to your own province and carry on the task there. It is indeed sad that the man responsible for getting this project off the ground has passed away at a time like this. All of us are feeling sad about it. But at the same time, as I said we must remember that the work must go on. Last night we thought of cancelling this parade. We cancelled most of the other functions which we did not consider essential. But I felt that it would be proper to have the passing out parade. We must complete our task, no matter what our feelings are. The work of the nation must go on. So we had this, not because we were not sad but precisely for the reason that we are grieved that we must be even more prepared to go on with the job at hand and complete it.

You have learnt a great deal here. Secondly, you have had this experience of grief in the sad demise of the director of this programme. You have taken a pledge today on this special occasion which must be kept. No matter what happens, we must do our duty. People come and go and we are saddened. But life of a nation goes on and we must do what we have to as best as we can. You will go out from here having learnt a great deal. You must spread your knowledge among other people and make the country strong and disciplined.

As you know, we are facing great problems and threats today. We must be prepared for everything with courage and a sense of discipline. I have no doubt about it that India can come through this crisis with flying colours. But a great deal depends on the youth of the country. The whole country must be prepared to face the threat and do out duty. I have no doubt about it that India will emerge a stronger and better from this experience. I give you my blessings and hope that you will go out to do the task that you have taken up with all your might.

Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

389. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Sariska Visit¹⁸³

May 15, 1963

My dear Sukhadia,

I suppose you will be coming back soon from the United States and I hope you have had a profitable visit to Australia and the United States.

I enclose copy of a letter I have received from Gopal Sharan Mehta, Om Prakash Gaur and others. I hope you will enquire into this matter.

I went to Sariska yesterday afternoon and came back this morning.¹⁸⁴ I did not go to Alwar. As you will have learnt, my visit to Sariska was not a very happy one. Shri Bhonsle suddenly died last evening because of a heart attack.¹⁸⁵ Just before this, he had taken me round the Camp and we had dinner all together with the trainees. It is very sad that such a good person died in this way.¹⁸⁶

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

390. To P.C. Sen: Visit to Ramakrishna Mission¹⁸⁷

May 17, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

You have sent me the programme for my visit to Calcutta on July 1st and 2nd. If it is possible, I should like to add another engagement. This is at the request of the Ramakrishna Mission. They want me to open the new block of their Seva Pratishthan in Calcutta. I should like to go there as I am an admirer of the Ramakrishna Mission's activities.

I would, therefore, request you to find about an hour for them either on the 1st or the 2nd. I think this should easily be possible.

Yours sincerely
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

183. Letter to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

184. See item 388.

185. J.K. Bhonsle, Director, of the Central Training Institute of the National Discipline Scheme.

186. See also item 401.

187. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. PMS (Public Section) File No. F.8/250/63-PMP, Sr. No. 54-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

391. To Syed Ahmed Imam: English and other Languages¹⁸⁸

May 20, 1963

Dear Mr Imam,

I have your letter of 18th May.¹⁸⁹

I am well aware of the feeling in the South, especially in Tamil area, in regard to Hindi. I feel, however, that much of the agitation against the recent Official Languages Bill is due to some kind of a misunderstanding. All that the Bill does is to extend indefinitely the use of English as a central language for official purposes. Thus it meets the Southern viewpoint completely. The most that can be said is about some distant future, when some other step might be taken. As for it, we have stated that no major step should be taken without consultation and approval of non-Hindi areas.

The question of Hindi being imposed hardly arises. Each regional area will have its own regional language and develop it. In fact, the real contest is between the regional languages and English. English has thus far been a medium of instruction. Now that the regional languages will become the media of instruction, English will naturally become less important and unhappily its standards may also go down somewhat.

As for what you say about technical and scientific terms, we have laid down that any such terminology should approximate to the words in international usage, which essentially means English terms, and that this should be uniform as far as possible for all Indian languages. If this is done adequately, it should meet most of the objections raised.

We have also laid stress on English being a compulsory foreign language for our schools etc. I imagine that even when the medium of instruction becomes the regional language, as it is bound to do, English will continue to be used for technical and scientific subjects to a considerable extent.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

188. Letter to a scientist ; address: Regional Research Laboratory, Hyderabad. PMO, File No. 52(12)/57/63-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 139-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

189. Not reproduced; available in NMML. PMO, File No. 52 (12)/57-63- PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 138-A.

392. To Dilip Kumar Roy: Cannot Write Foreword¹⁹⁰

May 21, 1963

Dear Dilip Kumar Roy,

I have your letter of May 17th and the typescript of poems and songs translated by you. I am glad you are bringing out this book. I have glanced through the typescript and have liked many of the poems.

But you will appreciate, I hope, that one has to be in a mood to write a preface or a foreword to such a book. I am in no such mood at present and I cannot develop it in the foreseeable future because my mind is full with other things. I am overburdened with work and I cannot take myself away from it and think of other matters. So please forgive me if I do not agree to write a foreword to your book.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

393. K. Ram to H.P. Sinha: Demolishing Barapula¹⁹¹

May 21, 1963

My dear Sinha,

Please see the enclosed copy of a letter dated May 16, 1963 from Prof. M. Mujeeb of Jamia Millia Islamia with which is self-explanatory.¹⁹² I should be grateful if you would kindly let me know whether there is any substance in the complaint made and, if so, what reply should be given to Prof. Mujeeb.

Yours sincerely,
K. Ram

190. Letter to Bengali musician ; address: Hari Krishna Mandir, Indira Niloy, Poona 5. PMO, File No. 38/108/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 11-A.

191. Letter from the PPS to the Consulting engineer (Road Development), Ministry of Transport and Communication. PMO, File No. 40(236)/62-68-PMS, Sr. No. 10-A.

192. Mujeeb's letter to Nehru: "I have come to know from a reliable source that an old sixteenth century bridge near Humayun's tomb, known as the Barapula, is to be demolished and a new one built in its place. Apart from the fact that the bridge is able to bear heavy traffic even now, every civilised country treasures its moments, and in India we have very few bridges of the old type. You are the only person one can appeal to in such cases and I am therefore writing to you. It was you who saved Khan Khana's Tomb from being smothered under ugly modern houses. Please save the Barapula bridge also." PMO, File No. 40(236)/62-68-PMS, Sr. No. 9-A.

**394. To Pyarelal: Richard Attenborough's
Film on Gandhi¹⁹³**

May 28, 1963

My dear Pyarelal,

Your letter of the 27th May. I received your note about Kashmir some time ago.

I met Attenborough a day or two ago. He had been specially recommended to me by Lord Mountbatten. I must say that I was very favourably impressed by Attenborough and his talk with me. I think he is approaching this question of a film about Bapu in the right spirit, and we might encourage him subject to our passing his script and various other matters concerned with the film.

He told me he wanted to associate you in all these processes. I liked the idea though I did not know how far you would be able to spare the time for it.

You can certainly send me your chapter in your book in Bapu. I shall try to read it, though I cannot promise how long it will take me to do so.

As for your book on Bapu, I shall endeavour to give you a foreword for it. But I must previously read most of it at least. Perhaps you could send me the typescript as it comes out.

I am rather heavily occupied and am going out of Delhi on the 2nd June morning. Perhaps you could come to see me on the 1st June at 9.30 a.m. in my office in the External Affairs Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

395. To R. Thiagarajan: Statue of S. Satyamurti¹⁹⁴

June 2, 1963

Dear Shri Thiagarajan,

I have your letter of May 22nd which I have read with interest.¹⁹⁵

I agree with you that as a rule large sums of money should not be spent for statues etc. in this period of emergency. But it is common practice, which

193. Letter to Mahatma Gandhi's secretary. PMO, File No. 2(265)/58-64-PMS, Sr. No. 29-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

194. Letter ; address: 14 Thanikachalam Chetty Road, T. Nagar, Madras 17. Sent from Dehra Dun. PMS (Public Section), File No. F.8/241/63, PMP, Vol. 2, Sr. No. 9-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

195. The author signed himself "Br.-in-law of late S. Satyamurti".

has something to commend it, to honour our eminent forebears in this way so that people may remember the work they did for the country.

This was a matter for the Madras Corporation to consider and decide. Having decided that, it is not for me to object to it. When asked to unveil it in the course of my visit to Madras, naturally I agreed to do so.¹⁹⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

396. Nehru's *Autobiography* in Sanskrit¹⁹⁷

The Prime Minister's autobiography has been translated in several languages of the world and it is odd that no one thought of translating it in Sanskrit. The credit for doing it belongs to Mr Kamalapati Mishra of All India Radio, Lucknow. His translation of the autobiography in simple Sanskrit and will be shortly published.

The Prime Minister was at first taken aback at the idea but he was happy that his autobiography would be done in Sanskrit also. He wrote the foreword for the book in his own handwriting in Hindi on February 12 last and even addressed the postal envelope to Mishra to Hindi, again in his own handwriting. It is a unique honour for Mr Mishra's pioneer effort.

The English translation of the Hindi foreword by the Prime Minister would read something like this:

"When Mr Kamalapati Mishra wrote to me that he was translating my autobiography from the English language into Sanskrit, I was a little surprised and felt a little happy too: surprised, because how many could read it in Sanskrit, happy, because my book was considered worthy of translation in our beloved and ancient Sanskrit language.

I regret my scanty knowledge of Sanskrit. But it is dear to me, and I believe that in India for thousands of years very high and big deeds have done and if her thoughts have been published and propagated and if she became famous in the world, in all this, Sanskrit has had the biggest share. Our greatest wealth or treasure is Sanskrit and we would protect it and develop it.

This autobiography was written twenty-eight years ago. In these years, India has changed much and a great deal has happened all over the world as

196. See item 53.

197. Report, reproduced from the *National Herald* of 2 June 1963.

well. Many of the things which are written in it have become old and have acquired the aspect of something like history.

It is an honour to me that my book is now appearing in Sanskrit.”

397. To Richard Attenborough: Gandhi Film¹⁹⁸

June 5, 1963

Dear Mr Attenborough,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th May and for the photographs of the Epstein bust that you have kindly sent me. This is obviously the second bust that he made of me probably in 1948. I wonder if you saw the first one¹⁹⁹ in my house when you came to see my daughter.

As I have told you, we are greatly interested in the great project you have undertaken, to make a film of Gandhiji. You have yourself experienced the lively interest that many people here will take in it. I am sure they will all help you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

398. To Syed Sajid Husain Ali: Rani of Jhansi Statue²⁰⁰

June 10, 1963

Dear Raja Sahib,

I have your letter of June 8th. While I welcome any honour done to Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi, I do not usually encourage statues. But if such statues are put up, they should be by public subscription. I am afraid it will not be proper for me to appeal for such a subscription in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

198. Letter to the film director and actor, the maker of a film on Mahatma Gandhi. PMO, File No. 43(208)/63-64-PMS, Sr. No. 16-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

199. Nehru gave three sittings to Jacob Epstein in 1946 during a visit to London, see SWJN/SS/1/p. 143.

200. Letter to the Raja of Kotwara ; address: Kotwara House, Kaiserbagh, Lucknow. NMML, J.N. Supplementary Papers, Box No. 106.

**399. To B.V. Mama Warerkar: Narayana Menon for
Sahitya Akademi²⁰¹**

July 3, 1963

My dear Mama Sahib,

You have written to me twice about Krishna Kripalani's Secretary as Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi and the appointment of Dr Narayana Menon.²⁰² I sent your letter to the Minister of Information & Broadcasting.

The request for Dr Narayana Menon was made by Shri Humayun Kabir who pressed the I & B Ministry to release him. Previously, Shri Shailendra Shankar²⁰³ could not be spared, as, at that time, the work of the Information & Broadcasting Ministry was particularly heavy. Later, it was felt that Dr Narayana Menon might be spared in view of Shri Humayun Kabir's²⁰⁴ insistence.

There is no doubt that Narayana Menon is a competent and suitable person for the Sangeet Natak Akademi.

As for the salaries, I am not yet sure that this has been finally fixed. But please remember that these salaries have little to do with the individual qualities of the person concerned. If a person is in Government service, he is likely to get the same salary as he has been getting even after his transfer to some other post. Krishna Kripalani's salary was fixed by the Executive Board of the Sahitya Akademi. There is no question of doing an injustice.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**400. To Swami Bhaswarananda: Vivekananda
Centenary²⁰⁵**

July 5, 1963

Dear Swami Bhaswarananda,

I have your letter of June 29th.

Perhaps you know that I have participated in a number of centenary celebrations in honour of Swami Vivekananda. I hold him in high regard, and

201. Letter to Nominated Rajya Sabha MP; address: 191 South Avenue, New Delhi 11.

202. V.K. Narayana Menon was briefly Secretary to Sangeet Natak Akademi in 1963.

203. Shankar became Director General, Doordarshan later, 1980-85.

204. Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

205. Letter to the Secretary of the Ramakrishna Mission, Varanasi.

II. DEVELOPMENT

I am glad that his birth centenary has been celebrated all over the country.

I am afraid it will not be possible for me to go to Varanasi for this function. I am very heavily occupied, and it is rather difficult for me to go out of Delhi. I hope you will appreciate my difficulty and excuse me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

401. Bhonsle and the National Discipline Scheme²⁰⁶

I went to Sariska on May 14th. I had been wanting to go there for nearly a year but could not find the time. I had of course seen the training and work of the National Discipline Scheme partly in Delhi and had been much impressed by it.

I was happy to go round the camp with Shri J.K. Bhonsle and saw many of the activities there. That evening we were going to have some national songs by the trainees. As we got there Shri Bhonsle had a heart attack and after a little time, he passed away. That was a sad end to an exciting day and the rest of the programme had to be given up.

We were all grieved and yet there was a certain appropriateness in Shri Bhonsle ending his life at this fine centre he had built up and surrounded by his trainees who were devoted to him.

His last memorial is this National Development Scheme which he built up with so much love and labour. This represents great work which will endure.²⁰⁷

402. To Beni Shanker Sharma: Vivekananda Biography²⁰⁸

July 14, 1963

Dear Sharmaji,

I have your letter of the 9th July. Also your book, *Swami Vivekananda: A Forgotten Chapter of His Life*.²⁰⁹ Thank you for them. I have read the chapters in your book to which you have drawn my attention. I have also glanced through other parts of the book.

206. Remarks entered in the Visitors' Book of National Discipline Scheme in Sariska, 10 July 1963. PMO, File No. 40(44)/56-63-PMS, Sr. No. 83-A.

207. See also items 388 and 389.

208. Letter; address: 229 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta 6.

209. Calcutta: Oxford Book & Stationary Company, 1963.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I had previously read somewhere about Swami Vivekananda's relations with the Raja of Khetri.²¹⁰ I remember the Raja visiting my father in Allahabad in the late nineties.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

403. To Ravindra Varma: Film on Rajendra Prasad²¹¹

July 23, 1963

Dear Ravindra Varma,

I have your letter of the 17th July which contains a proposal to prepare a film on Rajendra Babu.²¹² The idea is a good one, but you will appreciate that the preparation of a film is a complicated matter and requires a great deal of expert knowledge. The film, if prepared, should be a good one. If you can get the help of a competent set of people, then it will be worthwhile. Good literary people to write the script will be helpful, but something more is required than a literary script.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

404. To B. Gopala Reddi: Dismissal of Research Officer on Gandhi Works²¹³

July 26, 1963

My dear Gopala Reddi,

I have received a letter from the Health Minister about an Englishman, Mr Ian Le Maistre, who apparently has been working as a Research Officer for the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. He appears to have been doing good

210. Raja Ajit Singh of Khetri had paid for the passage for Vivekananda's visit to Chicago in 1893.

211. Letter to the General Secretary of the Bihar State Children's Film Society. Sent from Rashtrapati Nilayam, Bolarum, Hyderabad.

212. Rajendra Prasad, first President of India.

213. Letter to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting. Sent from Rashtrapati Nilayam, Bolarum, Hyderabad. PMO, File No. 2 (114)/56-66-PMS, Sr. No. 96-A.

work, and it is not clear to me why he has been suddenly pushed out. I shall be glad if you will kindly look into this matter.

I enclose the letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Welfare

405. To Sri Prakasa: Sudhavati's Death²¹⁴

May 3, 1963

My dear Prakasa,

I learnt with shock and deep grief of the death of Sudhavati.²¹⁵ I had always associated her with strength and good health and so the news was particularly shocking and distressing. I can well understand what this must have been to you. I do not know what to say and how I can bring you a little solace. You have had so many painful shocks in recent years. The Gods have been unkind.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

406. To Mohanlal Saksena: Children's Home and Swaraj Bhavan²¹⁶

June 2, 1963

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of May 22nd, in which you ask me for some information about the Committee of the Children's Home, Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad. I shall try to get such information as is available. I believe the Children's Home was being helped by the old Rehabilitation Ministry, by a grant per person there. Apart

214. Letter to former Governor of Maharashtra and Madras; address, House Veranna, 9 Bellupur, Chakrata Road, Dehra Dun, UP.

215. Sri Prakasa's daughter Sudhavati Narayan, General Secretary of the Tapovardhan Prakritik Chikitsa Kendra at Bhagalpur. See also SWJN/SS/74/items 51 & 227 and SWJN/SS/75/item 119.

216. Letter to Nominated Rajya Sabha MP; address: 19 Gurdwara Rakabganj Road, New Delhi. Sent from Dehra Dun.

from this, we have been able to get some monies from private individuals for further buildings etc. for the children in the same compound.

I do not think it would be desirable to put up any buildings roundabout Swaraj Bhawan to be rented out to people.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

407. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Using Manorville in Simla²¹⁷

June 2, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

I have received a letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur about her house in Simla, "Manorville". It is true that she gave this house unconditionally to the President and it is for the President to use it in any manner he chooses. He has, I believe, asked your Ministry to deal with it.

Rajkumari is anxious that the house should be used for residential purposes for which it is meant. It would not be suitable for an office. She suggests that it might be used as a Holiday Home for the staff and nurses of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. I agree with her that the house should be used for residential purposes and it is not a bad idea for it to be kept for the use of nurses etc. She proposes to leave much of the furniture, an English cooking range, electric fittings as well as crockery and glass. All these would fit in with a residential house and would be useless for office and the like purposes.

I think that on the President's return from abroad, we might consult him and then decide finally as to what to do with this house.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

217. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation. Sent from Dehra Dun.
A similar letter was sent to the President on 2 June 1963.

**408. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Dandakaranya
Authority Chairman²¹⁸**

June 5, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,
I enclose a letter from A.C. Guha²¹⁹ about the Chairmanship of the Dandakaranya Development Authority. I do not know what you have in mind about it. For the moment you have, I believe, appointed Dharma Vira,²²⁰ but this is a temporary expedient. It should have a full time Chairman, and he should be a man outside the run of official routine and capable of taking a broad view of the entire situation. It is, of course, necessary for the West Bengal Government to be consulted in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**409. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Refugees in
Sunderbans²²¹**

June 11, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,
I had a deputation this morning about the Sundarbans area in West Bengal. This area has troubled me for years past and I feel that we must help it as far as we can.

I understand that there was some proposal for your Ministry to rehabilitate refugees there. I am therefore writing to you and sending you a copy of the memorandum that was given to me today.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

218. Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation.

219. Lok Sabha MP, Congress.

220. Dharma Vira succeeded Bhagwan Sahay as Chief Commissioner of Delhi on 12 August 1963 and Bhagwan Sahay was appointed Lt. Governor of Himachal Pradesh.

221. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation. PMO, File No. 7(181)/59-66-PMS, Volume II, Sr. No. 160-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

410. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Sunderbans²²²

June 11, 1963

My dear Lal Bahadur,

This morning when you were in my office, you must have seen two persons who came to see me about the Sunderbans area in West Bengal. I do feel that we should try to do something about it even though it may not amount to much in the beginning. I am writing to Prafulla Sen²²³ and also to our Planning Commission of the subject.

I am enclosing the memorandum they gave me.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

411. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Sunderbans²²⁴

June 11, 1963

My dear Gulzarilal,

I have previously written to you about the Sundarbans area in West Bengal.²²⁵ I do feel that we should try to help this area. Any big effort may not be possible now, but we might, at any rate, give a start to something worthwhile.

I wanted to go there, but have been unable to do so. Perhaps later in the year, I might succeed.

Today I had a small deputation to see me. They gave me a memorandum, copy of which I enclose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

222. Letter to the Home Minister. MHA, File No. 33/5/63-SR(R)., p.1/c.

223. Chief Minister of West Bengal.

224. Letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. PMO, File No. 7(181)/59-66-PM, Vol. II, Sr. No. 158-A.

225. See SWJN/SS/77/item 224.

412. To P.C. Sen: Sunderbans²²⁶

June 11, 1963

My dear Prafulla Sen,

This morning I had a visit from Brahmachari Bholanath of the Sundarbans and Aurobindo Bose. They came to explain to me the problems of this unfortunate area.

I have often written to you on this subject and have been wanting to go there myself. I fixed up my visit to the Sundarbans in November last, but the Chinese invasion upset my programme. I do not know when I shall be going there. But I shall try to do so some time later this year.

You must know about the problems of the Sundarbans. What I have heard of them makes me feel that we must make a special effort there. At any rate, we should make a start. That itself will give some hope to the people there.

I am writing to our Planning Commission, the Home Minister and the Minister of Works, Housing & Rehabilitation on this subject. I enclose a copy of the memorandum given to me today.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

413. Fathema Ismail and the Physically Handicapped²²⁷

I enclose a letter from Mrs Fathema Ismail of the Fellowship of the Physically Handicapped. This letter will explain the position. Apparently the Defence Minister²²⁸ knows about it and has expressed his favourable opinion about it. Mrs Ismail is a fine type of social worker and has built up this organisation from scratch. All I can say is that the organisation works well and can be relied upon. What the Defence Ministry proposes to do about her, I do not know. Would you kindly look into this matter and find out what the position is and generally expedite a decision,

2. I enclose a copy of my letter to Mrs Fatima Ismail.²²⁹

226. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. PMO, File No. 7(181)/59-66-PM, Vol. II, Sr. No. 157-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

227. Note, 22 June 1963, for the Cabinet Secretary, S.S. Khera.

228. Y.B. Chavan.

229. Item 414.

414. To Fathema Ismail: Rehabilitation for Wounded Soldiers²³⁰

June 22, 1963

My dear Fathema,

You wrote to me on May 28 about the Fellowship of the Physically Handicapped organisation making arrangements for 200 Jawans in order to give them social and vocational training. I am sorry for the delay in answering it. I have been very heavily occupied.

You ask me not to mention this matter to Chavan²³¹ or to Kannamwar.²³² I can hardly take any steps without consulting Chavan. In fact I can take no steps directly and this will have to go through the Defence Ministry. There will not be much point in your writing to Morarjibhai.

I am, therefore, sending your letter to the Principal Secretary for Defence and asking him how matters are proceeding and to further expedite this business.²³³

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

415. To Brahm Perakash: Indian Cooperative Congress²³⁴

June 25, 1963

My dear Brahm Perakash,

Your letter of June 20. I shall certainly endeavour to attend the Fourth Indian Cooperative Congress on 29th November, but I am afraid I cannot send you an article for the *Indian Cooperative Review*. I find it very difficult to find time to write anything worthwhile.

Although I hope to attend your Conference on the 29th November, this is always subject to some unexpected happening which might perhaps come in my way. I think you told me that you would have it in the morning.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

230. Letter ; address: 7 Queen's Barracks, Backbay Reclamation, Foreshore Road, Bombay-1. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

231. Y.B. Chavan, Defence Minister and former Chief Minister of Maharashtra.

232. M.S. Kannamwar, Chief Minister of Maharashtra.

233. See note for the Cabinet Secretary, item 413.

234. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress ; address 72 Jor Bagh, New Delhi-4. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. PMO, File No. 17 (439)/60-64-PMS, Sr. No. 21-A.

416. In New Delhi: To the International Cooperative Alliance²³⁵

No Interference with Co-ops Nehru's Warning to Officials Way to Ease Tension

New Delhi, July 6 – Prime Minister Nehru today called for an end to “too much departmental interference”, whether in the field of the cooperative movement or the working of public undertakings.

Pandit Nehru was speaking at a meeting to mark the forty-first International Cooperative Day, organised by the International Cooperative Alliance.

The Prime Minister said that state interference with the cooperative movement “weakens the system at the root and does not allow it to grow”.

If the cooperative movement grew without any interference from the state except “advice and help”, strong foundations would be laid for the framework of cooperative to grow, he added.

Pandit Nehru said that he saw no conflict in the plea against official interference in the cooperative approach and his belief in socialism which entailed Governmental interference. He believed in socialism for various reasons, especially “for avoidance of private and vested interests growing stronger and stronger which, I do not think, is a good thing.”

Actual Working

But, even in the public sector, Pandit Nehru said, while Government controlled it in regard to general policies, the actual working should be done by people belonging to that organisation, who should be given freedom to work. “We are gradually getting out of too much governmental interference, departmental interference, which leads, apart from everything else, to inefficiency and delays.”

The cooperative approach, he added, fitted in with a socialistic order of society.

Speaking of cooperation as “a remedy for many of the ills that the world suffers from, whether national or international”, Pandit Nehru said that at some time or other, “maybe not very soon, a world order is inevitable if the world is to survive.” That world order would be facilitated much more if there is cooperative approach in all countries and even between countries.

235. Report of speech, reproduced from the *National Herald*, 7 July 1963.

Conflict of Ideologies

Referring to the “conflict of ideologies” Pandit Nehru said, “There may be some truth in the necessity of such conflicts. But it seems to me that the cooperative ideology gets rid, certainly, of many of these conflicts.”

In these days of tension between nations, Pandit Nehru added: “I imagine that the cooperative movement helps in arresting those tensions and bringing about greater fields of cooperation between them. In every aspect of major activity, therefore, the cooperative approach is good, is leading to the kind of world that we wish to build up and is lessening tensions.”

The Prime Minister emphasised that the cooperative approach had to increase the reliance of the individual or group on its own efforts and thereby stimulate the growth of the individual. In the final analysis, it was the individual’s growth which was going to result in society’s growth. “Our approach has to be to build up individuals and thereby organized social group”.

Progress in India

In India, Pandit Nehru said, the development of the cooperative movement was of great importance and considerable stress had been laid on it. “We have made a fair amount of progress and it looks substantial on paper, I am not quite sure whether that is reflected in reality, not that I doubt the paper figures. What I mean by cooperation is, ultimately, development of a mental habit, a way of thinking a way of action and not merely some organisations’ function, important as they are. Naturally, this means a system of education and gradually moulding the thinking and actions of human beings.”

He said that cooperation should lessen dependence on governmental effort and make the individual and the community self-reliant.

Pandit Nehru hoped that the International Cooperative Alliance would remain in close touch with the Indian cooperative movement and help it in many ways in the light of experience of countries which had advanced in the field of cooperation. PTI.

417. Women’s Welfare²³⁶

I am glad to learn that the Women’s Department of the All India Congress Committee is organising a Carnival to collect funds for the welfare of women

236. Message, 10 July 1963, forwarded to Mukul Banerjee, Editor, *Women on the March*, 7 Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 4, Sr. No. 2-A. Available in JN Collection also.

and children. The Women's Department has been bringing out periodicals in English and Hindi, which are attractive and which have laid stress on the problems of women in India. It has done good work for a cause which is of high importance to all of us. I wish this cause every success.

418. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Manorville as AIIMS Rest Home²³⁷

July 18, 1963

My dear Mehr Chand,

I have had a talk with the President about the use to which Manorville in Simla should be put.²³⁸ I have also had a talk with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. We think that it would be best to accept Rajkumari's proposal in this matter and to reserve it as a holiday or rest home for the staff nurses, etc. of the All India Medical Institute.

It would perhaps be better to hand it over to the Institute and expect them to be responsible for its upkeep. This may be given to them on a lease so that the ultimate ownership remains with the Government. The lease may be without any charge or a nominal charge.

Rajkumari wants to hand over charge of Manorville on the 15th August. Perhaps your Ministry could take charge of it on the above understanding.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

419. To K.H. Southall: Easing Poverty²³⁹

July 21, 1963

Dear Dr Southall,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th July.

The suggestions you have made are very much in our minds and we have done something to that end. Quite a number of night shelters have been put up in many cities. There is one aspect, however, which is apt to be forgotten, many people who may have some kind of a shelter prefer to sleep in the open because of the heat.

237. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation.

238. See also SWJN/SS/76/item 101 & 394, and SWJN/SS/77/item 311.

239. Letter; address: Almeley, 34 Lickey Square, Rednal, nr. Birmingham.

We are going ahead with some success with the programme of family planning.

It is our firm policy to reduce the difference between the rich and poor. But you will appreciate that this is no easy matter as it involves vast changes in economy and in the structure of society.

Broadly speaking, I think that the people of India generally are much better fed than they have been in the past. Sometimes owing to a failure of the monsoon or some natural calamity like floods, there are areas which are badly affected and in these areas scarcity has prevailed. To meet this, not only are free rations given wherever possible, but fair price shops are opened.

Over fifty million boys and girls go to our schools and colleges. We are trying to arrange that all these children should get one meal a day in their schools.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

420. To Y.B. Chavan: S.D. Goswami's Treatment in Germany²⁴⁰

July 27, 1963

My dear Chavan,

Last night I wrote to you about this young man Goswami's letter to the President. I have subsequently had a talk with the President on this subject.

It appears that 2/Lt. S.D. Goswami was very badly injured in the fighting in NEFA. He has lost some of his limbs and his face has also suffered.²⁴¹ The German Ambassador offered to make arrangements for his special treatment in Germany. This matter has been pending in the Defence Ministry for a number of months, and it has not yet been decided whether to send him there or not. The question, therefore, appears to be as to whether this unfortunate young man should be allowed to go to Germany for this special treatment. Would you kindly find out what is proposed to be done about it?

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

240. Letter to the Defence Minister. Sent from Rashtrapati Nilayam, Bolarum, Hyderabad.

241. Goswami was awarded the Mahavir Chakra on 26 January 1963.

Science

421. To D.S. Kothari: Training Radio Engineers²⁴²

May 16, 1963

My dear Kothari,

You will remember my giving you a report about the Institute of the Radio Engineers which Lord Mountbatten had given me. He had asked me to meet Graham D. Clifford who is one of the principal organisers of the British Institute of Radio Engineers. Clifford came to see me today and gave me a brief report containing some suggestions for India. He has succeeded in establishing a division or a branch of the Institution in India.

He spoke to me about various matters, but more particularly about our encouraging, through educational methods, the training of the radio and electronic engineers in India. He said much which I found interesting. I believe he is going to see you before he returns to England within a few days. You have met him previously also. I am enclosing his letter and report. I hope you will be able to see him and discuss these matters with him.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

422. Agreement with Canada on Nuclear Power Station²⁴³

[Telegram No. 35, 18 May 1963, from Ottawa, Homi Bhabha, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, to Nehru, begins]

Canadians have offered us a Government to Government agreement regarding construction of the candu²⁴⁴ type nuclear station in Rajasthan.

2. They have offered in addition a technical cooperation agreement between Atomic Energy of Canada limited and ourselves for full and continuing exchange of information and detailed design data covering not only candu type stations but future development. This would be most valuable for advancing our programme by several years and save costly developmental efforts on our part.

242. Letter to the Chairman of the University Grants Commission.

243. Telegrams. PMO, File No. 17(39)/62-63-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 45-A, 46-A.

244. CANDU—Canada Deuterium Uranium (Heavy water).

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

3. We have not been able to reach agreement regarding safeguards in agreement referred to in para 1 as Canadians feel that any special concessions they make us may create embarrassing precedent for them vis-à-vis other countries.

4. I have consequently suggested to Gray,²⁴⁵ President of Atomic Energy of Canada, that the technical cooperation agreement should be principal Government to Government agreement as this would be natural extension of our present cooperation starting from Canada India reactor. Canadians unlikely to make such agreements with many other countries. If such an agreement first established then both countries could make special concessions regarding the construction of the candu power station in Rajasthan without creating embarrassing precedents. Such approach appears likely to be acceptable to Canadians and would probably resolve all difficulties. I have already summarised the proposal in a letter to Gray, President of Atomic Energy of Canada. Have also discussed with C.S. Jha.

5. I therefore suggest instructions be sent to our High Commissioner that he follow up my proposal by a formal note to Canadian Government proposing that technical cooperation agreement as in paragraph 2 above be made principal Government to Government, within framework of which candu nuclear power station in Rajasthan can be built with a supplementary agreement.

[Telegram, 18 May 1963, from Ottawa, Homi Bhabha to Nehru, ends]

[Telegram, 19 May 1963, from Nehru to C.S. Jha, High Commissioner in Ottawa, 19 May 1963, begins]

You must have seen Bhabha's telegram 35 dated May 18 to me. I agree with him. I suggest that Bhabha's advice should be followed and that you might send a formal note to Canadian Government in accordance with Bhabha's suggestion. Please inform Bhabha.

[Telegram, 19 May 1963, from Nehru to High Commissioner in
Ottawa, 19 May 1963, ends]

245. James Lorne Gray, President of Atomic Energy of Canada, 1958-74.

423. To Lalit Sen: Atomic Energy Commission²⁴⁶

May 19, 1963

Dear Shri Sen,

I have your letter of May 13 about Atomic Energy matters.

The first point you have mentioned is as to why the Tata Memorial Hospital has been taken over by the Atomic Energy Commission. This matter was considered very carefully. It was found that this Hospital was, in its working, intimately connected with the Atomic Energy Department's work. The Hospital people themselves were anxious for this change.

I cannot throw much light on the reference to contraceptives in the report.

Recently some members have been added to the Atomic Energy Commission. It has, however, been felt that having a much larger number of members will make it a kind of a deliberative body and not effective in regard to the work to be done. As for the development of atomic power considerable stress on this continues to be laid. This is a question really of our resources and the money available.

As for the reported discovery of Uranium in Himachal Pradesh, the matter has been referred to the Atomic Energy Department.

I am having your letter and notes sent to the Atomic Energy Department as perhaps they might be able to throw more light on some of the questions you have raised.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

424. Canadian Aid for Atomic Power Stations²⁴⁷

I enclose a letter from Dr Homi Bhabha.²⁴⁸ He refers in this to a proposal made by the Canadian Government, the acceptance of which he strongly recommends. I suggest that you might send this on to the Finance Minister.

The proposal, in fact, should not mean any expenditure on our part, but the Canadian Government itself finding the money for it through the Colombo Plan, in addition to the other requirements of the Colombo Plan. Dr Bhabha, apparently wants our approval before he goes back to Canada again.

246. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress, from Mandi and Raja of Suket; Convenor of the Party Standing Committee on Atomic Energy, New Delhi.

247. Note, 1 June 1963, for R.K. Nehru, the SG, MEA. MEA, E(525)-DISARM/1963, p. 1/note.

248. Appendix 8.

425. Ishapore Rifle²⁴⁹

I have read your long report about the Ishapore Rifle. This report deals necessarily with many technical matters about which I am not competent to express an opinion. Generally, I am fully in agreement with your conclusions and recommendations.

I am firmly of opinion that we should make every effort to rely on indigenous production. Where this is not at all possible, then it is a different matter. But dependence on foreign supplies is always a dangerous position, apart from the economic aspect of it. Broadly speaking, therefore, we should give preference to indigenous supplies even if there are some aspects which may be in favour of foreign procurement.

In this present case of Ishapore Rifle, the attempt appears to be to demonstrate that the Ishapore Rifle, as manufactured by us, should in no way be inferior to the Belgian counterpart. Even from the point of view of the time of supplies, the Ishapore Rifle would be preferable. Therefore, I entirely agree with your recommendation which, I gather, has been accepted by the Chief of the Army Staff.²⁵⁰

In some of the reports of the meetings in the Defence Ministry, I noticed that the opinion of the users must be considered all important and the opinions of the Defence Science people need not be taken in some cases. It is obvious that the users' opinions are of paramount importance. But it seems to me that the Defence Science people should always be consulted as improvements can be made on the advice of our scientists.

I am returning to you your report.

426. To J.K. Galbraith: US Finance for Tarapur²⁵¹

June 30, 1963

My dear Ambassador,

Thank you for the good news that the United States Government has agreed to finance the construction of the Tarapur atomic energy electric power plant. I am happy to learn of it.

Tomorrow morning I am going to Calcutta. I shall probably refer to this matter there.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

249. Note, 3 June 1963, recorded in Dehra Dun, for the Cabinet Secretary, S.S. Khera.

250. J.N. Chaudhuri.

251. Letter to the US Ambassador.

427. To Mrs John Matthai: V.C. Verghese's Experiments²⁵²

July 2, 1963

My dear Mrs Matthai,

I have letter of June 30th. I am sending it to Shri Humayun Kabir.²⁵³ I hope it will be possible for him to arrange to give the necessary facilities to Shri Verghese to carry on his experiments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

428. To Humayun Kabir: V.C. Verghese's Experiments²⁵⁴

July 2, 1963

My dear Humayun,

I enclose a letter from Mrs John Matthai and other papers attached to it. I think it would be worthwhile for us to give special facilities to Shri V.C. Verghese to carry on his research work at the NPL.²⁵⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

252. Letter to Achamma Matthai, widow of the former Finance Minister. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Calcutta. PMO, File No. 17(474)/61-72-PMS, Volume I, Sr. No. 42-A.

253. Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. See item 428.

254. Letter to the Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Calcutta. PMO, File No. 17(474)/61-72-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 41-A.

255. See item 427. Humayun Kabir's response of 3 July 1963: "Thank you for your letter of July 2, 1963, about Shri V.C. Verghese. I enquired from the Deputy Director in charge of the National Physical Laboratory. He says he has placed a room and laboratory facilities at Shri V. C. Vergheres's disposal. I told the Deputy Director that since his work offers great promise, he may be given additional facilities till he has completed his experiments." PMO, File No. 17(474)/61-72-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 43-A.

429. To Paul Gore-Booth: Graham Clifford's Work²⁵⁶

July 21, 1963

During his recent visit to India I again met Mr Graham D. Clifford, Secretary of the British Institution of Radio Engineers.

I last saw Graham Clifford in India during a tour he made in 1951/2 at the invitation of my Ministries of Science and Education. The report that he subsequently gave to our various Ministries was extremely valuable, and apart from developing the close association of his Institution with Indian members, Mr Clifford made invaluable suggestions for the development of our own educational and industrial work in radio and electronics engineering.

His continued enthusiasm for promoting Anglo-Indian relationship has been further demonstrated during his last tour to India during April and May this year. He left with us invaluable ideas on education and training, and again through his own Institution has made a very considerable contribution toward understanding between Britain and India. I have had great praise of his work from Major General Kapur,²⁵⁷ who is the Controller of our Defence Research Organisations, and others.

I felt that you would like to know of my own appreciation of Graham Clifford's work. It is the sort of thing that could well be copied and developed in our joint interests.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

256. Letter to the British High Commissioner. Salutation not available.

257. Major General B.D. Kapur, Chief Controller of Research and Development, Ministry of Defence.

III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

General

430. In the Lok Sabha: Visiting Foreigners¹

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr Speaker, Sir, several distinguished representatives of friendly countries have visited Delhi during the last ten days. We have taken advantage of these visits to exchange views with them on matters of mutual interest. Mr Ali Sabry, President of the Executive Council of the UAR, arrived in Delhi on his way back to Cairo from Peking on the night of the 26th April and left on the night of 27th/28th April. Admiral of the Fleet, the Earl Mountbatten of Burma, Chief of the UK Defence Staff, arrived in Delhi on 30th April and left on 3rd May. Mr Duncan Sandys, the UK Secretary of State of Commonwealth Relations, was here from 1st to 4th May. Mr Dean Rusk, the United States Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was in Delhi with Mr Philips Talbot and Mr William Bundy from 2nd to 4th May. Apart from the visits of these distinguished representatives of friendly countries, it was during the last ten days of April that the fifth round of Indo-Pakistan Ministerial level talks on Kashmir and other related matters took place. It was also during this period that our Minister for Economic and Defence Coordination, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari, paid a goodwill visit to New Zealand and Australia. It is natural, therefore, that the Members of the House should want to know something about the talks and discussions that we had with various distinguished foreign representatives during this period. A large number of Calling Attention Notices have been received in this connection, and I am taking this opportunity of acquainting the House broadly with the nature of the talks we had. I cannot give details as these informal and friendly talks with representatives of foreign governments have, in accordance with normal conventions, to be treated as confidential.

Indo-Pakistan Talks

As the House is aware, the Government of India have always been anxious to reach a settlement on our various differences with Pakistan including those over Kashmir and to do everything possible to realise our main objective

1. Statement, 7 May 1963. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XVIII, April 25-May 7, 1963, cols 14193-14203.

of having friendly and cooperative relations with Pakistan so that India and Pakistan can live side by side in peace and friendship. My colleague, Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister for Railways, who has been leading the Indian delegation, has pursued this objective with admirable patience in the Indo-Pakistan Minister level talks that have been going on during the last few months. Despite difficulties caused by provocative statements on the Pakistan side, he has always conducted the talks with perfect calm and coolness and has not allowed occasional difficulties and setbacks to interfere with our objective to do everything possible to promote friendly and cooperative relations with Pakistan. That the five rounds of talks should not have yielded any useful results and that our differences with Pakistan still remain is a matter of serious regret to us. We are however, determined, despite setbacks and difficulties, to continue our efforts to resolve our differences and to promote friendly and cooperative relations with Pakistan. I would, in this connection, like to draw the attention of the House to our repeated offers of a “No War” declaration to Pakistan, in pursuance of our sincere desire to have peaceful and friendly relations with them. These have so far met with no response. In my letter to President Ayub Khan last October, I had pointed out that we have to build up adequate defence potential to meet the Chinese threat but this new defence potential cannot and will not be used for any purpose other than effective resistance against Chinese aggression. I had also assured him in this letter that the idea of any conflict with Pakistan is one which is repugnant to us, and we on our part will never initiate it and expressed my conviction that the future of India and Pakistan lies in their friendship and cooperation for the benefit of both. I am sure that the House fully supports me in my reiteration of these sentiments.

India-China Conflict

Mr Ali Sabry, President of the Executive Council of the UAR gave us, during his visit, his assessment of Chinese thinking based on his discussions with the Chinese leaders in Peking. We understood from our talks with Mr Ali Sabry that while the Government of China were not prepared to drop their reservations on the Colombo proposals, and therefore not willing to implement the Colombo proposals, they were prepared to enter into discussions on the major issues of the differences regarding the boundary on the basis of their acceptance of the Colombo proposals in principle. In effect, this means that the Government of China are determined to maintain the unilateral situation on the border that they had created by their aggression and massive attacks and subsequent cease fire and partial withdrawals from Indian territory and are not prepared to agree to the restoration of the presence of both sides in the demilitarised zone

in the western sector as recommended by the Colombo proposals. All that the Government of China seem to be interested in is a negotiated settlement on our border differences on the basis of the altered situation on the border created by them as a result of their aggression.

It is obvious that we cannot enter into any talks and discussions with the Government of China on the major issue of our differences regarding the border till they accept the Colombo proposals without reservations and the recommendations made in the proposals are implemented on the grounds. We had made constructive suggestions in this regard in a note we sent to the Government of China on 3rd April.² I am placing a copy of the note on the Table of the House. There has been no specific reply to this note so far.

The assessment of Chinese thinking given by Mr Ali Sabry is confirmed by a letter dated 20th April that Prime Minister Chou En-lai sent to me.³ I have replied to this letter on the 1st May. I am placing copies of these letters on the Table of the House.

In view of the experience we had last October and November, the continued intransigence of China on the Colombo proposals and the constant venom of anti-Indian propaganda that is being poured out every day—I am placing copies of a Chinese note dated 27th April and our reply to illustrate this—we have to be prepared for any eventuality.⁴ The strengthening of our defence potential against a renewed threat by China is therefore, a matter of vital importance. And this has to be followed up with determination and single mindedness of purpose.

In this connection, I would like to mention Shri T.T. Krishnamachari's recent visit to New Zealand and Australia. During these visits Shri Krishnamachari had talks with the Prime Ministers of these two countries and also some of their colleagues. These informal and friendly talks have, I am sure, brought India and New Zealand and Australia closer together in their approach to problems of common interests. During the visit to Australia, Shri T.T. Krishnamachari was accompanied by our Cabinet Secretary and opportunity was taken to discuss questions of production of defence equipment and allied matters. It is intended to follow up the results of this visit by a further visit of an Indian technical team connected with production of defence equipment to Australia and, perhaps at a later stage, by the visit of an Australian technical team to India to get Australian technical cooperation in connection with programmes of production of defence equipment.

2. See *White Paper IX*, pp. 34-35.

3. See item 477 and *White Paper IX*, pp. 14-20.

4. See *White Paper IX*, for the Chinese note and memorandum of 27 April 1963, pp. 122-127; and for India's reply of 4 May and 6 May 1963, pp. 128-131.

Visit of Mr Duncan Sandys and Lord Mountbatten

Lord Mountbatten had planned to visit us in October, 1962. This visit was postponed because of the crisis in the Caribbean. We were glad to see an old friend and exchanged views with him on our mutual problems. As Chief of the UK Defence Staff, Lord Mountbatten has been in close touch with the problems of our defence requirements both in the way of equipment and machinery for defence production to build up our defence potential to meet the Chinese threat. He discussed these matters generally with me, with the Defence Minister and with various Service Chiefs. The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr Duncan Sandys, discussed with us the general question of our defence requirements, the progress of the Indo-Pakistan Minister-level talks on Kashmir and other related matters and Indo-Pakistan relations generally. During the talks he made it clear that settlement on Kashmir is not a condition to the military aid from the United Kingdom to meet the Chinese threat to India. He added, however, that a settlement of the differences between India and Pakistan will greatly ease the UK's task and hoped that progress will be made in the talks between India and Pakistan to settle their differences.

I would like to take this opportunity of saying a few words on reports about the grounding of IAF planes for lack of supply of British spare parts, that have appeared in the press as a result of a question asked in the British Parliament on this subject. While some aircraft with flying units have temporarily become unserviceable, it is expected that this temporary difficulty will be soon overcome in view of the great interest taken in this matter by all concerned. Our requirements of spare parts for IAF plans of British manufacture are being dealt with on the basis of priority. The main difficulty has been the availability of supply, with the Royal Air Force and with the British manufacturers, as some of the types of British aircraft in service with the IAF have gone out of production.

Dean Rusk's Visit

In our talks with Secretary of State Dean Rusk, which was in the nature of a *tour d'horizon* of the problems in which both India and the United States are interested, Secretary of State Dean Rusk assured us of United States sympathy and support to India against the Chinese threat. He made it clear that there can be no question of compromising with the Chinese threat and that the question of US aid to India was not lined with the settlement of Indo-Pakistan differences including those over Kashmir. He added that, so far as the USA were concerned, their view was that Chinese aggression and expansionist policies posed a threat to the entire sub-continent and, in that context, they were interested in promotion of friendly relations between India and Pakistan. I told Secretary of

State Dean Rusk that geography, our common bonds of history and cultural and other ties made it inevitable that India and Pakistan should have cooperative and friendly relations. In resolving our current differences including those on Kashmir, however, care has to be taken to see that both the methods and the lines of settlement of differences that may be followed should secure the main objective not only of resolving the differences but of promoting friendly and cooperative relations between India and Pakistan. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that no inadvertent step should be taken which may, instead of making for improvement, worsen the climate between the two countries. It is in this context and in the context of the long term nature of the Chinese threat that we welcome the interest of USA and other friendly countries who are helping us in meeting the problems we are facing.

Technical Team's Visit to USA, Canada and UK

An official team of technical experts has been visiting the USA, Canada and the UK during the last three weeks in connection with our defence requirements. The team returned to Delhi on the morning of the 5th. Secretary of State Dean Rusk told us during his talks that the US authorities would welcome the visit of Shri T.T. Krishnamachari for having further talks and discussion, in continuation of these exchanges between official experts. I had a recent message from Prime Minister Macmillan in which he mentioned, amongst other matters, that an early visit by Shri T.T. Krishnamachari to the UK will be useful. Shri T.T. Krishnamachari will be leaving for his visits to the USA, Canada and the UK in a few days.

I have attempted in this statement to give a broad indication of the developments during the last few weeks and of the discussions we had with distinguished representatives of friendly countries who visited Delhi recently. While we must take and we are taking with such assistance as we can get from friendly countries, necessary measures to safeguard our security and territorial integrity against the Chinese aggressive threat, our dedication to peace and peaceful ways and our desire to have friendly and cooperative relations with all countries, more particularly with our immediate neighbours, continue to be the guiding principles of India's foreign policy. We want to develop in freedom and independence according to our own genius. We will continue to take independent decisions, on the merits of each case, on all international issues that arise without prejudices or predilections of any kind. We do not want to interfere in the affairs of any other country nor do we covet an inch of any country's territory. At the same time, we will not permit any interference in our affairs or any aggression on our territory.

[Omitted: Exchanges on procedure]

Hari Vishnu Kamath:⁵ On a point of clarification. With regard to the Indo-Pakistan talks, will the Prime Minister be so good as to tell the House when and where the next round of talks between the representatives of India and Pakistan will take place, and whether during the talks since December last between Shri Swaran Singh and Mr Bhutto, any proposal was mooted for a meeting between the Prime Minister and the Pakistani President in the near future, and if so, with what tangible effect?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As at present arranged, the next round of the Indo-Pakistan talks is supposed to take place in Delhi, I believe, from the 15th of this month onward. Am I right?

The Minister of Railways (Swaran Singh): Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: As for President Ayub and myself meeting, that has been in the air for a long time. But, no specific proposal was mooted recently or during these talks. It has been there. I have always expressed my readiness to meet him.

Renu Chakravartty (Barackpore):⁶ In view of the resolution adopted by the National Conference of Kashmir, may I know whether in the course of the talks, the Prime Minister has made it clear that that is the stand of India also regarding the partitioning of the Kashmir Valley?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The resolution of the Kashmir National Conference was not before me. As a matter of fact, I think I read it for the first time last night. However, the position was very much before me, and we have made it quite clear that any idea of partitioning Kashmir Valley would be exceedingly harmful and would not be acceptable to us.

C.L. Narasimha Reddy (Rajampet):⁷ We are glad to know from the Prime Minister that the Western diplomats made it clear that the settlement of the Kashmir question was not a condition precedent for the supply of arms. But, may I know from the Prime Minister whether in his talks with the Western diplomats he got any indication from them that the present supply

5. PSP.

6. CPI.

7. Swatantra.

of arms would be considerably speeded up and enhanced if we come to a settlement with Pakistan?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have said as much as I can say in the course of my statement about that. Both eminent representatives of the USA and the UK told us specifically that the question of helping us or giving us assistance in regard to military and like equipment was not connected with Indo-Pakistan issues; at the same time, they did say that they would welcome any settlement, and it would ease their path. That is the position.

L.M. Singhvi (Jodhpur):⁸ May I know whether the Prime Minister is in a position to tell us that there is no abatement of interest in the USA and the UK in respect of their continued assistance for strengthening our defences, and if so, whether the prospect or particularly the insistence on building up our Air Force is any the brighter now than before?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The same question comes round in different language. I do not know how to explain it. I have stated all that in my statement.

U.M. Trivedi (Mandsaur):⁹ I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether during our talks with Pakistan through Shri Swaran Singh, it has been brought to the notice of Pakistan that it will be in the interests of both countries if Pakistan gave up its attitude about partitioning Kashmir. [Interruption]

Jawaharlal Nehru: I should like to answer that question. Not only did we not bring it to their notice, but we are entirely opposed to the suggestion which the hon. Member has made.

431. In the Rajya Sabha: Visiting Foreigners¹⁰

- I. Statement Re Prime Minister's Discussion with Foreign Dignitaries, Indo-Pakistan Talks, etc.
- II. Documents Exchanged Between Governments of India & China

8. Independent.

9. Jan Sangh.

10. Statement, 7 May 1963. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLIII, Nos. 9-17, 1-11th May, 1963, cols 2446-2460.

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The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi N. Menon): Sir, I rise to make a statement regarding the Prime Minister's discussion with foreign dignitaries who have recently visited India, the Indo-Pakistan talks etc. and also to lay a copy each of the following documents on the Table:

- (i) Government of India's note dated the 3rd April, 1963, addressed to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China, New Delhi.¹¹
- (ii) Premier Chou En-lai's letter dated the 20th April, 1963, addressed to the Prime Minister of India.¹²
- (iii) Reply of the Prime Minister of India dated the 1st May, 1963¹³ to Premier Chou En-lai's letter dated the 20th April, 1963.
- (iv) Chinese Government note dated the 27th April, 1963.¹⁴
- (v) Government of India's reply dated the 6th May, 1963, to the Chinese note of the 27th April, 1963.¹⁵

Prime Minister's Statement

[not reproduced as it is identical to the statement in the
Lok Sabha on 7 May 1963, item 430]

A.B. Vajpayee (Uttar Pradesh):¹⁶ May I seek one clarification? I do not want to know the details of the Indo-Pakistan talks to be given but I should like to know whether any proposal has emanated from the United Kingdom and the United States of America for the joint control of the Kashmir Valley. There are all types of rumours and I want to know whether any proposal has been formally put forward before the Government of India and, if so, whether the United Kingdom and the United States of America have been told in plain terms that while we do want their long-term military aid, we are not prepared to sacrifice Kashmir.

Lakshmi N. Menon: It is already there in the Statement.

11. See *White Paper IX*, pp. 34-35.

12. See *White Paper IX*, pp. 10-13.

13. See item 477.

14. See *White Paper IX*, pp. 127-128.

15. See *White Paper IX*, pp. 129-131.

16. Jan Sangh.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): There has been no proposal as such but in the course of the long talks all kinds of suggestions were put forward. I do not think, even amongst the suggestions, there was any question of any joint control but there were various proposals which, to some extent, may be considered to involve some such thing, not joint control but some other facilities for the parties. This was not a proposal, as I said, but in considering the entire problem, various things were put forward. It was pointed out to them that this was, from many points of view, not at all a feasible or a desirable thing and we could not accept it.

Bhupesh Gupta (West Bengal):¹⁷ May I seek one clarification in this connection? From the reports in the United States of America and also from some of the statements that have emanated from the official quarters there, it does appear that much attention has been paid to the specific question of Kashmir in the context of the Indo-Pakistan talks. Afterwards, after the fifth round of talks, Sardar Swaran Singh said in Karachi that the differences have widened. May I know, Sir, in that connection, after the four series of talks, exactly on what points basically or broadly speaking, the differences have widened, as Sardar Swaran Singh has said, and whether in this connection a proposal has been made for internationalisation of the State of Kashmir? In this connection has the Government of India reiterated its basic stand in the Security Council as far as Kashmir is concerned, our general attitude, or whether there is some alteration of the position that we have taken all these years since the matter went to the Security Council?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member asks about some proposal for internationalisation. I do not think any such proposal was made but as I have said in my answer to the hon. Mr Vajpayee all kinds of suggestions were made, avenues explored, and naturally we gave them our viewpoint in clear terms but there was no suggestion even as far as I remember of internationalisation put forward in the course of these talks. We did not repeat all our arguments of the Security Council—that is a long process and the matter is more or less admitted, what the legal and constitutional basis is. So it was on that basis broadly that the matter was considered, apart from the legal and constitutional basis, what else was possible largely within that framework to settle this question which has given us so much trouble.

17. CPI.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

M.S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore):¹⁸ May I seek a clarification in respect of China's aggression on India? Recently Mr Ali Sabry made a statement that the differences between India and China have narrowed down and he signed a communiqué in Peking wherein by implication it was said that both China and India could come to the negotiating table without taking into consideration the wide divergences of opinion in regard to this matter. May I know whether this view of Mr Ali Sabry was communicated when he was here to the Prime Minister and what is the clarification given by the Prime Minister in regard to this matter about the negotiations and about the narrowing of differences between China and India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In the statement that has been read out on my behalf by Minister Lakshmi Menon the talks with Mr Ali Sabry have been dealt with. The hon. Member has quoted some remarks to the effect that the issues between China and India have narrowed down. If he will read some of the documents and papers that we have put on the Table of the House today, letters, communications, etc., from them it would appear that there has been no change in the attitude of China and of course of India. Now it depends on people who talk of certain impressions they gather. They may say, I gathered this impression but that impression cannot be justified by any formal or informal statements. I cannot give the House of any idea of the various impressions of various people as they vary.

A.D. Mani (Madhya Pradesh):¹⁹ During the talks with the leader who came here and during the discussions on the specific proposals that have been made for the solution of the Kashmir dispute, was it made clear on behalf of the Government of India that as far as the Kashmir question is concerned no decision can be taken without the consent of the Legislature of Kashmir and the Government of Kashmir?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This has always been pointed out that whatever decision can be made can only be made according to our Constitution, well, obviously by Parliament and secondly with the approval of the Assembly in Kashmir.

B.D. Khobaragade (Maharashtra):²⁰ Mr Dean Rusk before he departed from this country has told the reporters that they have reached some sort

18. PSP.

19. Independent.

20. Republic Party of India.

of understanding and agreement with the Government of India on certain problems. So I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister on what problems they have reached this understanding and agreement; particularly, Sir, I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether they have reached any understanding so far as the nature and extent of arms aid is concerned, because I understand that Pakistan is entertaining certain fears that if more arms aid is given to this country it might tilt the balance of power in this sub-continent. In the context of this circumstance I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether during these discussions we have been able to convince all the dignitaries that no balance of power will be tilted. Of course the hon. Prime Minister has already told that whatever arms aid we might get we will not use it against Pakistan but we will use it against China. But have we been able to convince these dignitaries and has there been any understanding on this point?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think that I have got the drift of the question but I am not quite sure about the precise nature of it. So I shall endeavour to reply as I understand the drift. So far as arms aid, etc., are concerned, these matters are being precisely dealt with by the team, the expert high level team, that has gone to the United States and to the United Kingdom and has just come back. They dealt with this matter in detail, not broadly, but in detail and precisely with their opposite numbers there. Generally their reception was very friendly. They are a very receptive people on the other side but they could not give a final reply as to what kind of things will be supplied by them and what not because that depends on other factors and may be ultimately upon the decision of the Congress there. But broadly speaking, they had a very favourable reception there and as has been stated, my colleague, Mr T.T. Krishnamachari, will be going there in a few days' time. We did not discuss with Mr Dean Rusk here the quantum of aid or the quality of aid because that is a detailed and expert matter. We only discussed the general need for aid and that this should not be connected with the Indo-Pakistan question. As I have said, the Indo-Pakistan question is of greater importance to us than to the United States or the United Kingdom. It concerns us and we want very much a satisfactory settlement not only of the Kashmir issue but of all the issues that come up between India and Pakistan to bedevil our relations and we were assured by them that they did not make the aid contingent on these Kashmir or like issues. They pointed out at the same time that they were anxious to help settle these issues and it would facilitate them also in helping us to the best possible extent but they kept it separate.

Bhupesh Gupta: After his talks with Mr Ali Sabry the Prime Minister told Pressmen here if the report was correct that the talks were partly satisfactory,

partly good and partly not so good. I do not know if these words were used but that is what we read in the papers. As far as the second part is concerned, we have got some indication in the statement read out to us just now. May I know the import of the words be used, “partly good”? I would like to know in this connection.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather difficult for me to precisely say anything. These newspapermen as is their wont come and surround one and put odd questions suddenly, “Was it satisfactory or not satisfactory?” and I said, “Partly satisfactory and partly not”. Our talks with Mr Ali Sabry were entirely satisfactory except for some impressions here and there which he gave in the report as regards the exact position which was not satisfactory.

Niren Ghosh (West Bengal):²¹ From the Press reports it appears as far as I remember that the hon. Prime Minister has said that many of the major proposals of the Colombo Conference have been given effect to but even a minor thing becomes a major thing sometimes in a certain context. Would the Prime Minister enlighten the House as to what the major things are that have been given effect to and what the minor things are that remain?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As he said, even the so called minor things become major in a certain context. There are two important things that the Chinese have not agreed to although they are laid down in the Colombo proposals and the explanations attached to them. Firstly in the Ladakh area there is a demilitarised region of 20 kms and the Colombo proposals laid down that in this demilitarised region both India and China can have civil posts by agreement between themselves as to the location and the number but they should have equal number by agreement, whatever that may be, five and five, seven and seven or four and four. Now, China has not agreed to that and does not accept the suggestion that India should also have civil posts there. That is one. It depends on how one looks at it but, we think it is an important matter for a variety of reasons. Perhaps from a purely military point of view it may not have any very great significance to have civil posts, but from the point of view of other matters it is very important.

The other point is in the NEFA region. According to the Colombo proposals, we can send our Army right up to the international frontier, that is, the McMahon Line. The Chinese do not accept that, although they accept our civil posts in this area and civil posts have been established. All the old posts have been established in the area which the Chinese vacated and there are the Assam

21. CPI.

Rifles and Assam Police etc. But the question of the Army going there is at issue. Again, quite apart from the military point of view, whether it is desirable or not, it is for our Defence people to consider. The point is that the Colombo proposals clearly laid this down and the Chinese have clearly not admitted that part of the Colombo proposals.

Chairman: I would like to pass on to the next item on the Order Paper.

432. To Eric Williams: Trade Cooperation²²

May 15, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 4th May, 1963, which I have read with much interest. I share your concern over the difficulties confronting developing countries such as ours. I also agree with you that there should be closer cooperation among the developing countries.

2. You have made some valuable suggestions which will receive our careful consideration. We are asking our Minister of International Trade, Shri Manubhai Shah, who will be representing us at the Commonwealth Trade Ministers' Conference and the GATT meeting in Geneva to discuss the suggestions with Mr John O'Halloran²³ who will be representing your Government at these meetings. Later, I shall write to you again after we have given fuller consideration to this matter.

With my very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

22. Letter to the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago.

23. Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Trinidad and Tobago. See appendix 3.

433. To Escott Reid: On L.K. Jha²⁴

May 16, 1963

My dear Mr Reid,

Thank you for your letter of May 10 which I have just received. I am glad to learn that L.K. Jha²⁵ put up our case before the Consortium ably and with vigour. I shall certainly meet L.K. Jha when he comes back to Delhi.

With all good wishes to you and your wife.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

434. To Sundarlal: World Peace Council Meeting²⁶

May 16, 1963

My dear Sundarlal,

Your letter of May 9th.

I confess that I do not attach much importance to the meetings of the Peace Council. However, I would personally have no objection to your attending it. But there are likely to be many difficulties in the way of a large delegation going there. Our rules are fairly strict now. In only very exceptional cases, such visits are permitted, even though no foreign exchange is involved.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

435. To Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber: The Future of the World²⁷

May 19, 1963

Dear Monsieur,

I have received your letter of the 13th May. On the Tenth Anniversary of *L'Express*, I send my good wishes to you. But you have asked me to look

24. Letter to the Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. PMO, File No. 37(104)/61-63-PM, Volume II, Sr. No. 166-A.

25. Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of External Affairs.

26. Letter to Chairman, All India Peace Council, New Delhi ; address: 40 Hanuman Lane, New Delhi.

27. Letter to the Director-General of *L'Express*, 91 Champs Elysées, Paris 8e.

into the future and have sent me a questionnaire for answering. I fear I am no prophet, and in this confused state of world affairs it is particularly difficult to prophesy what will happen in the future. However, I enclose a note which is some kind of a general answer to your questionnaire, though it does not deal with each separate question.²⁸

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

436. The Future of the World²⁹

I am not wise enough to say what will happen to the world in the next decade. But the most important international problem today is “How to bring about some kind of détente between the two major Power Blocs and put an end to the cold war”. An essential part of that problem is the question of disarmament. I feel convinced that there is no way out of our difficulties except through disarmament.

I would suggest that France should help in bringing about this détente between the two Power Blocs which it can well help because of its special position.

A united Europe will probably take shape in the future. It is important, however, that this development should not be in terms of the cold war, but rather a major step towards a larger understanding and cooperation.

I think that both the capitalist system and the communist are gradually changing, even though they might talk in the old terms still. The distance between them is slowly lessening. Rigid ideologies of the past gradually become out of date and have to be adapted to modern conditions and scientific and technological progress. France could certainly help in this process of change.

If the cold war ends and disarmament takes place, the whole international outlook will undergo a vast change, which will influence all countries. A new approach to each other will develop, an approach which is not conditioned so much by fear and hatred, but by more constructive reasons.

I think that this will lead also to the more rapid development of economically backward countries which is very important not only for their sake but also for the sake of world peace.

28. Item 436.

29. Note, 19 May 1963, written evidently for Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, Director-General of *L'Express*, 91 Champs Elysées, Paris 8e. See item 435.

I am firmly convinced that nuclear weapons should not be manufactured or used. I can only, therefore, respectfully advise the Nuclear Powers to come to an agreement to put an end to these weapons.

At the present moment, we in India are gravely involved in our conflict with China which has been occasioned by China's aggression on our territory. This is not only a matter of high importance to us, but I think it is of world importance. Unless this aggression and the expansionist urge behind it are held in check, it will lead to disastrous consequences.

It is always a pleasure to me to go to France and to have the opportunity to talk with the young people there who have such eager and bright minds. I am afraid, however, that there is little chance of my going to France in the foreseeable future as I am too tied up with my problems here.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

437. To Eric Williams: Coordination by Less Developed Countries³⁰

May 29, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

Our High Commissioner³¹ must have delivered to you by now my letter dated 15th May in reply to your letter of the 4th of May regarding closer cooperation among the developing countries.³²

2. Our Minister of International Trade³³ has since had a talk with Mr John O'Halloran.³⁴ The less developed countries have been meeting from time to time in various forums to discuss problems concerning their trade and economic development in the various UN and general bodies and in such ad-hoc conference as the Afro-Asian meeting at Cairo last year, as also in the GATT. These discussions have resulted in the ECOSOC and UN General Assembly agreeing to call a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in early 1964 especially for the purpose of discussing the problems of less developed countries.

30. Letter to the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. MEA, File No. B-202(33)/63, Sr.7/corr. Also available in the JN Collection.

31. K.C. Nair.

32. See item 432 and appendix 3.

33. Manubhai Shah.

34. Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Trinidad and Tobago.

3. As a result of the exchange of views in the various forums, the less developed countries are better able to coordinate their approach to various economic issues in the UN, the GATT and elsewhere. In GATT itself, the less developed countries have worked out an eight-point action programme indicating measures which the industrialised countries should adopt to promote the trade of developing countries. In the current GATT session, the approach of the less developed countries has been on fairly uniform lines.

4. It is true that industrialised countries have in the OECD an organisation for coordinating their trade and payments policies; but this is not necessarily an example which less developed countries can follow. Indeed, an exclusive organisation of the less developed countries would hardly have much bargaining or economic or financial strength. In the field of trade, we have to bring the industrialised countries round the same table and it is much more fruitful for the less developed countries to work in unison within a single organisation. It is the markets of the industrialised countries that the less developed countries want to be thrown open for their products.

5. In GATT itself, there is substantial agreement on the need to widen the scope of GATT and liberalise it. We have stated our view clearly that unless GATT is so re-shaped we may have to press for a new organisation, in the proposed World Trade Conference. This view has been endorsed by almost all the less developed countries.

6. Most of the less developed countries have very limited room for manoeuvre in their external economic and commercial policies and any attempt to set up formal machinery for achieving coordination of these policies may easily give rise to unnecessary conflicts and tensions instead of facilitating effective international action. I would suggest, therefore, that the suggestion to have a new organisation might be considered later after seeing what other developments take place.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

438. Aircraft Purchases³⁵

I must say I am surprised at the way things are being done here. I am opposed to any delay in coming to decisions. At the same time, decisions have to be made after proper reference. Where such a matter affects our other programmes, this is all the more necessary.

35. Note, 5 June 1963, for S.S. Khera, the Cabinet Secretary.

2. As we have committed ourselves to purchase the Caravilles, we have to stick to that. But I do not see why this should affect the manufacture of Avros. Somewhere in these papers it is stated that we have agreed to purchase three Caravilles. That should not make much difference to our Avro programme.

3. I think some procedure should be laid down which should be quick and which should avoid such difficulties.

439. Hindrances to Visits by Israelis³⁶

Mr Arie Eilan, Consul of Israel in Bombay, came to see me this morning. He handed over to me a letter from Prime Minister Ben-Gurion of Israel which I enclose.

2. He spoke to me of the apparent change of policy of the Government of India in regard to the people of Israel coming to India or even passing through India. This change, according to him, took place in May 1962. He gave me a note about the difficulties of Israelis desiring visas to visit India.

3. Prime Minister Ben-Gurion's letter is dated the 13th May i.e. over a month ago. The Consul had kept it all this time as he wanted to give it to me personally.

4. I was not aware of any special change in our policy towards Israel and Israelis last year. That policy has been one of allowing scientists and experts to go to Israel and to come from there for particular work. We did not encourage too much of intercourse between India and Israel, but we did not wish to come in the way of it and where it seemed desirable, we permitted it. I think that was the correct policy and there is no reason why we should make it very much more restrictive.

5. The Consul also spoke to me and said that Mr Ben-Gurion and men of his generation and those over fifty years of age in Israel, came in contact with Indian literature and our struggle for freedom and were much influenced by it. Tagore was a favourite author. Mr Ben-Gurion has been specially attracted to Buddhism. He performs Yogic physical exercises regularly, including the Sirasashana, standing on his head. Some of my books have been popular in Israel, but the new generation in Israel i.e. under fifty years of age, have not got those contacts with India and there is a growing resentment among them about India's policy towards Israel. This was unfortunate and Mr Ben-Gurion and others wanted to have better relations with India even though they might be non-political.

36. Note, 14 June 1963.

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6. The Consul also told me of the growth of Israeli contacts with the new African countries. I was surprised to learn that they had 22 Missions in these new African independent countries. He gave me a note on Israeli relations with Asian and African countries. I am sending this note.

7. I think that we should consider our policy in regard to Israel. Basically, there may be no change in it, but it can be made more flexible and specially in regard to some matters in which Israel has made more progress, such as Agriculture, Fertilisers, Irrigation etc. There should be no difficulty about Israelis coming here as tourists or passing through India.

8. I suppose I should send an answer to Mr Ben-Gurion's letter.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

440. To Morarji Desai: Acknowledging Aid India Consortium Help³⁷

June 22, 1963

My dear Morarji,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st June which I have received today. You refer in this to your conversation with Galbraith.³⁸

As for giving expression to our appreciation for aid committed to us by various countries at the last Consortium meeting, I am perfectly prepared to say so, but it has to be said normally on an occasion suitable for it. I do not think it would be desirable for me to hold a special press conference for this purpose, nor do I think it would be appropriate for me to send special messages to the Governments concerned. I gather from your letter that you are sending some such messages yourself. That is appropriate.

I shall be returning to Delhi on the 28th and after two days there I shall go to Calcutta for two or three days. It is quite possible that in Calcutta I shall have a suitable opportunity either at a press conference or in a public meeting to say something about this subject. I might also mention the Tarapore Atomic Power Plan.

I shall welcome a brief note on the subject of the aid from the Consortium as well as for Bokaro when I return to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

37. Letter to the Finance Minister, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir, PMO, File No. 37 (104)/61-63-PM, Vol. II, Sr. No. 194-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

38. J.K. Galbraith, US Ambassador to India.

441. Assistance to Cheddi Jagan³⁹

[Note, 22 June 1963, by Y.D. Gundevia, CS, MEA, begins]

The Prime Minister has, presumably, seen the telegram below from Port of Spain, Trinidad.

2. It would be impossible for us to grant any short term loan in West Indies dollars (Rs 11 million is the figure mentioned) to meet immediate commitments of the West Indies Government. The obvious answer which we could ask our Commissioner⁴⁰ to politely give to them is that we ourselves are borrowing heavily abroad and we cannot share out anything from our meagre resources.

3. Dr Jagan's⁴¹ other request, which is apparently being communicated in his letter to the Prime Minister, is for the Prime Minister to use his good offices to persuade the British to cooperate with him to restore and maintain law and order in Georgetown and fix a date for handing over full powers to his government. Our Commissioner asks whether there can be any informal diplomatic approaches that we might make to the British and Americans to soften their hostility to Dr Jagan and "create conditions for weaning from extremist obsessions." I doubt if we can succeed in this. If a man has extremist obsessions, he cannot be weaned, that fast, and if his communist wife is now Home Minister,⁴² it is hopeless trying to persuade the British or the Americans to soften their hostility to Jagan.

4. If Prime Minister approves, I will instruct our Commissioner to tell Dr Cheddi Jagan, politely, that we are not in a position to give any financial help, we regret very much; and on other issues (political) he must be instructed to tactfully avoid any serious discussion.

Y.D. Gundevia
22.6.63

PM

[Note, 22 June 1963, by Y.D. Gundevia, CS, MEA, ends]

39. Noting, 22-24 June 1963. MEA, File No. U-II/154 (6)/63, p. 5/note. Also available in MEA, File No. SII/104-16/63, p.1/n.

40. K.C. Nair.

41. Cheddi Jagan, Premier of British Guyana.

42. Janet Jagan.

[Note, 24 June 1963, by Nehru for Gundevia, begins]

I agree with you. It is physically not possible for us to give this loan. Considering that we are trying to raise moneys from the Western world, for us to give a loan will be rather extraordinary. This loan will come out of the loans given to us by others. The position might be explained to Dr Jagan by our Commissioner. He should be told that we would gladly have helped him if this was possible for us.

2. As to Dr Jagan's other request, I do not remember receiving any letter from him about it. Perhaps it is on its way. I doubt very much if any request by us to the British and the Americans would be helpful. If an occasion arises when it can be helpful we shall take advantage of it.

J. Nehru
24.6.63

Pahalgam, Kashmir

CS

[Note, 24 June 1963, by Nehru for Gundevia, ends]

442. To David Ben-Gurion: India's China and Palestine Policies⁴³

June 30, 1963

Dear Mr Ben-Gurion,

Thank you for your letter of 13th May. This was delivered to me by your Consul a few days ago.

I was interested to read your letter which explains the broad principles of Israel's foreign policy. I agree with you that, in the present situation, it is more than ever necessary to direct all our efforts to the lowering of international tension, the preservation of peace and the strengthening of the United Nations.

This has been our policy in India ever since we became independent. We wish to have friendly relations with all countries and more particularly with our neighbours. In the case of China, however, as your letter points out, our experience has been unfortunate. In spite of our desire for the peaceful settlement of the border problem, we were exposed to a massive aggression last year. This came as a shock to us, but we are determined not to yield to

43. Letter to the Prime Minister of Israel.

aggression and are taking measures for the defence of our country. However, our basic policy remains unchanged and we are also keeping the door open for a peaceful settlement. As you perhaps know, some friendly countries have made some proposals with a view to bringing about talks between the two sides.⁴⁴ The proposals do not meet our requirements fully, but we have accepted them in the interest of peace. China, however, has not accepted them and is continuing its aggressive activities. We do not know what China's intentions are, but we are prepared for all eventualities.

You have also referred in your letter to the situation in regard to Palestine. We have friendly relations with the countries of your area and it is our hope that this question will be settled peacefully. As you perhaps know, we have always felt that the question of Palestine should be settled in conformity with the provisions of the UN Charter, the resolutions of the UN and the principles which were unanimously adopted at the Bandung Conference of 1955 for the peaceful settlement of this question.

With my best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

443. To Cheddi Jagan: Help with Decolonisation⁴⁵

June 30, 1963

Dear Dr Jagan,

Thank you for your letter of June 15, 1963.

We have been following the unhappy developments in British Guiana during the last few months. As you know, we have always supported independence for colonial territories before every international forum, particularly in the United Nations. Despite the naked Chinese aggression on our territory which has been our greatest concern during the last nine months or so and has absorbed almost all our attention, India has not relaxed her efforts to further the objectives of India's foreign policy, one of the main planks of which is freedom for colonial countries. The Indian delegation to the United Nations Special Committee of 24 on Decolonisation has done whatever it could to help in the process of decolonisation. I am informed that recently this Committee has decided to set up a Sub-Committee to seek the best means to make British Guiana independent as quickly as possible.

44. This refers to the Colombo Proposals.

45. Letter to the Prime Minister of British Guiana.

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Beyond what the Indian delegation does at the United Nations, I am also prepared to use whatever influence I have with the people directly concerned. However, it does not seem to me as if the present is the most appropriate moment for such an intervention.

I have not yet met Dr P.N. Dhar of Delhi University.⁴⁶ Perhaps, he has not yet returned to Delhi. I will gladly see him at a convenient time.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

444. To Ahmed Ben Bella: Independence Day Greetings⁴⁷

June 30, 1963

Excellency,

On this memorable day when you are celebrating the first anniversary of Algeria's independence, I have great pleasure, on behalf of the Government and people of India, and on my own behalf, in conveying to you and, through you, to the Government and people of friendly Algeria our warm and fraternal greetings.

Our own country and the other countries of Asia achieved their independence in the years immediately following the war. It was our deep conviction, however, that Asia's liberation would not be complete if Africa remained unliberated. From the very start, therefore, since we became independent, we have considered the cause of the African peoples as our own. We have followed the heroic struggle of your own people for freedom with the utmost admiration and sympathy. The struggle has had its martyrs: countless men, women and children have suffered for the cause. We join you today in, saluting them; their sufferings have not been in vain and they have added a rich chapter to the history of the movement for freedom.

46. Extract from Jagan's letter of 15 June 1963: "I should like to take this opportunity to mention that Dr P.N. Dhar of New Delhi [sic] University, who has been in British Guiana helping us with our economic planning under the auspices of the United Nations, is leaving British Guiana today after a tour of service. Dr Dhar has been of great service to us, for which we are very grateful. Dr Dhar is familiar with the local situation and will be able to give you first-hand information on it. If you could spare the time to see him on his return to New Delhi about the middle of July, I should be most grateful." MEA File No. SII/104-16/63, Sr. No.(3)/corr.

47. Letter to the President of Algeria.

The leaders of Africa are now engaged in other tasks which are of the utmost significance for Africa and the world. We are following their efforts to bring about a closer unity in Africa with sympathy and admiration. The Conference of Heads of State which was held recently at Addis Ababa was warmly welcomed by us. The nations of Africa have given a lead to other nations which we value. We also value the efforts that are being made to uplift the peoples and to eliminate backwardness and poverty which are a heritage of the past.

As we are facing similar problems in India, we hope to profit from Africa's experience. We wish to strengthen our friendly cooperation with Algeria and the other African nations. In this hour of rejoicing, however, we cannot forget the African peoples who have still to achieve their liberation. Our warmest sympathies are with them and they have our full support in their struggle. The continued existence of colonialism and racialism in parts of Africa is not merely an insult to the dignity of man, but also a threat to the peace of the world.

I am grateful to you for inviting a Special Delegation from India on this occasion. I am asking the leader of our delegation to present this message to you and to convey to you my warm regards and best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of the Algerian people.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

445. To K. Kamaraj: Avoid All India Peace Council⁴⁸

July 8, 1963

My dear Kamaraj,

I understand that the All India Peace Council has decided to hold the All India Peace Congress in Madras from September 21st to 23rd, 1963. The key issue before the Congress would be defence of the policy of non-alignment. They will also discuss general disarmament, banning of nuclear tests, ending of all forms of colonialism, the German problem and the situation in Laos and Cuba. They are anxious, I am told, to get you to inaugurate this Peace Congress. I think that it will not be desirable for you to get involved in this matter. Therefore, I suggest to you that in case you are invited to inaugurate this Peace Congress, you should politely decline to do so.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

48. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madras.

446. To Masayoshi Ohira: Acknowledging Aid from Japan⁴⁹

July 9, 1963

Excellency,

Ambassador Mehrotra,⁵⁰ when he was here in May for the Conference of Heads of Missions from, South and East Asia, mentioned to me the large variety of development projects in the implementation of which Indo-Japanese cooperation has been increasing. He also mentioned to me the keen interest shown by Your Excellency's Government and the people of Japan in our development plans.

A couple of weeks back, my colleague, the Minister for Agriculture, who had been to Japan recently, told me how kindly he was received at all levels and how friendly the attitude of your colleagues in Government and your industrialists was. I have just heard from our Foreign Secretary, M.J. Desai, who was in Japan last week, of the friendly and sympathetic understanding that prevails at all levels of the Japanese Government and industry on the problems we are facing, particularly the vital problem of economic and social development.

Despite the additional burdens to meet our defence needs which we have to shoulder because of the crisis created by China on our border, we are determined not to allow the implementation of our Third Five Year Plan to suffer in any way. We are particularly grateful for the assistance that Japan has already given in this connection and the generous and sympathetic way in which our request for further assistance is being examined.

Your Excellency has already accepted our invitation to visit India. I understand that it will be possible for Your Excellency to pay a visit to us some time this autumn. I am very much looking forward to this visit as it will provide another opportunity, like Prime Minister Ikeda's visit last year, for a friendly and informal exchange of views on various problems of mutual interest. Such informal and friendly exchange of views is all the more necessary now because of the political, economic and industrial problems that both our countries have to deal with in the context of current international developments and, more particularly, of recent developments in our part of the world.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

49. Letter to the Foreign Minister of Japan.

50. Lalji Mehrotra.

447. To N.R. Dharchoudhuri: Order of Merit⁵¹

July 10, 1963

Dear Shri Dharchoudhuri,
I have your letter of the 9th July.

I am afraid you are mistaken about the Order of Merit. The British High Commissioner must have described it as an Order of Chivalry in some loose way. It is not correct to say that it is an Order of Chivalry. The Sovereign is a member of all the Orders of Chivalry, but is not a member of the Order of Merit. The Order of Merit corresponds more to the British Academy and the Royal Society. Both of these have Royal Charters, but the Sovereign is not a member of them.

This is not a title or a decoration, but an Order. There is no investiture ceremony for it as in the case of all titles of chivalry. Honorary membership of the Order is limited to non-British nationals. The only other honorary members, namely, President Eisenhower and Dr Schweitzer, belong to countries which provide explicitly against acceptance of titles.

The ordinary members of the Order on the civil side are men of the highest academic distinction, such as, T.S. Elliot, Lord Russell and Sir Winston Churchill.

It might interest you to know that our President has been a foreign member of a similar West German Order, "Pour le Mérite", since 1955.⁵²

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

448. For the World Association of World Federalists⁵³

To the Eleventh Congress of the World Association of World Federalists, which is meeting in Tokyo, I send my good wishes. I hope it will have a successful meeting. There is little hope for the future of the world unless we achieve disarmament and remove the causes which bring about so much tension and conflict as well as lead to so much poverty and unhappiness in the world. I hope the deliberations of this Congress will contribute to realising disarmament

51. Letter ; address: 44/3 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Calcutta 9.

52. For reply, see appendix 33. And Nehru's reply, item 449.

53. Message, 13 July 1963. PMO, File No. 9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 4, Sr. No. 6-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

and to creating the institutions necessary to maintain a just and lasting peace in our world.⁵⁴

449. To N.R. Dharchoudhuri: Orders and Titles⁵⁵

July 19, 1963

Dear Shri Dharchoudhuri,

I have your letter of the 17th July. I hope you will forgive me if I do not answer it at length. I am very heavily occupied.

I have already told you that in our opinion the British Order of Merit is totally different from the normal Orders and Titles that are given in England. Further that acceptance of it by the President did not infringe any provision of our Constitution.

As for what a title is, I think it is a little difficult to define it precisely as the word has necessarily many connotations. Normally it represents something which is added on to the name.⁵⁶

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

450. Zakir Husain for the UN General Assembly⁵⁷

I have seen your note about your visiting the Vice-President⁵⁸ and suggesting to him that he might lead our Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly for two or three weeks.

2. I spoke to the President⁵⁹ about this matter. He reminded me that at the time of the Tenth Anniversary celebration of the United Nations held in San Francisco, it was proposed that he, as Vice-President, might lead our Delegation

54. Another such message was sent on 19 July 1963 to M.K. Banerji of the Association of world Federalists, 35 Stephen House, 4 Dalhousie Square East, Calcutta 1, welcoming the initiative of the Indian units of the Association to organise a conference of the delegates on their way back from Tokyo.

55. Letter; address: 44/3 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Calcutta 9.

56. For earlier correspondence, see appendix 33. And item 447.

57. Note, 27 July 1963, for M.J. Desai, the Foreign Secretary. MEA, File No. U-II/122(3)/63, Vol. II, p. 19/Note.

58. Zakir Husain.

59. S. Radhakrishnan.

there, as it was said that that was a formal occasion and no controversial politics were likely to be involved. It appears that subsequently I wrote to him and said that there was a possibility of controversial subjects also coming up even at this formal session, and therefore, perhaps it was not desirable for him as Vice-President to lead our Delegation. It was, therefore, decided that he should not go there on that occasion, and our then Ambassador in Washington Shri G.L. Mehta went to San Francisco on our behalf.

3. Thus at that time we thought that the Vice-President should not participate on occasions where controversial politics were involved. If that was so at a more or less formal occasion, it would obviously be so at the regular session of the UN General Assembly. The President himself feels that the Vice-President, like the President himself, should not get involved in such politics.

4. I should like you to get out the old papers in this connection, and we can then consider them before coming to a final decision.

Disarmament

451. To R.R. Diwakar: Meeting Bertrand Russell's Representatives⁶⁰

June 21, 1963

My dear Diwakar,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st June about the representatives of Lord Russell. I shall certainly be prepared to meet them in Delhi after I return there, even though I shall be very busy. I doubt if our meeting will yield any substantial result. Still, as they have come here, I shall meet them.⁶¹

I expect to return to Delhi on the 28th June afternoon. On the 1st July I go to Calcutta for two or three days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

60. Letter to the Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. NMML, JN Papers – R.R. Diwakar.

61. See appendix 19.

452. For Anti-Nuclear World Conference⁶²

I send my good wishes to the Ninth World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs which is going to be held in Hiroshima. In the world of today no greater danger overshadows us all than the possibility of a nuclear war. It is right, therefore, that we should all realise this and try our best to avert this terrible catastrophe. I hope that the Ninth World Conference will help in doing so.

453. Shiva Rao's Letter⁶³

I enclose an odd letter from Shri B. Shiva Rao.⁶⁴

454. To B. Shiva Rao: Not Rajaji for Disarmament Negotiations⁶⁵

July 21, 1963

Dear Shiva Rao,

Your letter of July 15th came to me some days ago.⁶⁶ I have carefully considered your suggestion and consulted some colleagues about it also. I do not think it will be advisable for us to request Rajaji⁶⁷ to go to Geneva to represent Government in the Disarmament Conference. No one doubts Rajaji's great ability and his devotion to the cause of nuclear disarmament, but still, reasons for his not being appointed as a representative of Government for this purpose are also obvious.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

62. Message, 12 July 1963, forwarded to Kaoru Yasui, Chairman of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, Tokyo. PMO, File No. 9/2/63-PMP, vol. 4, r. No. 12-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

63. Note, 15 July 1963, for the FS. MEA, File No. B(104) – DISARM/63, p. 2/notes.

64. See Nehru's reply to Shiva Rao, 21 July 1963, item 454.

Further noting are as follows: "May be destroyed" 1 October 1975; and "Keep till 1980" 6 October 1975. The signature in each case is illegible. MEA, File No. B(104) – DISARM/63, p. 2/notes.

65. Letter to journalist and former Rajya Sabha MP; address: 85 Lodi Estate, New Delhi. MEA File No. B(104)-DISARM/63, p. 6/corr. Also available in the JN Collection and NMML, B. Shiva Rao Papers.

66. Nehru's note to the FS, 15 July 1963, item 453.

67. C. Rajagopalachari, Swatantra Party leader.

455. To John F. Kennedy: Welcoming Nuclear Test Ban⁶⁸

27.7.1963

My dear Mr President,

It is with considerable gratification that on behalf of my colleagues and on my own behalf, I offer our felicitations on the successful conclusion of talks held in Moscow between Secretary Harriman⁶⁹ and his British and Soviet colleagues on a treaty banning nuclear tests in atmosphere, in outer space and underwater. We have since announced our decision to sign this treaty as soon as it is available for signature.⁷⁰

This test ban agreement is an important landmark in international cooperation and understanding. We trust that this welcome beginning will lead to wider agreement on other collateral tension-reducing measures and to speedy conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.⁷¹

With warm personal regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

456. To H.J. Bhabha: Nuclear Test Ban⁷²

July 29, 1963

My dear Homi,

I have your letter of July 28.⁷³ The news item to which you refer was given publicity after an urgent reference to me in Hyderabad. It seemed to me desirable and necessary that we should make a statement of that kind as early as possible. It was in keeping with what we have been saying all the time repeatedly, and there was some special point for us to repeat it in regard to this Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. It did not strike me that a special consultation about this was necessary.

68. Letter to the US President. MEA, File No. H(705)-DISARM/1963, Vol. I, p. 34/Corr.

69. Averell Harriman, US Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs.

70. Announced by the MEA in a press note, see *The Times of India*, 28 July 1963, p. 1 cols 2, 3, 4.

71. Similar letters were sent to N.S. Khrushchev, the Soviet Premier, MEA, File No. H(705)-DISARM/1963, Vol. I, p. 36/Corr., and to Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, MEA, File No. H(705)-DISARM/1963, Vol. I, p.35/Corr.

72. Letter to the Secretary of the Department of Atomic Energy.

73. Appendix 34.

Whether such a use of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes might be necessary in future is quite another matter and can be considered when the occasion arises. At the present moment, it would be definitely harmful from the larger world point of view to hesitate to sign this treaty which we have been advocating for so long.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

South East Asia

457. Meeting with Indonesian Ambassador⁷⁴

I saw the Indonesian Ambassador⁷⁵ this morning. He spoke to me of the visit of President Liu Shao-chi and Marshal Chen Yi⁷⁶ to Indonesia and their talks with President Soekarno and others. It was difficult to have any clear impression of what they meant because they seemed to change their position from day to day. Although they stuck to their position in regard to the Colombo proposals, yet one had the impression that they were a little softer and more conciliatory in their approach than they had been previously when Dr Subandrio⁷⁷ went to Peking with Mrs Bandaranaike.⁷⁸

2. But the fact remained that they were not clear in what they said and it was difficult to hold on to anything. This is the usual Chinese attitude.

3. In Indonesia, the Ambassador repeated several times, there is a balance of forces which pull in different directions. This creates some difficulty. There are pro-Chinese elements, but the strongest force is that of the Army and specially of the young officers of the Army, some of whom have been educated in the United States and India. This Army is definitely anti-Communist and more so anti-Chinese. In the ultimate analysis, as the Army is the most important factor in Indonesian politics, this fact has to be kept in mind.

4. In this connection, he referred to the army training being given to their officers in India. He hoped that this would continue and grew as this would be good both for Indonesia and India. They had asked for four seats for their Army officers in some establishment in India (perhaps this was Khadakvasla,

74. Note, 6 May 1963, for MEA officials.

75. Suska.

76. President and Defence Minister respectively of China.

77. Foreign Minister of Indonesia.

78. Prime Minister of Ceylon.

but I do not know). They had been given only one seat. He hoped that some more seats would be provided for them.

5. He said that the relations between their Army Chiefs and our Chief of Staff were good.

6. He then referred to the question of oil. The Chinese wanted oil from them but the Indonesian Government had not agreed to supply any. Half of their oil is under the control of foreign companies, chiefly American. The other half is under the Army. Neither of these was prepared to give any oil to the Chinese. The Army is entirely opposed to helping China in this way and yet Indonesia had made an offer to India to sell them 150,000 lbs. of oil. The difficulty apparently was in regard to tankers and storage places in India. In view, however, of the political importance of our taking some oil from Indonesia, he hoped that some arrangement would be made for us to take some of the oil offered by Indonesia to India. This will have a good effect and will bring the two countries closer to each other.

7. He said that Russia was not willing to help China with much oil. There was some talk of Rumania having supplied oil to China, but he doubted this. All this showed China's great need of oil.

8. According to information of the Indonesian Army, China was not likely to attack India in a big way, both for political reasons and practical and logistic considerations. They might, of course, indulge in minor attacks. One of the reasons was their difficulty about oil.

9. The Ambassador expressed his gratification at the conclusion of the trade agreement between India and Indonesia. He hoped that there would be further negotiations to widen this agreement and bring about more and more economic cooperation between the two countries. He again referred to our taking Indonesia oil. This would help in the balance of trade between the two countries.

10. I told him that we were anxious to have the greatest measure of cooperation in trade as well as other matters with Indonesia. For my part I would be glad if our respective armies also had good and cooperative relations.

11. I referred to the recent journalist conference at Djakarta and said that we were distressed at the treatment given to the Indian journalists.⁷⁹ He said he was distressed also. He was trying to find out what had happened. Meanwhile, he would convey my feelings to his Government.

12. President Soekarno's letter came to me some days ago and I sent it to CS.⁸⁰ I think a reply should be sent to this.

79. Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference, April 1963.

80. Y.D. Gundevia, the Commonwealth Secretary.

458. Buddhism in Vietnam⁸¹

Please read the attached letter from the Prime Minister of Ceylon.⁸²

2. I do not know if we have taken any steps in regard to the alleged ill treatment of Buddhists in South Vietnam. This matter was raised even in the Congress Executive Committee this morning. I think that we might sent a friendly message to President Diem through our representative there to the effect that Buddhists and others in India have been much concerned about the reports of certain developments regarding Buddhists in South Vietnam. The Prime Minister of Ceylon has also addressed us on the subject. I, therefore, venture to draw his attention to this matter in the hope that such grievances of the Buddhists will receive his active consideration.

3. Something to the above effect might be conveyed to President Diem.

4. I do not know if it will be worthwhile for our Permanent Representative in the UN to mention this matter to U Thant. There is no harm in his mentioning it to him and requesting him to help.

5. You might also send, by telegram, a brief message on my behalf to the Prime Minister of Ceylon. I think you might say that we are concerned about these reports about the treatment of Buddhists in South Vietnam and I have conveyed our concern to President Diem and also to the Secretary-General of the UN.⁸³

459. To Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike: Buddhists in Vietnam⁸⁴

Dated the 18th June, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 13th June in connection with reports about persecution of Buddhist in South Vietnam and the various incidents, which I received on the 17th.

We share your concern in this matter and I have conveyed our concern to President Diem⁸⁵ and also instructed our Permanent Representative at New

81. Note, 17 June 1963, for M.J. Desai, the FS. MEA, File No. SI/102/18/63, Vol. I, p. 8/ note.

82. See appendix 18.

83. See also items 459 and 460.

84. Letter to the Prime Minister of Ceylon. MEA, File No. U-II/151(33)/63, p.65/corr.

85. Item 460.

York⁸⁶ to mention this matter to the Secretary-General of United Nations.⁸⁷

We have just learnt that some understanding has been reached between the Government of Saigon and the Buddhist leaders and that the situation is improving. I have requested President Diem to follow up this understanding with generous and liberal measures.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

460. To Ngo Dinh Diem: Buddhists in Vietnam⁸⁸

June 19, 1963

My dear President,

I was happy to learn this morning that Your Excellency's Government has arrived at some understanding with the Buddhist leaders in Vietnam about their alleged grievances. I am sure your Excellency will take necessary follow-up action in a generous and liberal manner emphatically removing any misunderstandings or fears that the Vietnam Buddhists might have so that those do not become the subject of exploitation by others.

Your Consul-General here, Mr Do Vang-Ly, called on our Foreign Secretary, M.J. Desai, on 6th evening prior to proceeding to Saigon for consultations and, amongst other matters, they exchanged views on these developments regarding Buddhists in Vietnam. We had representations from Buddhists and others in India in this connection and the Prime Minister of Ceylon has also addressed us on this subject.⁸⁹ I am glad, therefore, that the alleged grievances of the Buddhists have received your Excellency's active consideration and the matter is being satisfactorily settled.⁹⁰

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

86. B.N. Chakravarty.

87. See item 458.

88. Letter to the President of Vietnam. MEA, File No. SI/102/18/63, Vol. I, pp.78-79/corr. Also available in MEA, File No. U-II/151(33)/63, p. 64/corr.

89. Appendix 18. See also Nehru's reply, item 459.

90. See also item 462.

461. To Raghunath Sharma: Planting the Bodhi Tree⁹¹

June 21, 1963

Dear Shri Sharma,

I am sorry for the great delay in acknowledging your letter of the 30th May which I read with pleasure. In this letter you refer to another sapling of the Bodhi Tree to be planted in the Cholburi district. I send you all my good wishes on this occasion. I am sure that the planting of these saplings is not only a good thing in itself because it reminds us of the great message of the Buddha, but will also strengthen the bonds of friendship between Thailand and India.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

462. To Lalji Mehrotra: Buddhists in South Vietnam⁹²

July 15, 1963

My dear Lalji,

I have received a letter from the Reverend Riri Nakayama, Executive Member, The Supreme Clerical Council of the Shinshu East Honganji Sect. This complains about the treatment of Buddhists in South Vietnam. Will you please inform the Reverend Riri Nakayama that I have received his letter of July 1st. We were also much distressed to hear some accounts that came to us from South Vietnam. Although we could not interfere in the domestic affairs of any country, we gave expression of our great concern informally. We were told then that some agreement had been arrived at between the South Vietnam Government and the Buddhists there. I trust that this agreement will lead to a removal of the grievances of the Buddhists there.⁹³

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

91. Letter to the Director of the Thai Bharat Cultural Lodge, 136/1 Siriphongse Road, Bangkok, Thailand. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

92. Letter to the Ambassador in South Vietnam.

93. See items 459-460.

Ceylon

463. To P. Ram Mohan: Letter from Ceylon⁹⁴

May 4, 1963

Dear Shri Ram Mohan,

I have your letter of May 3rd and a copy of the letter from Ceylon. I am very sorry that owing to some lapse of our High Commissioner in Colombo, a proper reply was not sent to the writer of the letter. I am drawing the attention of our Commonwealth Secretary to this matter and he will no doubt communicate with our High Commissioner.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

464. To Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike: Delayed Response⁹⁵

June 14, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter dated 1st June, which was handed over to me by your Chargé d'Affaires in Delhi on the 11th.

I knew generally that Sir Richard Aluwihare, your High Commissioner, and Gundevia, our Commonwealth Secretary, had been in close contact most of the time and even during Sir Richard's indisposition. I was, therefore, surprised to learn that our Commonwealth Secretary had not replied to your High Commissioner's letter of 1st October 1962 or given any reactions to the points discussed between him and your Permanent Secretary at Colombo during October, last year.

As Gundevia was away on ten days' leave, I requested the Foreign Secretary, M.J. Desai, to look into the matter. I understand that our High Commissioner in Ceylon, Kapur, has, in accordance with instructions given to him, seen you and handed over an Aide Mémoire giving the views of the Government of India on the various points, on the 10th June.

I understand from our High Commissioner that it is your desire that this matter should first be further discussed at the official level in Colombo as soon

94. Letter ; address: 1-1-569, Mushirabad, Hyderabad 20.

95. Letter to the Prime Minister of Ceylon.

III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

as your officials have completed their study of the views of the Government of India given in the Aide Mémoire. I readily accept the arrangement you suggest and will request Gundevia, our Commonwealth Secretary, to visit Colombo for further discussions on a date fixed by mutual agreement.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

USA

465. To T.T. Krishnamachari: Supply Missions in UK and US⁹⁶

June 11, 1963

My dear T.T,

Your letter of June 11th about the structure and working of the India Stores Department in London and the India Supply Mission in Washington. I agree with you that many improvements can be made there. But would it not be better to discuss these with the External Affairs Ministry and other concerned Ministries here before a Minister or anyone else goes to deal with these matters in London and in Washington? Repeatedly, in the course of the last year or two, we have tried to overhaul the machinery of both these Missions abroad, and many changes have been made. A Work Study Group has also been functioning for this purpose. Even so, I am sure much more can be done. But I feel that it will be easier and swifter in the end to discuss these matters here and later for a person to go abroad. Otherwise, there will be references to Delhi and that will probably take more time. We have got full reports here of the people and system working there. They can be examined thoroughly and you could no doubt suggest improvements. Having done this, then a visit to these places by a Minister would be advisable, and he could deal with the matter on the spot with greater speed and thoroughness. Otherwise he will get entangled in a forest.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

96. Letter to the Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination. Also available in NMML, T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, File 1963, Auto.

466. For the Association for the Advancement of Coloured People⁹⁷

I send all my greetings and good wishes on the occasion of the Annual Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. The question of racial equality has become a matter of highest importance all over the world. In the United States of America the struggle for equality has become more acute. While it is true that considerable progress has been made in helping to solve this question, the fact of inequality is still obvious. The peaceful struggle of coloured people in the United States has borne fruit and will, no doubt, continue to yield results. President Kennedy has made a forthright and encouraging declaration to this effect.

I wish all success to the NAACP in their efforts and struggles to put an end to all forms of racial inequality. This is a matter of high importance not only to the United States of America but to the whole world.

467. To Stuart Mudd: On Radhakrishnan's Convocation Address⁹⁸

June 25, 1963

Dear Prof. Mudd,

Thank you for your letter of June 18 and for the brochure which you have sent me and which I have read with interest.

I am glad to have your fine appreciation of the address given by our President to the Special Convocation of the University of Pennsylvania. Our President, Dr Radhakrishnan, represents the thought of India in the modern context perhaps more than anyone else here. We are naturally proud of him. I am glad that he could visit the United States and explain India's thinking and position with his great ability.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

97. Message, 21 June 1963, sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir, for the Annual Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. Forwarded to John A. Morsell, Assistant to the Executive Secretary, Chicago, USA. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 3, Sr. No. 65-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

98. Letter to Professor Emeritus of Microbiology, University of Pennsylvania, Veterans Administration Hospital, Philadelphia 4, PA, USA. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

468. Voice of America Broadcasts from Calcutta⁹⁹

[Note, 12 July 1963, by Kesho Ram, the PPS, begins]¹⁰⁰

PM may kindly see the telegram below from Shrimati Aruna Asaf Ali regarding the setting up of a 1000 KW medium-wave transmitter in Calcutta for which an agreement has recently been entered into with the Government of the United States. This transmitter is being made available to us by the USA Government at nominal price of Re 1.00. The period of agreement would be five years from the date the transmitter is commissioned for service. The transmitter will be installed and administered and operated by the AIR. One of the essential conditions incorporated in the agreement is that out of the six hours available during the peak listening period in the morning and evening, three hours will be set apart for relay of Voice of America programmes to South East Asia in South East Asian languages.

2. I am told by the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting that in view of the urgency of the matter, PM had himself authorised the signing of the agreement in anticipation of the Cabinet's approval.

K. Ram
12.7.1963

PM

[Note, 12 July 1963, by Kesho Ram, the PPS, ends]

[Note, 12 July 1963, by Nehru for M.J. Desai, the FS, begins]

Please see the telegram from Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali from London. I think you might send a message both to London and to Moscow briefly giving the facts and explaining the situation.

I enclose also a cutting from the *Pakistan Times*.

J. Nehru
12-7-1963

FS

[Note, 12 July 1963, by Nehru for M.J. Desai, the FS, ends]

99. Noting, telegram, and newspaper clippings.

100. MEA, File No. XPP/307(4)31/63, p. 3/note.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[Telegram, 11 July 1963, from Aruna Asaf Ali, begins]¹⁰¹

Please show this to Panditji for his information. Widespread dismay here regarding Washington announcement stating Voice of America setting up transmitter in Calcutta. Assume news incorrect.

Immediate contradiction essential.

Aruna

[Telegram, 11 July 1963, from Aruna Asaf Ali, ends]

[Cutting from The *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, 11 July 1963, begins]¹⁰²

India has bartered away her sovereignty
Reaction to pact with US for transmitting station
From our Staff Correspondent

Karachi, July 10: "India has not only cast aside her veil of much trumpeted non-alignment but it has also bartered away part of her sovereignty by agreeing to allow the use of its territory or relaying Voice of America programmes for South East Asia region," This was the general reaction gathered from competent sources here.

The sources pointed out that the speed with which the agreement (Pakistan was informed about the agreement only a few hours before the signing ceremony took place in New Delhi) was reached and signed and the nature and scope of the agreement are in themselves significant and will have far reaching implications for Pakistan and other neighbouring countries.

Coming as it does in the wake of Kennedy-Macmillan joint communiqué, the agreement amounts to equipping India with the most modern weapon of "psychological warfare".

According to the agreement as announced today the United States will establish one million watt medium-wave transmitting radio station worth Rs one crore in Calcutta in return of free broadcast of Voice of America programmes in English and regional languages for five years.

India will get this powerful transmitting station almost gratis because according to the agreement India will pay for the station in the form of "Air time".

101. MEA, File No. XPP/307(4)/31/63, p. 14 /corr.

102. MEA, File No. XPP/307(4)/31/63, p. 15 /corr.

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It is also significant that whereas countries like Thailand, Burma, Singapore and Malaya have already refused to accept such arrangements with the Voice of America, India claiming to be a non-aligned country has now accepted it after rejecting the offer in the past.

Under the agreement the Voice of America will be free to broadcast from the proposed station its anti-Communist propaganda for full three hours each in the morning and evening while the rest of the time will be utilised by All India Radio for its anti-China and anti-Pakistan propaganda.

Radio technologists when contacted pointed out that according to the agreement the new Calcutta station would not only be a transmitting station but also a receiving station which means that India will also be doing monitoring work for the United States.

The agreement provides that an American Officer will be appointed in Delhi for maintaining a liaison between All India Radio and the Voice of America and the former will have to “consider recommendations and advices made by the offices.”

Sneers in London

Our London Staff Correspondent adds:

Delhi Washington agreement signed yesterday for the construction of a million watt medium-wave transmitter in Calcutta to beam Voice of America broadcasts to South East Asia, has called forth sneers in certain political circles at Westminster.

According to some observers to call this agreement purely a commercial transaction would be “grotesque travesty of truth.” The fact of the matter is that this is yet another break with New Delhi’s so called policy of non-alignment in the cold war. To be more precise it can be said that India is now completely in what is called in modern political parlance America’s “sphere of influence”.

Voice of America’s broadcasts from Calcutta, it is reported, will be in Burmese, Siamese and Lao as well as in English.

[Cutting from The *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, 11 July 1963, ends]

469. To B.K.P. Sinha: American Transmitter¹⁰³

July 30, 1963

Dear Shri Sinha,

Your letter of July 30th about the transmitter from America. We are not satisfied with the agreement which was rather hurriedly made, without proper consideration.¹⁰⁴ We are dealing with the United States authorities in this matter and trying to get suitable variations made in that agreement.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Pakistan

470. In the Lok Sabha: Indo-Pak Border Conference¹⁰⁵

P.C. Borooah:¹⁰⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether it is a fact that Pakistani representatives failed to attend an Indo-Pakistan border conference which was to have been held at Lathitilla on Saturday, the 6th April, 1963,
- (b) The matters that were to be discussed at the meeting, and
- (c) Whether any reasons for the failure on the part of Pakistani representatives to attend the meeting were intimated to Government?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Dinesh Singh):

- (a) No, Sir. No meeting was arranged at Latitilla on 6.4.1963.
- (b) and (c). Do not arise.

P.C. Borooah: May I know whether the Indian authorities have communicated their resentment on the failure of the Pakistan delegation to attend the conference and if so, whether any reply has been received from the Pakistan authorities?

103. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP, Congress; address: 74 South Avenue, New Delhi.

104. See item 468.

105. Oral Answers to Questions, 6 May 1963. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. XVIII, April 25 to May 7, 1963, cols 13965-69.

106. Congress.

Dinesh Singh: I mentioned no meeting had been arranged.

P.C. Borooah: May I know how far the border demarcation between Pakistan, Assam and Tripura has been completed.

Dinesh Singh: I am afraid I could not give figures off hand.

S.M. Banerjee:¹⁰⁷ I want to know whether it is a fact that the Survey which was being taken up by a joint team regarding Berubari has not yet been completed because documents have not been given by the Pakistan authorities to the Indian Government and if so, what steps have been taken?

Dinesh Singh: I beg to submit that this does not arise out of this question.

S.M. Banerjee: This is important.

Dinesh Singh: This is about specific meeting in Lathitilla that has been referred to.

Hem Barua:¹⁰⁸ In view of the fact that the Indo-Pakistan talks at the official level are very often than not reduced to a mockery because of Pakistan's intransigence, may I know whether the Government propose to have talks at the highest level, at the Prime Minister's level in order to settle all problems including this?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Government has no objection to considering all the problems between India and Pakistan at any level, but circumstances must be favourable for that. Naturally, this cannot be done unilaterally.

P.R. Chakraverti:¹⁰⁹ In view of the fact that there is influx of East Pakistan nationals into India, that is, into Assam and the other portion of West Bengal, do Government propose to hold any conference on this issue?

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I point out that apart from the past influx, there is no influx now or recently? Sufficient steps have been taken. The so called influx took place six or seven years ago, mostly.

Hem Barua: Even now, it is there, in Tripura, for instance.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. My information is this. I cannot say about any odd individual coming in.

107. Independent.

108. PSP.

109. Congress.

Priya Gupta:¹¹⁰ The State Government protested against it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What I am saying is this. I have received information from the State Government, that, broadly speaking, they have taken adequate steps to stop this influx. Nobody can guarantee, on a long border, about any odd individual coming in.

[Omitted: Exchanges on procedure]

Jawaharlal Nehru: I should repeat and my information is based not only on our own sources but the Assam Government's reports that by and large there is no infiltration. I cannot guarantee about odd individuals coming in. The infiltration largely took place before 1954, after that, a little continued, from Partition up to 1953-54, there were practically no check-posts. The conditions were the same as previous to Partition, and considerable numbers of people came through, and there was the trouble. After 1954, they were checked, but still some continued to come in. Recently, that is, some months back, the check-posts have been fortified, and it is difficult for people to come except odd individuals who may creep in. I do not remember the second part of Shri P.R. Chakraverti's question.

P.R. Chakraverti: The other day, that is, during the last week, about 37 families had come, and that was admitted by the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I forget the second part of the question. I wish to answer that.

P.R. Chakraverti. In view of the influx of these people, is there any proposal to hold any conference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As a matter of fact, it had been suggested that this matter might be discussed at the last series of Indo-Pakistan talks, to which Shri Swaran Singh led the deputation or delegation on our behalf. But, apparently, this subject was not raised then. We are perfectly willing to discuss it with Pakistan.

D. Basumatari:¹¹¹ In view of the fact that, of late, the number of infiltrators is increasing in Assam State, am I to understand that this is an encouragement to the people of Pakistan just to cross over the border due to the fact the discussion is going on between the Pakistan and the Government of India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not follow the question.

110. PSP.

111. Congress.

D. Basumatari: In view of the fact that the number of infiltrators is, of late, increasing in the Assam State, am I to understand that this is an encouragement to the people of Pakistan just to cross the border as the discussion between the Pakistan and Government of India is going on?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand this question. I say that they have not been increasing, but they have been decreasing very much, and for months. Odd individuals may come in, but the regular process has stopped.

I do not know what Shri P.R. Chakraverti was referring to. What has recently happened is the pushing out of some Hindu Pakistani nationals into India. That is a different thing. Some of the Muslim infiltrators here from Assam or Tripura were pushed back, apparently, as a reprisal, some Hindus have been pushed, some Hindu families have been pushed into India.

471. To Ganesha Singh Pakhtoon: Pakistan Relations¹¹²

June 2, 1963

Dear Ganesha Singhji,

Your letter of May 3st. I have already written to you that I do not think any talks of the kind you suggest will serve any useful purpose at present. The subject of our relations with Pakistan is a very complicated one. It has been discussed thoroughly at various levels without any fruitful result. I think that for some time at least, this matter should be allowed to rest. So far as Sir Sikander Mirza¹¹³ is concerned, he is not in a position at present to influence the Pakistan Government's policies.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

472. To Mahavir Tyagi: Message to Pakistan on Cyclone¹¹⁴

June 5, 1963

My dear Mahavir,

Thank you for your letter of June 5th. I have already sent a personal message

112. Letter to a freedom fighter ; address 2 Doctors Lane, New Delhi. Sent from Dehra Dun.

113. Major General Iskandar Mirza, President of Pakistan, 7 August 1956-27 October 1958.

114. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress; address: 16 Dr Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi. NMML, Mahavir Tyagi Papers.

to President Ayub about the cyclone. I am now issuing a brief statement to the Press, as suggested by you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

473. Tyagi on East Pakistan Cyclone¹¹⁵

I am sending you a letter from Shri Mahavir Tyagi, MP.¹¹⁶ I agree with him that we should try to help to the best of our ability in giving relief to the victims of the cyclone in East Pakistan. If they have asked for building materials, we should try to send them these.

2. I am issuing a brief statement to the Press, a copy of which I enclose.¹¹⁷

474. East Pakistan Cyclone¹¹⁸

The recent cyclone which has afflicted parts of East Pakistan, is a terrible calamity. Some parts of India, and especially Tripura, have also suffered from cyclones. But the extent of the East Pakistan cyclone and the very great suffering caused by it are appalling. Whatever our political differences might be, our hearts go out to the victims of this cyclone, and we should try to give relief to them to the best of our ability. The Government of India has sent medicines and clothing and will endeavour to give further help to our neighbours and old colleagues in distress.

475. More Aid for East Pakistan Cyclone Victims¹¹⁹

We sent some medicines etc. to East Pakistan for relief work after the terrible cyclone disaster there. I think that we should make further grants to them, preferably in goods. I issued a Press message to this effect some time ago.

115. Note, 5 June 1963, for the Commonwealth Secretary, Y.D. Gundevia. MEA, File No. 3(13)/63-P.II, p.3/note.

116. Appendix 14.

117. See item 474.

118. Statement to press, 5 June 1963. MEA, File No. 3(13)/63-P. II, p.16/corr.

119. Note, 11 June 1963, for R.K. Nehru, the SG, MEA. MEA, File No. 3(13)/63-P II, p.5/note.

2. I believe they asked for corrugated iron sheets. It is not easy to spare these. Nevertheless, we should make an attempt to send some, as well as more medicines or textiles or other things that may be needed there. The disaster was a very great one. A part of it affected Tripura also.

3. I should like you to enquire as to what more we can send them.

476. To Indrajit Sood: Pakistan and Kashmir¹²⁰

June 25, 1963

Dear Indrajitji,

I have your letter of the 20th June. In this you have put some questions to me.¹²¹

120. Letter to the Assistant Editor of *The Daily Milap*, Jullunder. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

121. Letter not reproduced; the questions were:

1. "You declared on the 18th June at Srinagar that India would never accept Partition or Internationalisation of Kashmir, but press reports were not clear whether by Partition of Kashmir, you meant the valley or the whole state including the Pakistan occupied area. Will you kindly clarify your statement?"
2. If in your mind, you had the whole state, does it mean, Respected Prime Minister, you have withdrawn your offer to settle the Kashmir issue on the basis of the Ceasefire line with minor adjustments here and there? Or does your statement suggest that you intend to withdraw that offer? After all, settlement on the basis of Ceasefire Line too is virtually Partition of the State.
3. Recently President Ayub in his usual sabre-rattling fashion, held out an open threat—in the clearest possible terms—that Pakistan would not let Kashmir remain under India's occupation forever. In your Srinagar speech, you also have hinted that Pakistani rulers were now cursing themselves for not attacking India during the massive Chinese invasion. And a prominent British Labour MP, John Strachey, too has disclosed that if now China again attacked India, Pakistan would not miss the opportunity and she too would join her in attacking India from the West. In view of these three statements, will it not be desirable and in India's interests too that you withdraw your offer of Ceasefire Line once and for all and have no talks with Pakistan until and unless she vacates her aggression completely?
4. There is another aspect to this point. Will not the offer to surrender 34000 sq. miles of Indian territory to aggressor Pakistan mean putting a premium on Chinese aggression in Ladakh and NEFA?
5. One more question & I have done with—you must have seen Press reports of the speech of Mr Ilychev, Secretary, Soviet Communist Party wherein he is reported to have declared that Peaceful Coexistence of Communism with any other Ideology is impossible. Does not that indicate a big shift in Russia's stand? What is your reaction to this statement? Will this have any effect on Sino-Soviet relations vis-à-vis Sino-Indian dispute?" MEA, File No. P.V. 125 (19)/63, pp. 31-32/Corr.

I give the answers below:

1. In my speech at Srinagar on the 18th June,¹²² I referred specially to the Valley of Kashmir. There had been much talk of the Partition or division of the Valley. Therefore I referred to this matter specially.
2. We have repeatedly stated in the past that we are prepared to have a final settlement with Pakistan in regard to Kashmir on the basis of the Ceasefire Line with such other adjustments on this as may be considered necessary. Our offer has been rejected by Pakistan. Therefore, we cannot speak in terms of it now. But if Pakistan wants a real settlement, we shall still hold to our previous offer.
3. What you say has justification. In effect our offer does not remain, since it has been made and rejected. But as I have said above, for the sake of a final settlement and peaceful and cooperative living with Pakistan, we may be prepared to stick to our previous offer if Pakistan is prepared to accept it, for the two courses are not the same and there is much difference in them.
4. I am unable to give a definite answer to your question, but you will have noticed that continuous stress is being laid by the Soviet authorities, and especially by Mr Khrushchev, on peaceful coexistence between countries having different systems. I do not think therefore that there has been any shift in the Soviet Union's stand which continues as before. At present there is a conflict between the ideologies of the Soviet Union and of China. It was possibly in that connection that this statement was made.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

122. Item 216.

China

477. To Chou En-lai¹²³

White Paper version¹²⁴

May 1, 1963

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 20th April.^A

2. The first two paragraphs of your letter clearly demonstrate the intrinsic contradictions in the Chinese Government's attitude to adoption of various processes for peaceful settlement of the differences between India and China and this feature dominates all the arguments advanced in your letter. You accuse India of rejecting the Chinese proposals to start direct negotiations. At the same time, you had to admit that India has taken the first step in this direction and accepted the Colombo proposals and the clarifications in toto and China has not done so.

3. The plain facts of the situation are:

- (i) It is the Chinese authorities who resorted to force to settle the differences on

PIB Version¹²⁵

May 1, 1963

Thank you for your letter of 20th April.^a

The first two paragraphs of your letter clearly demonstrate the intrinsic contradictions in the Chinese Government's attitude to adoption of various processes for peaceful settlement of the differences between India and China and this feature dominates all the arguments advanced in your letter. You accuse India of rejecting the Chinese proposals to start direct negotiations. At the same time, you had to admit that India has taken the first step in this direction and accepted the Colombo proposals and the clarifications in toto and China has not done so.

The plain facts of the situation are:

It is the Chinese authorities who resorted to force to settle the differences on the border question

123. Letter to the Prime Minister of China.

124. *White Paper IX*, pp. 14-20.

125. PIB. Salutation not available.

A. See *White Paper IX*, pp. 10-13.

a. See *White Paper IX*, pp. 10-13.

the border question and mounted an invasion against India.

- (ii) Following initial success of their massive attacks, it was the Chinese authorities who tried to dictate ceasefire terms to India. I refer to your three-point proposal of October 24, 1962.^B
- (iii) India rejected the three-point proposal and asked for restoration of the status quo prior to 8th September, 1962.^C
- (iv) When India refused to submit to these military dictates, the Chinese authorities, after re-grouping their forces mounted another massive attack further penetrating nearly a hundred miles into Indian Territory.
- (v) Having failed to compel India by force to accept the three-point proposal dictated by them, the Chinese made what they called their unilateral ceasefire and withdrawal declaration which had the three-point proposal

and mounted an invasion against India.

Following initial success of their massive attacks, it was the Chinese authorities who tried to dictate ceasefire terms to India. I refer to your three-point proposal of October 24, 1962.^b

India rejected the three-point proposal and asked for restoration of the status quo prior to 8th September, 1962.^c

When India refused to submit to these military dictates, the Chinese authorities, after re-grouping their forces mounted another massive attack further penetrating nearly a hundred miles into Indian Territory.

Having failed to compel India by force to accept the three-point proposal dictated by them, the Chinese made what they called their unilateral ceasefire and withdrawal declaration which had the three-point proposal rejected by India as its essential basis. India maintained its earlier position that restoration of

B. See SWJN/SS/79/appendices 26 & 39.

C. See SWJN/SS/79/items 247 & 249.

b. See SWJN/SS/79/appendices 26 & 39.

c. See SWJN/SS/79/items 247 & 249.

rejected by India as its essential basis. India maintained its earlier position that restoration of the status quo prior to 8th September, 1962 and the undoing of the latest aggression were necessary before direct talks and discussions on the border differences between India and China can start. India, at the same time stated that Indian forces will not interfere with the ceasefire or with the withdrawal of the Chinese forces.

- (vi) Having failed in the attempt to force India to come to the conference table on Chinese terms and realising the effort of their ways in using force and committing aggression on Indian territory, the Chinese started what you call efforts towards reconciliation. All these efforts towards so-called reconciliation, however, have only one aim, namely, to compel India by alternate threats and cajolery to go to the conference table on Chinese terms without doing anything to resolve the crisis of confidence created by unprovoked Chinese aggression and

the status quo prior to 8th September, 1962.

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massive attacks. China wants to force its own terms on India. China has no real intention of undertaking talks and discussions except on Chinese terms for resolving peacefully the differences between India and China on the border question. This is the dishonest approach and that explains the sad story of contradictory and inconsistent Chinese attitude to the Colombo proposals.

4. The Colombo Conference of the six non-aligned countries was held, on the initiative of Prime Minister Mrs Bandaranaike, to resolve the stalemate in the India-China dispute created by Chinese rejection of the Indian demand for the restoration of the status quo prior to 8th September, 1962 and Indian rejection of the Chinese three-point proposal. The Government of China began by welcoming this initiative. When, however, the Colombo proposals were put to the Government of India and explained by Prime Minister Mrs Bandaranaike, the Government of China, while making a show of accepting the proposals in principle, handed over to Prime Minister Mrs Bandaranaike, the memorandum dated 6th January, 1963 and a letter dated 8th January, 1963 which made

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III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

various reservations on the Colombo proposals. These reservations which have since been maintained by the Government of China, in one form or another, were made prior to any clarifications given by Prime Minister Mrs Bandaranaike to the Government of India in Delhi. To bring in the clarifications given in Delhi, therefore, as the main ground for China's non-acceptance of the Colombo proposals is patently absurd. The Government of China having previously attempted to force its own terms on the Government of India has, since the emergence of the Colombo proposals, continued its attempts to force the Colombo Conference countries to modify the proposals to suit China's requirements. This alone can explain Chinese characterisation of the Colombo proposals as not precise and inconsistent in certain respects and Chinese allegations that different sets of clarifications were given in Peking and Delhi. I understand that Prime Minister, Mrs Bandaranaike has replied to you and refuted these criticisms and allegations.

5. In your anxiety to justify the Chinese attitude to the Colombo proposals, you have questioned the aims and purposes of these proposals by raising the bogey of arbitration and adjudication. That these queries are fanciful and farfetched is clear from the following observation made by the Ceylon Prime Minister during the Conference at Colombo:

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In her words the purpose of the Conference was “to find a means by which India and the People’s Republic of China could be brought together with a view to consolidating the ceasefire and negotiating a settlement of their border dispute.”

Towards the end of the Conference she explained the purpose of the Colombo proposals and said: “It was the unanimous opinion of the countries which participated that these proposals provide such a basis and we earnestly hope that they will deserve your careful consideration and subsequently win your *approval and acceptance*.”

You have stated, Mr Prime Minister, that “the task of the Conference was to mediate and not to arbitrate; and that the Conference proposals are merely a recommendation for the consideration of China and India, not a verdict or adjudication which China and India had to accept *in toto*.” The Colombo proposals only deal with the question of consolidation of the ceasefire arrangements and not with the merits of the border differences. There can, therefore, be no question of arbitration or adjudication. Paragraph 5 of the Colombo proposals defines their scope and purpose in clear term:

“The Conference believes that these proposals, which could help in consolidating the ceasefire, *once implemented*, should pave

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the way for discussion between representatives of both parties.”

The Colombo Conference countries have also categorically stated in Para 6 of the proposals that acceptance of the proposals in response to their appeal “will not prejudice the position of either of the two Governments as regards its conception of the final alignment of the boundaries.”

The aim, purpose and the scope of the proposals have been stated in a clear straightforward manner by the members of the Conference and do not call for any arguments or polemics.

I regret, Mr Prime Minister that, on this as on other matters the issues are being deliberately confused to find some justification for Chinese intransigence with regard in the Colombo proposals.

6. India accepted the proposals *in toto* because it wanted to consolidate the ceasefire arrangements and proceed to the next step of implementing these proposals so that, in the improved atmosphere, after implementation of the ceasefire arrangements, India and China can undertake talks and discussions on the main issue, that is, their differences regarding the border and try to resolve these peacefully. China has not, so far, accepted the Colombo proposals though it glibly talks about acceptance in principle. Surely, ceasefire arrangements have

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to be accepted and implemented as suggested in para 5 of the Colombo proposals. There can be no half-hearted or partial approach in this matter. People the world over can see for themselves which country is obstructing consolidation of the ceasefire arrangements and the return to paths of peace and peaceful talks and discussions.

7. You state in your letter that "it has now been established that the clarifications produced in New Delhi are not even a document prepared by participating nations of the Colombo Conference." Having failed to substantiate the baseless allegation that different clarifications were given at Peking and Delhi by the Prime Minister of Ceylon and her colleagues, you are now making yet another unwarranted and baseless statement intended to confuse the main issue that the Government of China has not accepted the Colombo proposals. That your allegation is baseless is clear from the fact that in the Joint Communique issued on the termination of the visit of the Prime Minister Ceylon and her colleagues His Excellency Mr Aly [Ali] Sabri of the UAR and His Excellency Mr Kofi Asante Ofori-Atta of Ghana, it was clearly stated that "upon the request of the Government of India, *the leaders of the three visiting delegations gave detailed clarifications of the Colombo Conference proposals.*" And again from the fact that the

You state in your letter that it has now been established that the clarifications produced in New Delhi are not even a document having failed to substantiate the baseless allegation that different clarifications were given at Peking and Delhi by the Prime Minister of Ceylon and her colleagues, you are now making yet another unwarranted and baseless statement intended to confuse the main issue that the Government of China has not accepted the Colombo proposals.

document in which the clarifications were given in detail begins: "Upon request of the Government of India, the following clarifications of paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of the Colombo Conference proposals were given by the delegations of Ceylon, UAR and Ghana."

8. No amount of casuistry, Mr Prime Minister, can conceal the fact that the Government of China while claiming to accept the proposals in principle, has been consistently opposing these proposals by maintaining its so-called reservations. If your concern for a peaceful settlement of the border dispute and for the preservation of Afro-Asian solidarity is genuine, one cannot understand your refusal to accept the proposals made unanimously and in all sincerity by six non-aligned friendly Afro-Asian countries.

9. The Government of China is perfectly within its sovereign rights if it refuses to accept the Colombo proposals. It is, however, inconsistent with the dignity of a sovereign and independent country to find flimsy excuses or to resort to indiscriminate accusations against other governments in an attempt to confuse the issues involved and to cover up its intransigence. The Colombo proposals are neither Indian nor Chinese. As a matter of fact, they considerably fall short of the Indian demand that the *status quo* prior to 8th September 1962

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should be restored. And yet, the Government of India accepted them in the interest of peace and Afro-Asian cooperation. It seems to be a strange form of logic for you to reject the Colombo Conference proposals just because the Government of India has accepted them. The obvious reason for the Government of China's attitude in this matter is its desire to retain at least partially the gains of its latest aggression and no amount of camouflage can hide this particular design.

10. You have deliberately misquoted my letter of 5th March as stating that the dispute concerning certain areas was one between the Chinese Government and the Colombo Conference countries. All that my letter stated was that any reservations in regard to the Colombo Conference proposals that the Chinese Government may have are matters for the Colombo Conference countries and the Government of China to deal with. Apart from this misquotation, you are also misinterpreting the scope of the Colombo Conference proposals. The quotations in para 5 above will convince you that the Colombo Conference put forward these proposals *for acceptance* by both India and China because the participating countries believed that these proposals, if implemented, will pave the way for discussion between the representatives of India and

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China on their differences regarding the border.

11. What is being discussed in this correspondence between you, Mr Prime Minister, and myself is neither the Chinese three-point proposal nor the Indian proposal regarding restoration of the *status quo* prior to 8th September 1962, but the proposals made by the Colombo Conference. It is high time that the Government of China took a clear and categorical attitude to these proposals. India has accepted them *in toto* and, if the Government of China states that they also accept the Colombo proposals without any reservations, we can go on to the next stage of discussing the points which the Colombo proposals have left to the two countries to decide by common agreement and then implement the agreed ceasefire arrangements on the ground. We can then revert to the question of talks and discussions on the main question of our border differences.

12. You categorically state in your letter that “the Chinese Government is of the opinion that complicated questions involving sovereignty, such as the Sino-Indian boundary question, can be settled only through direct negotiations between the two parties concerned, and absolutely not through any form of arbitration. The Chinese Government has never agreed to refer the Sino-Indian boundary dispute to international arbitration, nor will

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it ever do so.” Having stated this categorical attitude of the Chinese Government you proceed to justify this attitude again by quoting me out of context. I agree that arbitration on the question of sovereignty is a concept that is unacceptable to my Government. The Sino-Indian boundary dispute, however, involves differences on interpretation of treaties, agreements, maps and factual data relating to exercise of administration in the boundary areas under dispute. These differences are matters which are justiciable and capable of judicial interpretation either by the International Court of Justice at the Hague or by an arbitrator or arbitrators agreed to between our two Governments. It is true that on August 7, 1961, I did not consider that arbitration on the Sino-Indian dispute was called for because we were hoping to resolve our differences by talks and discussions and evaluation of the material advanced in support of their claims by both sides. Since then, however, the Government of China has attempted to settle this dispute by force. In this context of force having been actually used, reversion to peaceful procedures requires that we must also agree in case our differences cannot be settled by direct discussions, to some other peaceful method of resolving these differences so that neither India nor China need resort to force in future for settling this dispute.

Since then, however, the Government of China has attempted to settle this dispute by force. In this context of force having been actually used, reversion to peaceful procedures requires that we must also agree in case our differences cannot be settled by direct discussions, to some other peaceful method of resolving these differences so that neither India nor China need resort to force in future for settling this dispute.

13. There is no change in attitude, sudden or otherwise, on the part of the Government of India on the question of arbitration. There has been only one change and that is that the Government of China has sought to settle the differences by force of arms. It is in this context that the other peaceful methods suggested by me—reference to the International Court of Justice at the Hague or arbitration by an impartial individual or group of individuals agreed to be considered. I need not cite instances of such international arbitration resorted to by various countries in the past as these are well known.

14. In your letter, Mr Prime Minister, you refer to actions of the Chinese Government, such as, your decision to cease fire and withdraw and repatriation of Indian prisoners of war etc., which you characterise as magnanimous. But this overlooks the basic fact that there would not have been any need for such actions if the Government of China had not invaded India and undertaken large scale massive attacks in the western and the eastern sectors of the Sino-Indian border. Your so-called “magnanimous actions” are not only mere palliatives of the serious wrong done to a friendly and peaceful neighbor but are calculated moves to compel India to accept the terms dictated by the Government of China. If this were not so, why should the Government of China

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decline to accept impartial and objective proposals for consolidation of ceasefire made by the six independent non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa?

15. As aggression and massive attacks by China have occurred and the Government of China continues to be intransigent on the Colombo proposals though these only deal with consolidation of ceasefire, the Government of India has had to take necessary measures for the defence of its territorial integrity and independence against the recurrence of what happened in October-November, 1962. This is a purely defensive measure and the Government of China has no need to worry on this score unless it harbours aggressive designs against India.

16. In your letter you have thought fit to refer to a number of measures that the Government of India had to take in the interest of security when faced with Chinese aggression and made various baseless allegations against the Government of India. These have been dealt with in detail in the replies sent by the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India. I would only say that all these measures are the direct result of Chinese aggression and massive attacks. The Government of India had to take, though reluctantly, these minimum measures to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of India. At no time have Indian

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forces violated Chinese frontiers nor have any undue restrictions been placed on the activities of the Chinese Embassy in India. Even on the question of repatriation of Chinese detainees, the Government of India has whole-heartedly cooperated in facilitating the repatriation of those who wanted to go to China. The only point on which the Government of India could not cooperate with the Chinese Government was in respect of the Chinese demand that even those Chinese detainees who wanted to stay in India should be compulsorily repatriated to China.

17. You have, Mr Prime Minister, made a mischievous insinuation in the concluding portion of your letter that the Chinese Government is willing to wait with patience if the Indian Government, owing to its internal or external political requirements, is not prepared to hold negotiations for the time being. This insinuation is entirely unwarranted and baseless. The Government of India has behind it the united support of the entire people in its attitude in support of the Colombo Conference proposals and the measures it had to take in the face of the aggressive and expansionist policies of the Government of China. Nor has the Government of India at any time since its independence been ever influenced in its decisions by external factors or outside influences.

18. Despite the crisis of confidence created by Chinese

You have, Mr Prime Minister, made a mischievous insinuation in the concluding portion of your letter that the Chinese Government is willing to wait with patience if the Indian Government, owing to its internal or external political requirements, is not prepared to hold negotiations for the time being. This insinuation is entirely unwarranted for the time being. The Government of India has behind it the united support of the entire people in its attitude in support of the Colombo Conference proposals and the measures it had to take in the face of the aggressive and expansionist policies of the Government of China.

Despite the crisis of confidence created by Chinese aggression and

aggression and massive attacks, the Government of India is determined to seek all peaceful avenues of settlement of the Sino-Indian difference on the border question as indicated in Government of India's note dated 3rd April, 1963. While taking necessary precautions against the repetition of the events of October-November 1962, it continues to follow the policy of non-alignment peaceful co-existence and development in peace and freedom for the betterment of the conditions of the 450 million people of India who stand united in their support of the Government of India's firm resolve to pursue these policies.

19. The Government of India does not make any preconditions nor does it serve any ultimatum. Equally clearly it will not accept any pre-conditions or be coerced by any ultimatum or threats aimed at modifying what are clearly straightforward and impartial proposals made by six friendly and independent non-aligned countries, for consolidation of ceasefire arrangements between India and China as the first step in the series of processes to be undertaken to settle the India-China border differences by peaceful means as distinct from the attempt by China to settle these differences by the arbitrament of war.

Please accept, your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Jawaharlal Nehru

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Please accept, your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

478. To Y.B. Chavan: Airfields for American Use¹²⁶

May 5, 1963

My dear Chavan,

After my talk with you this forenoon, I sent for DIB, Mullik, and spoke to him about the question of the airfield of the special force. He told me that the Americans who had gone about seeing various airfields were entirely in favour of Charbatia air-field in Orissa for a variety of reasons. They thought that any airfield in the Punjab or in the UP for the purpose aimed at, would not be suitable. They wanted, however, some forward airfields for use in case of need. But the headquarters, they said, should be at Charbatia, which had the great advantage of being a good airfield and unconnected with any air service. Apart from this, any airfield in the Punjab and UP is not ready for use and will take a considerable time to get ready. But their main reason was that it should be an airfield not used for any other purpose at all and out of the ordinary run. If they had the headquarters at Charbatia, they could have forward airfields possibly one near Saharanpur and another somewhere in Assam. They are particularly anxious that this airfield should not be used by the Air Force for their normal or usual work.

Mullik, the DIB, agreed with this opinion. There is apparently some urgency about this matter as the aircraft coming for this purpose is quite ready and can fly over at any time. I am, therefore, noting in the file about this matter that Charbatia airfield will be chosen and used for this purpose.¹²⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

479. To Achmed Soekarno: China Conflict¹²⁸

May 13, 1963

My dear friend,

Thank you for your letter of 27th April.¹²⁹ I am grateful for the efforts you made with the Chinese leaders to persuade them to revert to the paths of peace and peaceful processes for a settlement of the India-China border differences.

126. Letter to the Defence Minister.

127. Set up for reconnaissance and surveillance purposes.

128. Letter to the President of Indonesia.

129. Appendix 2.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Prime Minister Chou En-lai sent me a message dated 20th April 1963¹³⁰ in which he took the same line as that taken by the Chinese leaders who were your guests in Indonesia during your talks with them. I have sent a reply to Prime Minister Chou En-lai on 1st May, dealing with the various points raised in his letter.¹³¹ I am enclosing copies of Prime Minister Chou En-lai's letter of 20th April, and my reply of 1st May, for ready reference.

As you will see, acceptance of the Colombo proposals without any reservations is the first step in a series of peaceful processes to be adopted to resolve the crisis of confidence created by Chinese aggression and massive attacks last year. If China accepts the Colombo proposals and agrees to start official talks for the implementation of those proposals, we can go ahead with this first step. The discussion of the main issue, namely, the India-China differences on the border question, can follow later in the improved climate created by consolidation of the cease-fire arrangements by agreed measures taken by both sides. When these discussions on the main differences are held, we either come to a settlement or our differences may continue. In any event, if both India and China are determined to settle the differences by peaceful processes, some method of arbitration by a third party agreed to by both sides can be adopted to settle the differences. These are the only peaceful ways possible.

I hope you will continue your interest in the matter and keep up your efforts to persuade China to accept the Colombo proposals without reservations so that we can start implementation of the first step in the series of peaceful processes which can ultimately lead to settlement of the main differences regarding the border.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

480. To Maganbhai Desai: Bertrand Russell's Book¹³²

May 16, 1963

Dear Maganbhai,

Your letter of the 14th May. I have read about Bertrand Russell's small book. I am afraid I have had no time to read it, although I have it. I know, however, more or less what it contains.

130. See White Paper IX, pp. 10-13.

131. Item 477.

132. Letter to the Editor of the *Satyagraha*, Ahmedabad-14.

III. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I am afraid Bertrand Russell is a very obstinate man in spite of his ability and it is difficult to move him from a conclusion he has reached. My letters to him have no effect on him, nor did the material we sent him. He was so anxious that we should avoid war that he wanted us practically to surrender to China.

Our High Commission's people saw him about it and tried to explain our case. But he did not pay too much attention to it. I rather doubt if a rejoinder to his little book would help much.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

481. To Paul G. Hoffman: United Nations Special Fund¹³³

May 20, 1963

Dear Mr Hoffman,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th May about the United Nations Special Fund.¹³⁴

I am convinced that the purpose of this Special Fund is important and very desirable. I earnestly hope that this Fund will be successful in carrying out these purposes.

While we are in entire sympathy with this Fund, we are passing today through a very difficult situation which casts a double burden on us. On the one hand, there is the Chinese aggression which is a continuing menace to our country. On the other hand, we have to deal with the basic and vital question of economic development. We have decided to face both these burdens and to do our utmost. In order to do this we have increased our taxes very greatly, even though our people are relatively very poor and deserve a lightening of their burden.

Even so, we shall try to help the Special Fund to the best of our ability.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

133. Letter to the Managing Director of the United Nations Special fund, New York.

134. The letter from Paul G. Hoffman, actually dated 14 May 1963, is not reproduced here; but is available in NMML. MEA, File No: UI/253-07/63, pp. 1-2/c.

**482. To Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike: Colombo
Proposals¹³⁵**

June 1, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

Shri B.K. Kapur, our High Commissioner in Colombo who has been here this week in connection with the Conference of Heads of Indian Missions in South-East Asia, has conveyed your greetings to me and given to me a detailed account of the efforts you have been making to persuade the Chinese Government to accept the Colombo proposals. We are grateful for the continuing and persistent efforts you have been making in this regard.

It is difficult to understand the motives underlying the Chinese aggressive and militant attitudes. Apart from their conflict with India, they seem to have decided, in their ideological dispute with the USSR and other European Socialist countries, to challenge the principles of peaceful coexistence and peaceful settlement of international differences which we all cherish. The Chinese and the Soviet communist party delegations are meeting early next month to resolve their differences and no one can say what the outcome of this meeting will be.

We have, as you know, despite Chinese militant behaviour, accepted the Colombo proposals in toto because of our dedication to peace and peaceful ways. We have in our official note dated 3rd April and in my letter of 1st May again reiterated our determination to settle the India-China differences by peaceful methods and asked the Government of China to accept the Colombo proposals without any reservations as a first step in the series of processes outlined in our note of 3rd April for settlement of the India-China differences by peaceful methods. Our High Commissioner will be giving you copies of these communications along with this letter.

You are aware of the framework of parliamentary democracy under which we function. None of us working under this pattern can take arbitrary or irresponsible attitudes. I hope that the strenuous efforts that you have been making to persuade the Chinese to accept the Colombo proposals without any reservations will meet with success.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

135. Letter to the Prime Minister of Ceylon.

483. To T.T. Krishnamachari: No Use Sending Pulla Reddy to USA¹³⁶

June 11, 1963

My dear T.T.,

You handed me a letter today, which I read after you had gone.¹³⁷

You have recently been to the United States and it is more or less decided and agreed upon what they will supply us, apart from any additional supplies which they might make late. The only question, therefore, is of these supplies being sent to India. I am not quite clear what more officers going to the US will be able to do in this matter, in addition to our Embassy and the Military staff we have got there. A new officer, and especially Pulla Reddy,¹³⁸ will probably not know the people there and will take some time even to make contacts. Our Embassy and the Military team are fully in touch with the people there and can push them on. It is also possible that a new man going there and trying to press the US people, may prove something of an irritant to the Washington crowd. Pulla Reddy is a good man. But I do not know what knowledge he has of the Washington background and the people there. He will inevitably have to go through the Embassy and our Military team which is fully in touch with developments and people there. Would it not be better to send a man from time to time to hasten things up either on the military side or on the civil side?

I do not think there is any question of secretariat proprieties. There may be a question of sending too many people to pursue the same matter, which sometimes does not produce the result hoped for. Time is certainly important, as you say. But, recently, we have made it perfectly clear to the US authorities what we want and there has been a succession of visits at a very high level, including that of the President. Just immediately after this, to send another senior officer to add his weight to the others, may not be particularly welcomed by the Americans. They are usually more receptive to people they have already talked to and know.

136. Letter to the Minister of Economic and Defence Co-ordination. NMML, T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, File 1963, Auto.

137. Not reproduced; available in the NMML.

138. Defence Secretary.

Perhaps, therefore, it might be advisable to send someone who knows what has taken place already and can follow it up a little later. I hope you will give thought to this matter. Anyhow, I shall be back from Madras in three days' time, and we can discuss this then.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

484. Banning *Modern Review*¹³⁹

PM told me a couple of days back that a monthly or quarterly journal with the title *Modern Review* published in the USA has been banned by the Home Ministry. This is a journal published by a group of intellectuals who are liberal and slightly left-wing. PM said that the journal had an article of the India-China boundary dispute which was not favourable to us but the journal also had another article dealing with Sino-Soviet differences and the need for USA to re-assess the global situation and recognize the real enemy of world peace—China—and adjust its policies accordingly.

2. PM felt that indiscriminate banning of such publications which are in any case read by only a limited number of intellectuals is undesirable. After all, we should know what the views of the other side are and it is only then that we can meet these views in our publications. The US journal is not propagandist or anti-Indian. It is only an intellectual difference which should be helpful to us in assessing and meeting the views of those who differ from us.

3. Will you kindly get the papers in connection with this case from the Home Ministry.

485. To *Il Giorno*: Interview¹⁴⁰

Blow Struck at Non-Alignment
Nehru on China's Aim in Attacking India

Milan, June 21 – Prime Minister Nehru was quoted yesterday in an interview as saying Communist China attacked India to warn other countries against assuming a neutralist position.

139. Note, 19 June 1963, by M.J. Desai, the FS. MHA, File No. 59/62/63-Poll. II., p. 5.

140. Report of interview, reproduced from *The Hindu*, 22 June 1963, p. 1.

Mr Italo Pietra, Editor of the Milan daily *Il Giorno*, met Mr Nehru a few days back in New Delhi.¹⁴¹

“We did not consider China a peaceful country and felt there was a danger of a future war in the Himalayas,” Mr Pietra quoted Mr Nehru as saying, “But we did not expect an open and massive attack and we thought the best policy was to keep firm in our position and adopt a friendly attitude towards China ...

China praises peace and coexistence in words but she leaves no room for non-alignment. She considers the world essentially split in two between Communists and Imperialists. India constitutes a real ideological obstacle in the way of China. Hence the need of removing that obstacle and lowering it in the eyes of other Asian countries inclined towards non-alignment.”

Moreover, in the framework of ever deeper differences between China and the Soviet Union, to attack India means to demonstrate that non-alignment has no basis and that therefore the policy of the Soviet Union towards non-aligned countries is wrong,” Mr Pietra quoted Mr Nehru as saying.

486. To Achmed Soekarno: Sino-Soviet Conflict¹⁴²

July 19, 1963

My dear friend,

I am glad to be able to send this letter to you personally, through my colleague Shri Dinesh Singh, Deputy Minister, Ministry of External Affairs. He is visiting Indonesia for a few days with a view to being able to meet friends in your country and establish personal contacts, which are so necessary towards strengthening the good relations that exist between our two countries.

2. After I wrote to you last, on 13th May, I am afraid there have been no developments in regard to the acceptance of the Colombo proposals by China. China's campaign of calumny against us, of course, continues unabated.

3. After what we have gone through in these last eight months, we, naturally, have been viewing the exchange of arguments in the ideological battle that is today raging in Moscow between China and USSR with considerable interest. Their differences seem to be today fundamental and a rapprochement, therefore, is certain to be difficult. The result, I am sure, will be important for all of us in Asia and also for the rest of the world. Whether our different systems of government are going to be allowed to peacefully coexist or not—that is the question that we all have to ask China today.

141. On 16 June 1963 at 12.00, see Nehru's Engagement Diary in NMML.

142. Letter to the President of Indonesia.

4. The test ban talks are also in progress, simultaneously, between the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom in Moscow. The reports reaching us so far indicate that the talks are progressing well. This is a very difficult problem and it would be rash to expect spectacular results. But, any progress made during these talks is bound to ease world tension. I am sure you will be as anxious as I am with these negotiations to reach some successful conclusions.

5. We have been watching your efforts at bringing about a wider overall understanding in South East Asia with considerable interest. You will soon be going to Manila for important deliberations. I wish you, Mr President, all success. We on our part in India, want nothing but peace and stability in Asia.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Nepal

487. To Hiralal Shastri: Nepal's Foreign Policy Uncertain¹⁴³

May 16, 1963

My dear Hiralalji,

I have your letter of the 6th May. It is true that the King of Nepal¹⁴⁴ may come to Delhi sometime in August.

You can, of course, go to Nepal whenever you feel like it and invite the King to visit Banasthali. These invitations should be entirely personal.

It is difficult to say what the King and the Government of Nepal have in mind. Some of their newspapers are very anti-Indian. It appears that they have the desire to play an important role in international affairs and hence they want to develop their contacts with China and Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

143. Letter to former Chief Minister of Rajasthan, and former member, Lok Sabha.

144. Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah.

488. The Problem in Relations with Nepal¹⁴⁵

I have read these papers. I agree that we have a double task in regard to Nepal. One is to have friendly relations with the King and his Government and the second is of our having close contacts with the people of Nepal directly.

2. There is a difficulty about this matter. Attempts by us to have direct contacts with the people of Nepal will be suspected by the King and appear to be aimed at undermining his position. The fact that we have no such intention would not help. The King, as often happens to persons placed in his position, trusts nobody and suspects everybody wherever he is.

3. We have repeatedly made it clear to the King and his Government that we have no desire whatever to overthrow or weaken the King's regime. This can be done again by me and others when he comes here. But in a suspicious mind like the King's, no amount of assurance will change basically his bent of mind.

4. The Nepalese Congress can, of course, be of much help but any activity on its behalf will be suspect in the eyes of the King. I have long been of the opinion and have stated this to the King repeatedly in the past that the stability and progress of Nepal rests on two factors: The King on the one side and the Nepalese Congress on the other. Because of this I have felt and stated that both these factors should function together and cooperatively. Unfortunately, the King's fears of the Nepali Congress have been so great as to make him incline more and more to foreign sources and internal reactionary elements. He has thus injured and weakened the cause of Nepal's freedom. All we can do is to continue our policy and hope that it will have some effect on the King and on his people and that some disaster does not descend upon Nepal as a result of the King's unwise policies.

USSR

489. On the Koyali Oil Refinery¹⁴⁶

I am going tomorrow to Gujarat. The main purpose of my going there is to lay the foundation stone of the second oil refinery at Koyali near Baroda which is being set up with the friendly assistance and cooperation of the Soviet Union.¹⁴⁷

145. Note, 15 July 1963, for the Deputy Minister, MEA.

146. Message, 8 May 1963, forwarded to V.N. Matyash, TASS Correspondent, 155 Jor Bagh, New Delhi-3. PMO, File No. 17(47)/56-65-PMS, Sr. No. 35-A. Also available in the JN Collection and PMO, File No. 17 (220)/57-67-PMS, Sr. No. 36-A.

147. See item 30.

I am particularly happy to be associated with this venture which is yet another symbol of Soviet assistance to India. We greatly welcome this cooperation with the Soviet Union as we feel that this friendship and cooperation is important to India and, if I may say so, to the Soviet Union also, as it is important for world peace.

I am glad to learn that the Cultural Programme for 1963-64 has just been signed in Moscow by Professor Humayun Kabir¹⁴⁸ on our behalf. I trust that our cultural and scientific exchanges will grow to the advantage of both our countries and of world peace.

490. Soviet Woman Cosmonaut¹⁴⁹

The news that a Soviet woman has joined the select band of cosmonauts and is at present circling our world is exciting and pleasing. I should like to congratulate the lady, Tereshkova,¹⁵⁰ and the Soviet Union of this fresh advance in space research. The advances being made in space travel is so rapid that all our normal concepts are being challenged. A new world is gradually being built up and our troubles of the earth gradually lose significance. I hope that this new world will ensure peace and prosperity to all.

491. To Tania Goncharova: Birthday Wishes to Russian Child¹⁵¹

July 15, 1963

My dear Tania,

Your father has sent me a message inviting me to visit your family on the occasion of your sixth birthday. I would indeed be happy to visit you and give you my congratulations and blessings on the happy occasion of your birthday, but I am sorry I cannot do so as I am very busy with my work here. But whether I come or not, you will have all my good wishes.

With love,

Your Godfather,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

148. Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

149. Message, 16 June 1963, forwarded to the TASS Correspondent in New Delhi. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 3, Sr. No. 53-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

150. Valentina Tereshkova.

151. Letter; address not available.

Africa

492. For R.K. Nehru: Madagascar¹⁵²

I met Mr Jacques Rabemananjara, Minister for National Economy, Commerce and Trade in the Government of Madagascar this afternoon. We exchanged greetings and the Minister said that he was greatly moved by meeting me because Mr Gandhi and I had long been names to them for people who were honoured and respected. I told him that they had all our good wishes and we would like to have friendly and cooperative relations with his Government and people. To this he replied that he would like us to take the initiative in these matters.

2. I asked him what manner of initiative he desired. He said that the Americans, the French and other Western countries had made a special effort to open some information bureaus about their countries and supplied them with all kinds of information about themselves. They knew, therefore, something about the countries of the West but they knew next to nothing about the great countries of the East, like India, Japan, China.

3. I told him that we would certainly take the initiative in sending books and other information from here; possibly also we could have students from Madagascar here. In regard to trade and other matters, representatives of the two countries should meet and discuss them. We would be glad to do so.

4. I understand that we have an Ambassador in Madagascar now.¹⁵³ We should try to provide him with books about India and other publicity material and tell him to inform the Madagascar Government that we shall be happy to help them in this way and in other ways too possible for us. He might also ask them for any suggestions they have about trade and commercial matters. We shall consider them here favourably. Of course, the better way to do this would be for someone from Madagascar to come here and discuss these matters with us and come to some kind of an agreement about them. I understand that the Minister has already been to Japan and concluded some kind of an agreement with the Japanese Government. You might inform the Ministry of International Trade about this matter and suggest to them to take some steps in regard to it. Also please arrange to send some publicity material and books to our Ambassador in Madagascar and open a small publicity office for this.

152. Note, 15 May 1963, for the Secretary-General, MEA.

153. S.G. Ramachandran.

493. For the African Student's Association of India¹⁵⁴

I am glad to learn that the African Student's Association of India is celebrating ten years of its existence by bringing out a special number of their journal *African Youth*.

During the ten years this Association was founded, great changes have come over the face of Africa and a very large part of it is independent. Some parts still remain colonial territories and racialism is rampant in certain parts also. Thus the freedom of Africa has yet to be completed.

As freedom spreads in Africa, new problems of development take the place of the old ones. Today, therefore, there is the great task of completing the freedom in other parts of Africa and of removing racialism and at the same time, to solve the problems of development. These problems require trained personnel and hard thinking and action. I hope that the African students who are receiving their training in various subjects in India will, when they go back play an important part in this most vital question of development of the African people.

I send all my good wishes to the African Students' Association (India).

494. To Jomo Kenyatta: New Indian Commissioner¹⁵⁵

June 6, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

I was glad to receive your letter No. MS/PER/63 dated 9th May, 1963 regarding our Commissioner, Mr K.R.F. Khilnani, who will be shortly relinquishing his post in Nairobi, and to have your valued opinion regarding the manner in which he has been discharging his duties.

2. His successor, Mr R.K. Tandon is an experienced officer whom we have specially selected to represent us during this important period of transition in Kenya from self-government to full independence. I am sure that with your guidance and encouragement, Mr Tandon will be able further to strengthen the deep bonds of friendship between our two countries.

Wishing the people of Kenya all prosperity and success under your wise and devoted leadership, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

154. Message, 18 May 1963. PMO, File No. F9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 3, Sr. No. 23-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

155. Letter to the Prime Minister of Kenya.

495. To Julius K. Nyerere: Forms of African Unity¹⁵⁶

30th June, 1963

Dear Mr Nyerere,

Thank you for your letter of June 18th which I received a few days ago. I am grateful to you for keeping me informed of recent developments in Africa. These developments, I think, are of the utmost significance not only for Africa, but for the world as a whole.

You have been good enough to give me your assessment of the results of the Addis Ababa Conference. I am glad to hear that the Conference was a success. This was our impression also and we felt that a new stage had been reached in the resurgence of Africa. The fact that such a Conference, representing so many countries, took place is important in itself. The decisions of the Conference are also important. They should help to bring nearer the ultimate goal of African unity. We welcome, in particular, the decision that the nations of Africa should remain outside world conflicts. This should help to consolidate their independence and contribute to the strengthening of peace in Africa and the world.

The decision to form an East African Federation is also an act of great statesmanship. Your advocacy of the idea of closer unity among the States of East Africa is well-known. The results which have been achieved are a tribute to your leadership. The formation of the new unit should lead to balanced development in the region as a whole. It should help to create greater prosperity for the people and ensure rapid progress. The new unit will carry more weight in Africa and in the councils of the world. This should bring about greater stability and strengthen the movement for African unity.

We welcome all these developments and congratulate the leaders of Africa on their statesmanship. We share their concern in regard to the continued existence of colonialism in certain areas and racialistic minority rule in South Africa. As you are aware, we are giving our full support to the African peoples on both these issues. You have drawn my attention to the steps which the Conference has taken to bring these evils to an end. I would like to assure you of our understanding and sympathy. On our part, we have decided to implement the resolutions of the United Nations on South Africa and the Portuguese colonies. An announcement in regard to the resolutions on South Africa will be made by us shortly.

156. Letter to the President of Tanganyika.

May I thank you once again for writing to me on this subject and sharing your thoughts with me? I fully reciprocate your desire to strengthen in every way the friendly relations which exist between our two countries.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

496. For Prime Minister of Zanzibar¹⁵⁷

Please accept Excellency on behalf of myself and my colleagues in the Government of India, our sincere congratulations and good wishes on your assumption of office, following the recent elections as the first Prime Minister of self-governing Zanzibar. This happy occasion is a great step forward in Zanzibar's march towards full independence. We are sure that under your leadership the people of Zanzibar, of all races and religions, will achieve prosperity and progress and that Zanzibar will make a notable contribution towards peace and harmony in Africa and the world.

Europe

497. To J.E. van Lohuizen: Netherlands Prime Minister Welcome¹⁵⁸

July 6, 1963

Dear Professor van Lohuizen,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st July, which I was glad to receive. We shall, of course be glad to receive the Prime Minister of the Netherlands. It appears that the relations of Indonesia and the Netherlands would probably improve and be normalised before long.¹⁵⁹

I am glad to learn that you will be coming to Delhi again for the International Conference of Orientalists.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

157. Message, telegram, 25 July 1963, to Sheikh Mohammad Ali Shamte Hamidi. Report, 25 July 1963, reproduced from the *National Herald*, 26 July 1963.

158. Letter to Johanna Engelberta van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Professor at the University of Amsterdam.

159. See also SWJN/SS/75/item 262.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

498. To Brajeshwar Prasad: Freemasonry¹

May 5, 1963

Dear Brajeshwar Prasad,

I have your letter of the 4th May about Freemasonry. I am afraid you are attaching too much importance to something that has no significance now. In the old days, it had significance and the accounts you have sent me had some relevance then. In the twentieth century, however, all this has ceased, more especially with the British section of Freemasons which started lodges in India.

I was interested in this matter some years ago and I enquired into it. My father was a Freemason, but left them. I got to know something about them in those days and found that they had no significance or importance.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

499. To Max Reinhardt: Dorothy Norman's Book²

May 8, 1963

Dear Mr Reinhardt,

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd May. I am glad that Mrs Dorothy Norman is approaching the end of her labours in regard to the book about me.³ I am quite agreeable to the proposed title of the book.

I shall gladly write a brief introduction to the book. But I take it that this will not be required for many months. If you will kindly let me know when you will require it and also send me some particulars about the book itself, I shall endeavour to send you the introduction.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

1. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Congress ; address: 17 Western Court, Janpath, New Delhi.
2. Letter to the Publisher, The Bodley Head, 10 Earlham Street, Cambridge Circus, London WC 2.
3. Dorothy Norman (ed.), *Nehru: The First Sixty Years. Presenting in His Own Words the Development of the Political Thought of Jawaharlal Nehru and the Background Against which it Evolved* (2 Vols). (New York: The John Day Company, 1965).

500. To D.G. Tendulkar: *Mahatma*⁴

May 11, 1963

My dear Tendulkar,

I have your note. I am glad you have finished the revised edition of *Mahatma*.

I have decided to go to Goa on the 22nd of this month and to stay there for nearly three days, returning on the 25th early morning. I propose to go direct to Goa from Delhi by air, reaching there about midday. You can certainly meet me there.⁵

I have not read Martin Luther King's new book.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

501. To Shiv Sharma: Health⁷

May 11, 1963

Dear Sharmaji,⁸

I received your letter of May 7th just as I was leaving for Gujarat. I have returned this evening. Tomorrow, I am going to Kanpur and Lucknow.

I am likely to pay brief visits to other parts of the country in May and June. Perhaps, therefore, a course of *dhara* will not be very feasible during these months.

You will be glad to know that my blood pressure has improved. The last time it was taken, it was 100:180, as far as I remember. If it continues to be reasonable, it need not be necessary for me to take any further medicines for it. However, I shall keep your letter and note with me and consult my doctors here.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

4. Letter to Mahatma Gandhi's biographer; address: Ekanta, Rocky Hill, Narayan Dabholkar Road, Bombay 6. PMS, Tour File No. F-8-245-63. Also available in NMML, D.G. Tendulkar Papers and the JN Collection.
5. See item 503.
6. *Strength to Love* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963).
7. Letter ; address: Baharestan, Bomanji Petit Road, Cumbala Hill, Bombay.
8. Ayurvedacharya, Independent, 4th Lok Sabha.

502. To Alakh Dhari: Pakistan's pre-Partition debt⁹

May 11, 1963

Dear Shri Alakh Dhari,¹⁰

I have your letter of the 10th May.

We are well aware of Pakistan's indebtedness to us in regard to pre-Partition debt. This matter has been repeatedly discussed between the two Finance Ministers. But thus far this has not led to any agreement. It should certainly be considered whenever an opportunity offers itself.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

503. To D.G. Tendulkar: Meeting in Goa¹¹

May 15, 1963

My dear Tendulkar,

Your letter of May 13. I hope you will change your mind and come to Goa. There will be no difficulty about your staying there or the arrangements. In fact, if you have any difficulty about going from Bombay, the Raj Bhavan people will help you.

You can meet me in Goa. I shall reach there about 12 or 12.30 on the 22nd May.

If, by any chance, you miss me, you can ask to see me soon after my arrival.

So far as I know, no official is going from Bombay to Goa, but you will be with me as soon as you reach Goa.¹²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Letter to Arya Samaj leader of Punjab; address: Ambala Cantt.

10. Supporter of Maha Punjab movement; author of *Case for United Punjab* (Ambala Cantt: Abha Printing Press, 1956), *States Reorganisation Commission: Maha Punjab: Memorandum Stressing the Need for Re-integration of Punjab, Pepsu and Himachal Pradesh into One Administrative Unit* (n.p., n.d.).

11. Letter to Mahatma Gandhi's biographer; address: Ekanta, Rocky Hill, Narayan Dabholkar Road, Bombay 6. NMML, L.G. Tendulkar Papers. Also available in the JN Collection.

12. See also an earlier letter, item 500.

504. Nancy Grice's Poem¹³

[Note, 24 April 1963, by S. Gupta, Joint Secretary, MEA, for Kesho Ram, the PPS, begins]

The papers placed below are submitted for PM's information. If PM agrees to sign the three copies of Miss Grice's composition and to reply to her letter, I will forward PM's letter and the autographed copies of the poem for onward transmission to Miss Grice through our Consul-General in New York.

S. Gupta
Joint Secretary
23.4.1963

[Note, 15 May 1963, by S. Gupta, Joint Secretary, MEA, for
Kesho Ram, the PPS, ends]

[Note, 13 May 1963, by Kesho Ram, for Nehru, begins]

PM need not write any letter to Miss Grice. It should be enough if PM signs the three copies of the poem placed below.

K. Ram
13-5-1963

PM

[Note, 13 May 1963, by Kesho Ram, for Nehru, ends]

[Note, 15 May 1963, by Nehru, for Kesho Ram, begins]

I have signed the three copies.

J. Nehru
15/5

PPS

[Note, 15 May 1963, by Nehru, for Kesho Ram, ends]

13. Noting on poem composed by Nancy Grice of 141 East Avenue, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, USA. NAI, MEA, File No. 118(22) W II/63, p.3/notes.

POETRAIT

A POETRAIT OF
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jabbed at by others with varied aims and might.
A Statesman that truly intends - to always do right.
Works in patience - fully fills his position.
A leader of dignity - far beyond superstition.
Hopes for the best - not asking for too much.
A Soul of inspiration - with the masters touch.
Remembering others failures - in trying to endure.
Looks for a peace - a peace eternal and secure.
Admired by millions - truly one of the greats -
Loved by many Nations - including the United States.

Never has one withstood so much turmoil and strife.
Every moment struggling for his Nations welfare and life.
Hinderances may come from others - along with China.
Russias widespread Communism will all prove minor,
Unless I am wrong - his people will always share it -

GOD BLESS YOU!

in him the re-incarnated - true Ghandi - spirit,

Jawaharlal Nehru

15. 5. 63

Facsimile of Nancy Grice's "Poetrait"

505. To Mohanlal Saksena: Swaraj Bhavan and Children's Home¹⁴

May 15, 1963

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of the 14th May. I have noted the decisions of a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Motilal Nehru Centenary Committee. These, as I understand them, are that out of a sum of rupees one lakh, Rs 75,000/- should be spent on the repairs and maintenance of the Swaraj Bhavan, Allahabad, and Rs 25,000/- on the education of dependents of the employees of Swaraj Bhavan and inmates of the Children's Home. Apparently, it is suggested that this money should be invested and out of the investment interest should be utilised as indicated. I hardly think it is worthwhile investing such a relatively small sum.

I am sorry to say that the Trustees of the Swaraj Bhavan have not met for quite a number of years. The fact of the matter is that the Swaraj Bhavan having been practically handed over to the Children's Home, all the work in connection with the Swaraj Bhavan has been looked after by the Children's Home authorities. They have consulted me where any major repairs etc. were concerned. In fact, we have carried out big repairs and even some additional buildings have been put up for which money was raised with my help. So, for all practical purposes, the Children's Home Committee has been looking after the Swaraj Bhavan in consultation with me. The children in the Children's Home have thus far been getting help for their maintenance, education, etc. from the Rehabilitation Department of the Government of India.

I would, therefore, suggest that the money you give should be handed over to the Committee of the Children's Home on the basis of 75% being used for repairs and maintenance and 25% for the inmates of the Children's Home.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

14. Letter to the Secretary of the Motilal Nehru Centenary Committee, 19 Gurudwara Rakabganj Road, New Delhi.

506. To William Benton: *Encyclopedia Britannica*¹⁵

May 18, 1963

Dear Mr Benton,

Thank you for your letter of May 14th.¹⁶ My daughter told me of her meetings with you in Paris recently. Thank you for sending me a report of your interview with Mahatma Gandhi in 1937. I have read it with much interest.

I am much impressed by the facts you have given me about the new edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica*. This has indeed been a colossal work which does credit to those in charge of it.

We shall welcome Mr Chester Bowles¹⁷ when he comes here. He is an old friend of many people here who will be glad to see him again.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

507. To H.N. Mukerjee: *Creative Agony*¹⁸

May 18, 1963

My dear Hiren,

Your letters are always welcome and I like reading them. They are welcome because they are sensitive and make me think. But they are not particularly easy to answer, especially in the rush and hurry of my work. But do not ever hesitate to write to me and remember that I like getting your letters.

How can I help you by telling you what you should do? You will have to discover this yourself. But I imagine that writing is one of the lines you should pursue, whether in English or Bengali. The fact of writing is itself a discipline of the mind which helps to some extent in clarifying our ideas. It may be satisfying, even though it is not wholly so, and thus creates to some extent a feeling of fulfilment.

15. Letter to the Chairman of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 342 Madison Avenue, Suite 702, New York 17, NY, USA. PMO, File No. 38/106/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

16. Not reproduced; available in NMML. PMO, File No. 38/106/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 1-A.

17. Former US Ambassador to India, was starting a second term in India from July 1963.

18. Letter to Lok Sabha MP, CPI. PMO, File No. 38(61)/59-71-PMS, Sr. No. 13-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

I think it is true that I have on the whole good nerves. Why this should be so, I do not know except that it is the result of long discipline as well as the effect that Gandhiji had on me. Repeatedly in the course of my life I have felt pretty miserable and there has been *une faiblesse d'esprit*. Some turn of events or perhaps something inside me made me get over that particular weakness, even though it did not succeed in bringing such light to my mind. The rush of activity and hard work has helped me to carry on and not lose myself. I realise that that is not enough and what I do may not be very worthwhile. Still, I suppose, at the back of my mind I feel that there is some worth in what I do. If I did not feel that way, I could not carry on. I suppose I can only explain all this by saying that I have some faith which keeps me going. I could not exactly explain what that faith is.

How can I do any writing? Apart from the difficulty of my cutting myself off from my day to day work, which is heavy, I have to develop the mood for it and that is not easy. Whatever writing I did was very largely in prison. Before I started writing there, I allowed a mood to develop and when it came, I sat down to write and wrote on. I am afraid I have not got that mood now and I do not know when and how I shall get it. There are, as you will know, so many things happening which depress and suppress one. And yet we cannot allow oneself to be depressed except for a while. We get into grooves of thoughts and action and carry on somehow hoping that something will happen to take us out of that groove. Perhaps later that change may come over me.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

508. To E.W. Aryanayakam: Visit to Saarbrucken University¹⁹

May 18, 1963

My dear Aryanayakam,

I have received your undated letter today.

I think that it will be a good thing for you to visit Saarbrucken University in West Germany. But our rules for people going abroad are very strict now. It is difficult to get a sanction for any expenditure in that connection, more especially of foreign exchange. I am going away tomorrow for the day outside

19. Letter to Ceylonese educationaist and close associate of Mahatma Gandhi ; address: c/o Shrimati Mridula Sarabhai 81/48 Diplomatic Enclave, New Delhi.

Delhi. I return here for two days and then go to Goa for three or four days. Could you come to see me at 12.30 mid-day on Monday, the 20th May in my office in External Affairs?

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

509. To Leonard V. Fulton: World Conflicts²⁰

May 20, 1963

Dear Mr Fulton,

I must apologise to you for the long delay in answering your letters. One of your letters did not reach me in time. Now I have received a copy of it.

The question you ask me as to what you should tell your son, is difficult to answer, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that one can give a fairly good answer to the same, but it may not take us very far.

The world today is tied up with all kinds of knots and it is not an easy matter to untie them. There is the ever present danger of war even though no sensible man wants it and there are many other conflicts on the international stage as well as internally in most nations. At the same time, reason and logic would lead one to think that the resources of the world today are enough, if properly used, to give a measure of happiness and purposeful living to all of us. Thus the tragedy is that when we have for the first time the means of solving the problems of poverty and undernourishment and disease, we do not do so, but we start sustenance in arms and in preparing for war. I do believe that out of hatred and violence, no good ultimately emerges.

But what are we to do about it? Each one of us can work in his own little sphere for peace and understanding and against hatred and violence. For some of us this sphere might be a little larger than others, but even so it is not very effective. Oddly enough, in democracies all kinds of forces are at play which do not lead to peace and understanding. It is much worse, of course, in authoritarian states. All I can say, therefore, is that each individual, howsoever he might be circumstanced, should work for the right causes. I believe the quest is not quite so hopeless as one might think. There are widespread urged which point in the right direction. It may be that they may win in the end, but there can be no surety of this.

20. Letter ; address: 744 Albermarle St., EL Cerrito, California, USA.

Anyhow, to your little son, one should try to make him appreciate, as he grows up, the right urges and hope that he will throw his weight in that direction and that he will not lose his nerve whatever happens.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

510. Driving Test²¹

PM Passes Driving Test

Bombay, May 25 – Prime Minister Nehru today took a driving test and passed it—in his second attempt.

Visiting the traffic police pavilion at “Our Himalayas” exhibition, Pandit Nehru was attracted by the sign: “Check here if you are a good driver”, and readily agreed to take the test which consisted of operating a contraption with accelerator and break pedals.

An officer read off the score which was decimal 88, which is considered very poor.

Pandit Nehru remarked: “Am I such a bad driver”, and offered to take the test again. The score at the second attempt was decimal 37, which is considered very good and drew from the Prime Minister the remark: “This time it is too good”—PTI.

511. To Shyam Kumari Khan: Jamil’s Death²²

28.5.1963

My dear Shammie,

I received your telegram about Jamil’s passing away when I was in Goa. Indu and I were grieved to learn this. I knew that Jamil had not been keeping well but I had no idea that his illness was serious. The news therefore came as a shock.

21. Report, reproduced from the *National Herald*, 26 May 1963, p. 4.

22. Letter to Shyam Kumari Khan, Nehru’s cousin.

I did not come into intimate contact with Jamil but I met him many times. He struck me as a fine and likeable person and I had a high opinion of him. His passing away must be a great sorrow for you and for Uma Bhabi.²³ I need not tell you how our heart goes out to you and Uma Bhabi.²⁴

With love,

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

512. Kashmiri Translation of *Letters from a Father to his Daughter*²⁵

[Note, 29 May 1963, by Goel, begins]

The file below relates to a request made about a year ago by Shri Naji Munawar²⁶ of Kashmir for permission to publish PM's book, *Letters from a Father to his Daughter*, into Kashmiri. PM has passed on the request for scrutiny to Shri K.G. Saiyidain who entrusted the job to one of his professors, Shri Rehman Rahi.²⁷ On examination Rehman Rahi found the translation unsatisfactory and suggested some improvements. The translator, Naji Munawar, carried out the revision in the light of observations made by Rehman Rahi. Rehman Rahi examined the revised version and found it satisfactory. He wrote to us saying that the translator had done a good job of the translation which was worth publishing. This was sometime in September, 1962.

The translator, Naji Munawar, has now written to us again (his letter in Urdu dated 7th May is placed below) repeating his request for permission to publish the book. He has added that his motive in making this request is not for any personal gain, but to make available in the schools there a good book in the Kashmiri language. In one of his previous letters he had also suggested that the work of publication might be done by the Education or some other Department of the J & K Government.

23. Uma Nehru, wife of Shamlal Nehru and Shammie's mother.

24. See also item 294.

25. Noting, 29 May 1963. JNMF, *Letters from a Father to his Daughter* – Kashmiri.

26. Poet and translator of children's literature into Kashmiri, Sahitya Akademi Award winner from Shopian, see <https://www.greaterkashmir.com/news/opinion/naji-munawar-a-poet-whose-heart-beats-for-children/>, accessed on 1 July 2019.

27. Kashmiri poet, translator and critic; was awarded Sahitya Akademi and Jnanpith Awards.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

As PM has already indicated his approval of the proposal in principle, and Rehman Rahi has passed the revised version of the translation, there now seems to be no objection to the permission asked for being granted. The second point for decision is whether the job should be undertaken by the J & K Government, as suggested by Naji Munawar.

[R.K.] Goel
29.5.63

PM

[Note, 29 May 1963, by Goel, ends]

[Note, 29 May 1963, by Nehru begins]

Please send a reply to Shri Naji Munawar. Tell him that I have no objection to his publishing the translation of my book *Letters from a Father to his Daughter* into Kashmiri. It will be a good thing if the Jammu & Kashmir Government is agreeable to publish it. As the book is meant for schools, I do not wish to charge any kind of royalty on it. He can approach the J & K Government himself about this matter.

J.Nehru
29.5.1963

PS

[Note, 29 May 1963, by Nehru ends]

513. To Dilip Kumar Roy: Hasan Shahid Suhrawardy²⁸

May 29, 1963

My dear Dilip Kumar,

Thank you for your letter of the 24th May.²⁹ I am sorry to learn of your troubles with the Income Tax people. You write to me that some appeal is pending in the courts. It is always difficult to interfere with anything that has gone to the courts.

Your manuscript, I understand, has been sent back to you by my Secretary.

I am interested and rather sad to have news of Shahid Suhrawardy.³⁰ I knew he had gone to Spain as Pakistan's Ambassador. After that I had no news of him.

I would gladly help him or do something for him. But I do not quite know what I can do. If he can come to Delhi I would welcome it and I would try to help him here. I do not think I should write to him directly. You have yourself not received any reply to your letter to him. My writing to his brother H.S. Suhrawardy³¹ will probably be misunderstood.

If you can, you might write to him and tell him that I have very pleasant memories of him and am sorry to learn of his illness. If he can come to Delhi he would be welcome here.³²

I am returning to you the letter of H.S. Suhrawardy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

28. Letter to Bengali musician. PMO, File No. 38/108/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 16-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

29. Excerpt: "You know Sahed [Shahid] Suhrawardy. I have loved him all my life. I met him in 1953 in America and England. He told me he had to leave India because of his brother. Next he wrote to me when he was Pakistan's Ambassador of Spain. After that I heard he was back in Karachi and was very ill. I wrote to him c/o his brother, the notorious H.S. Suhrawardy who is also ill, but has afforded shelter to Sahed. I got no reply from Sahed and am anxious. As you were fond of him once and must be knowing what a fine man he is, I humbly request you to do something for him; invite him to Delhi and keep him in a nursing home there till he recovers. I wish he would write his Reminiscences in his beautiful style—he is a master of English, but his brother says he is too depressed to write. Pakistan is not the place for such a large-hearted and refined man. I invited him myself to accept our hospitality but he hasn't replied." PMO, File No. 38/108/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 12-A.

30. Hasan Shahid Suhrawardy (1890-1965); an educationist, linguist, writer, and diplomat.

31. Former Prime Minister of Pakistan.

32. See also item 529.

514. To Dorothy Norman: Comments on Book³³

May 29, 1963

My dear Dorothy,

I have your letter of the 21st May. Thank you for it. I am amazed at the enormous amount of trouble you have taken over this book.³⁴ I am grateful to you for it.

I do not think I ever wrote to General Smuts.³⁵

I do not remember saying that I had refused to go to Munich in 1938. As far as I remember, I went there just for a day on my way to Prague, in the summer of 1938. The main purpose of my going there with Indira was to show her the Deutsches Museum. We spent some hours there. I had no other engagement, but some Indian students met me, and I think I visited one of their rooms and spoke to some of them. I hardly delivered a speech there. Even during my brief stay at Munich, I was rather oppressed by the Hitlerian atmosphere there. I was treated very courteously and an enormous and expensive suite of rooms was reserved for me at the Hotel Vierjahreszeiten. I had a feeling, however, that I was being watched continuously.

I was in Prague for part of the time. The Runciman Mission was there. I had nothing to do with it, but I think we were at the same hotel. I visited then some of the Sudetenland areas. I do not think I was there when the Mission gave its findings. We went to Budapest from there, where Indira fell rather seriously ill. We were held up there because of her illness for about three weeks. As soon as she could travel, I brought her to London and put her in a Nursing Home.³⁶

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

33. Letter to an old friend; address: 124 East 70 Street, New York City.

34. *Nehru: The First Sixty Years (2 Volumes)*.

35. General J.C. Smuts, former Prime Minister of South Africa.

36. Nehru finished his autobiography in February 1935 and it was published as *An Autobiography* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head) in 1936. In 1940, at his publisher's request, he added a new chapter "Five Years Later", where he mentions this European visit.

515. To Raj Dulari Nehru: No Time to Meet³⁷

June 3, 1963

My dear Raj,³⁸

Your letter of the 31st May reached me here only today. In fact I read it after Indu had left for Mussoorie this morning. On her return, she gave me news of you and Shridhar and I was glad to learn that both of you were doing well.

I would of course have loved to see both of you, but I decided when I came to Dehra Dun, that I would take as much rest as possible. I am, therefore, not going out of the Circuit House during these three days. I am sleeping a good deal. We have already spent two days here and tomorrow will be our last day.

With my love to you and Shridhar,

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**516. To Amir Chand Bombwal: Celebrating
Independence Resolution³⁹**

June 5, 1963

Dear Amir Chandji,

Thank you for your letter of 1st June, with which you have sent me your article about my father.

I well remember the night of the 31st December, 1929 and 1st January, 1930 and the way we celebrated the declaration of independence by dancing in the Frontier camp.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

37. Letter ; address: Hotel Kashmir, Mussoorie, UP. Sent from Dehra Dun. PMS, File No. F-8/248/63-PMP. Also available in the JN Collection.

38. Wife of Shridhar Nehru, Jawaharlal's cousin.

39. Letter to the Editor of the *Frontier Mail*, 14 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Dehra Dun.

517. To Y.B. Chavan: Illness⁴⁰

June 14, 1963

My dear Chavan,

You have succeeded in giving us a fright. The subsequent relief was all the greater. I heard of your illness in Assam. Frequent news came two or three times a day. I did not wish to send you a telegram or letter as this formality is often troublesome to the recipient.

I could hardly believe that you had any kind of a heart attack, even though this was said to be a mild one. I think of you particularly as a healthy person. However, the first news proved to be wrong.

On return from Assam, I went to Madras and Pondicherry. I returned this afternoon, on enquiry, I found that you were getting fairly well and actually that you intended coming here for the ECC⁴¹ meeting on the 17th. While this was encouraging, I was a little worried about the prospect of your travelling before you were fit enough to do so. I hope you will follow your doctors' advice in the matter.

I intend going to Kashmir for a week or so on the 16th morning.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

518. To Amiya Chakravarty: Frost's Poems and Norman's Book⁴²

June 15, 1963

My dear Amiya,

Thank you for your letter of June 6th which I have read with pleasure.

I wish I had met Robert Frost.⁴³ Some of his poems which I have read, have impressed me greatly.

I am glad you liked Dorothy Norman's book. I have only seen bits of the manuscript. She has worked very hard over it and I am grateful to her.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

40. Letter to the Defence Minister.

41. Emergency Committee of the Cabinet.

42. Letter to Professor of Comparative Religions and Literature; address: Boston University, Boston 15, Mass. USA.

43. American poet, died in January 1963.

519. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Family Matters⁴⁴

June 17, 1963

[Nan dear,]

I have received your two notes of the 15th June and am replying briefly as I am going off to Kashmir.

Do not worry too much about what some people say. It is true that this is annoying and irritating. But we must keep cool.

I cannot say anything now about the UN delegation next September. Much may happen before then.

Ajit⁴⁵ came here, as you perhaps know, and I had a long talk with him. He was fairly reasonable and decent in his talk to me. Basically, I think, he has been wrong in his attitude, but probably Raja⁴⁶ has not been very tactful about the matter.

I told Ajit that regardless of the merits of any argument, one thing is quite clear to me: that he must apologise to Raja and try to win his respect and goodwill. If this is not done, then the various proposals he makes do not interest me.

[Jawahar]

520. To Noel Lytton: India's Problems⁴⁷

June 20, 1963

Dear Earl Lytton,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th June. I am glad to read it and to find that you enjoyed your visit.

You refer to the procession of farmers who came to visit me. All my sympathies were with them, but we have to face a problem of the growth of a great city like Delhi. This has been discussed at great length by a special Delhi Planning authority. Delhi insists on growing but it is necessary to plan this growth. Originally a large area was proposed to be acquired for this purpose. Later we reduced this to about a quarter of the initial proposal. The real question now is of compensation to the farmers. I hope this will be settled satisfactorily.

44. Letter to sister, the Governor of Maharashtra.

45. Ajit Hutheesing, younger son of Krishna and G.P. Hutheesing.

46. G.P. Hutheesing.

47. Letter to the Earl of Lytton; address: Lillycombe, Porlock, Somerset, England. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

As for the language question, this relates only to a central link language for official purposes. Each of our States is going to have its regional language. This will, no doubt, affect English, but we are making English a compulsory second language in our schools. As a result, English would be more widely known in future though, perhaps, not as well as it has been to relatively few people in the past. English is also going to be used as an additional link language. I think that is a good solution of the problem.

It is true that the Partition of India has done great injury to India and Pakistan; but we accepted it then and we accept it now. There is no question of going back upon it, but the self-inflicted wounds continue, although they are gradually fading out. I suppose, in course of time, we shall get over them and develop cooperative and friendly relations between the two countries.

With all good wishes to you and Lady Lytton,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

521. To Hiralal Atal: Finding a Job⁴⁸

June 21, 1963

My dear Hiralal,

You wrote to me some months ago, at a time when I was very heavily occuppied. Unfortunately, the letter was put aside by me and I have again come back to it.

From your letter I gather that you are still at some training institute. You referred to some of your symptoms, especially nervousness and headaches. I do not know what to suggest to you. You yourself say that your health does not permit you to use your head for a serious purpose, but that you can do simple work of a routine nature. But it is very difficult to provide work subject to these limitations.

If you like you can approach the High Commissioner,⁴⁹ but it would be entirely for him to decide whether they can utilise you in any way, because it is not desirable for us to recommend any one from here.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

48. Letter to Former Chief Commissioner of Tripura; address: Queen Elizabeth Training College, Leatherhead, Surrey, UK. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

49. M.C. Chagla.

522. To Gerald Barry: A History Project⁵⁰

June 21, 1963

Dear Sir Gerald,

Please forgive me for the great delay in answering your letter of May 2, 1963. I read your letter and the brochure *Footnote to History* that you kindly sent me, with considerable interest.

I realise that this approach may be of use to a future historian. For the moment, however, my mind is too full to think much of history to be written in the future. Nevertheless, if I can be of help to you, I shall gladly agree to your proposal, but I do not quite understand what this would mean and how much time it would take. It is not easy for me, heavily occupied as I am, to find much time for other activities. If, however, you will let me know what your ideas are about the time necessary I shall try to fit in with them as far as possible.⁵¹

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

523. To Kingsley Martin: A History Project⁵²

June 21, 1963

My dear Kingsley,

Your letter of the 29th April came long ago. Later I had a letter from Sir Gerald Barry and I read the brochure *Footnote to History*. I think the idea is a good one, but, even at my advanced age, I cannot cut myself off from the problems of today and look at events in historical perspective.

However, I shall gladly place myself at the disposal of Sir Gerald Barry and his colleagues, if this does not involve my giving too much time to it. I have written to Sir Gerald Barry about it.⁵³

I am sorry to learn from your letter that, during your last visit to India, you developed a troublesome heart condition. I hope this is not serious.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

50. Letter ; address: c/o The British Film Institute, 81 Dean Street London W1. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir.

51. See also item 523.

52. Letter to Editor, *The Saturday Times* ; address: 1 Robert street, Adelphi, London WC 2. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir

53. Item 522.

**524. To Prafulla Chandra Das: No Time to Write
Article on Gandhi⁵⁴**

June 23, 1963

Dear Shri Das,

I have received your letter of the 19th June. I am interested to know that you are preparing a book on Mahatma Gandhi.

I am sorry I am unable to contribute a foreword to this book. To write about Mahatma Gandhi is difficult for me. He is too great a man to be dealt with rather casually in a few lines. I could only endeavour to write if I had a great deal of time at my disposal. It is quite impossible to find the time as I am heavily occupied. Also I could not write a foreword to any book which I have not previously read. At present, unfortunately, I have no time even to read a new book.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**525. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Condolences on
Sister's Death⁵⁵**

June 25, 1963

My dear Krishna,

It was good of you to send me a telegram from Bombay informing me of the passing away of your sister this morning. I was very sorry to learn of this, although this has been expected for some time and she has been suffering greatly. Still, it must be painful for you to experience this break from a person to whom you were greatly attached.

I hope to return to Delhi on the 28th of this month.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

54. Letter ; address: Mohan Mahal, Chandnichouk, Cuttack.

55. Letter to the former Defence Minister; address: 19 Teen Murti Marg, New Delhi. Sent from Pahalgam, Kashmir. NMML, V.K. Krishna Menon Papers.

526. To Prafulla Chandra Das: Publishing Mahatma Gandhi's Letters⁵⁶

July 2, 1963

Dear Shri Das,

I have your letter of the 28th June.

Some of the letters written by Mahatma Gandhi to me have already been published in my book *A Bunch of Old Letters*.⁵⁷ There are, I believe, some others with me which have not yet been sorted. When I have the time to do so, I shall sort them and perhaps publish them. Till this is done, I am afraid none of them can be sent out.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

527. To Robert S. Denny: Baptist Youth Conference⁵⁸

July 3, 1963

Dear Mr Denny,

Thank you for your letter of the 31st May, which has taken some time to reach me through our Embassy in Washington.

I send you all my good wishes and greetings for the Sixth Baptist Youth World Conference which is going to be held in Beirut, Lebanon. As you have said, according to your Constitution, the Baptist World Alliance "exists to promote the spirit of fellowship, service and cooperation". With this objective, everyone should agree. Nothing is more necessary in the world today than a spirit of fellowship and cooperation among the nations. I wish you and the Conference success in its endeavour to bring about this spirit of fellowship.

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

56. Letter ; address: Mohan Mahal, Chandnichouk, Cuttack 2. Sent from Raj Bhavan, Calcutta.

57. (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1958).

58. Letter to the Secretary of the Baptist World Alliance, c/o P.O. Box 5232, Beirut, Lebanon. PMO, File No. F 9/2/63-PMP, Vol. 3, Sr. No. 78-A. Also available in the JN Collection and MEA, File No. 118 (22) wII/63, p. 59/corr.

528. To Bhikshu Chamanlal: Transistor Radio and Fountain Pen⁵⁹

July 5, 1963

My dear Chamanlal,

I have your letter of the 30th June. If you feel so inclined, you can send your proposals to me in writing, and I shall certainly consider them.

You can certainly take a transistor, which I possess. I hardly use it. Also, a fountain pen. I am now using a ballpoint pen as a rule.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

529. To Dilip Kumar Roy: Shahid Suhrawardy's Eye Treatment⁶⁰

July 9, 1963

My dear Dilip Kumarji,

I have your letter of the 28th June. I have read the letter from Sahed [Shahid] Suhrawardy also. I have also read with great interest your note on Dwijendralal. Thank you for them.

It is rather difficult for me or for anyone else here to advise Sahed Suhrawardy about his treatment. So far as cataract operations are concerned, they can be performed efficiently here in Delhi. The All India Institute of Medical Sciences in Delhi performs these in its Eye Department. Normally such operations are not considered difficult. But as Sahed is suffering from a bad heart, this may lead to difficulties.

Should he care to come here for the cataract operation, we shall try to help him to the best of our ability.⁶¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

59. Letter to Buddhist journalist and writer ; address: Raj Bhavan, Ootacamund.

60. Letter to Bengali musician ; address: Hari Krishna Mandir Road, Hari Krishna Mandir, Indira Niloy, Poona 5. PMO, File No. 38/108/63-71-PMS, Sr. No. 24-A. Available in the JN Collection also.

61. See also item 513.

530. To H.C. Dasappa: No Time to write Article⁶²

July 21, 1963

My dear Dasappa,

Your letter of July 20th. I am afraid it is beyond my power to find time to write an article for your quarterly journal *Science in Parliament*. I am much too heavily occupied to find time to write anything worthwhile.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

531. Italian Version of *Glimpses of World History*⁶³

I am agreeable to this offer to publish an Italian translation of *Glimpses of World History*. You may say so.

I do not think that there has previously been an Italian translation of this book. But it would be better to make sure of this.

532. To S.N. Bhattacharyya: On the Book *Gandhiji, the Journalist*⁶⁴

July 29, 1963

Dear Shri Bhattacharyya,

Thank you for your letter of July 15 and your manuscript, *Gandhiji, the Journalist*. I am glad you have written on this subject as Gandhiji was a very unusual and effective journalist.

I am afraid it is quite beyond my capacity to write a foreword to this book. I shall not have time even to read it. Apart from that, I do not like writing trivial sentences about Gandhiji. If I have to write at all about him, it has to be something worthwhile, taking much time.

If you wish me to return your manuscript, please write to my Secretary Shri S.P. Khanna.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

62. Letter to Lok Sabha MP; address: 11 Electric Lane, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 32(22)/61-70-PMS, Sr. No. 21-A.

63. Note, 27 July 1963, addressed to R.K. Goel, Nehru's Assistant Private Secretary. JNMF.

64. Letter to author of manuscript; address: A 193, D-II Flats, West Vinay Nagar, New Delhi. NMML, J.N. Papers, Bhattacharyya, S.N. Also available in the PMO, File No. 9/2/63-PMP, Vol.4, Sr. No. 51-A. and the JN Collection.

533. Tamil Version of *Autobiography*⁶⁵

I have read these letters. Please write to the advocates Adiga & Vasan and say that if they feel it is necessary, they can file a Cross-Appeal. So far as I am concerned, I dislike being dragged into this business. I would much prefer, therefore, that I am not a party to this Cross-Appeal. If, however, for technical reasons, they think this is necessary, then I might perhaps agree.

534. To Olabisi Ajala: Not Writing Foreword⁶⁶

July 30, 1963

Dear Mr Ajala,⁶⁷

Your letter of the 15th July has just reached me. Some two weeks previously, I received your letter of the 24th June and, before that, the manuscript of your book *An African Abroad*.⁶⁸

Please forgive me for the delay in answering your previous letter. I had hoped to be able to read your manuscript and then to answer it. That was a vain hope. In any event, it was not possible for me to write a foreword to your book. This for two reasons. One was to find the time to read the book and then to write something. On a subject of the kind you have treated in the book, it would have been rather futile for me to write a few commonplace lines. If I wrote at all, it should be something worthwhile from my point of view. That requires time and leisure, which I have great difficulty in finding.

I am usually heavily occupied. But the last few months have been peculiarly strenuous, and I can keep pace with my day to day duties with great difficulty. In those circumstances, I cannot find time for anything else. My doctors tell me I should rest, which is very good advice but difficult to follow.

I hope you will understand my predicament and forgive me for not being able to send you a foreword.

I am returning your manuscript.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

65. Note, 30 July 1963, for R.K. Goel, Assistant Private Secretary to Nehru. JNMF, *Autobiography*, Tamil.

66. Letter.

67. (1934-1999), Nigerian traveller and writer; address: 5 Palo Alto, 748 New South Head Rd, Rose Bay, Sydney.

68. *An African Abroad* (Norwich: Jarrolds, 1963).

V. APPENDICES

1. (a) From M.A. Khan: Rihand-Matatila Dispute¹

[Refer to item 234]

Bhopal,
20th April 1963

Dear Shri Lal,

I am desired to refer to letter No. 1235 H/XXIII-PA-144 H/632 dated March 23, 1963 from the Power (A) Department of Uttar Pradesh Government in connection with laying transmission lines from Matatila to Jhansi and other places, passing through Madhya Pradesh territory. The State Government have considered the request of the Uttar Pradesh Government. They regret their inability to grant the permission asked for in the context of the unsettled question of sharing of power by Madhya Pradesh from Matatila Power Station under construction by Uttar Pradesh Government. In this connection, I am also desired to request that further work by Uttar Pradesh Government regarding construction of Matatila Power Station may kindly be stopped forthwith, as permission of Madhya Pradesh Government for setting up of the Power Station within the boundary of Madhya Pradesh has not been obtained and also because the question of sharing of power from the aforesaid power station by Madhya Pradesh is yet undecided. It is requested that intimation for having stopped further work at the Matatila Power Station may kindly be sent to Madhya Pradesh Government immediately.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. Khan

1. Letter from PWD official, Government of Madhya Pradesh to B.B. Lal, Secretary to Government of India, Irrigation and Power Department. PMO, File No. 17 (545)/63-66-PMS, Sr. No. 1-B.

1. (b) From B.A. Mandloi: Rihand-Matatila Dispute²

[Refer to item 234]

Bhopal

Dated the 9th July 1963

My dear Respected Panditji,

We are really happy that the decision regarding the Rihand and Matatila pending for the last few years between the Governments of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh has been very satisfactorily solved in the meeting of the Zonal Council held on the 1st and 2nd of July at Nainital. At one stage you showed your great anxiety for the early solution of these problems and had suggested that if amicable settlement is not possible, the matter may be referred to an arbitrator. In fact, our anxiety has always been that the solution of these long-standing problems should be by the Zonal Council. The meeting of the Zonal Council at Nainital was really a historic one as in this meeting long and complicated problem between the two States was amicably settled to the satisfaction of all concerned. The credit goes to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri as he evolved a formula which gave satisfaction to all concerned. The decision has been well received in Madhya Pradesh. I also acknowledge the sporting spirit shown by the Government of Uttar Pradesh, particularly the Chief Minister and his colleagues.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
B.A. Mandloi

2. From Achmed Soekarno: China Conflict³

[Refer to item 479]

I thank you very much for your message of April 9th, 1963, which was forwarded to me by Ambassador Pant.⁴ After having read it carefully I was convinced more than ever before that common ground can be established to start negotiations between India and China as a prelude to peaceful solution of the boundary dispute.

2. Letter from the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. PMO, File No. 17(545)/63-66-PMS, Sr. No. 13-A.

3. Copy of letter from the President of Indonesia, 27 April 1963. MEA, File No. C/103(2) CH/63, Vol. II, pp. 27-28/Corr.

4. Apa Pant.

As you may well be aware I myself am very hopeful that this boundary conflict between India and China can be solved as soon as possible by peaceful means. We are all reaching Asian-African solidarity not merely to eliminate the physical presence of the colonial power but also in connection with our talks after establishment of our national independence. Perhaps we should put more stress to the fact that our further growth as nation states require over more feeling of solidarity among ourselves, if we do not want to be exploited as the battlegrounds of other powers outside this region. We have to learn from the other regions of the world in which local conflicts between nations, especially newly independent nations can only regard the national, social and economic development. Moreover, especially India and China as the biggest powers in Asia and the two biggest nations in the world cannot absolve themselves from the responsibility of not only promoting but also of implementing Asian African solidarity. It was along these lines that I based my talks with our high Chinese guests we had in Indonesia just recently. I may add that the Chinese leaders fully underline the basic principles just outlined.

The results of the exchange of views with regard to the Indian-Chinese boundary dispute are as follows. The Chinese Government is very grateful for the results of the Colombo Conference, because

- a. They introduced a favourable climate required by India and China to enter into negotiations;
- b. China accepts the Colombo proposals to be used as the basis for negotiations and she is prepared to enter into negotiations at any level, any place and any time;
- c. However, China is somewhat doubtful about the Colombo Conference participants, either as a whole or in part, assuming the role of arbitrators. It felt that it should be left to India and China to find the most appropriate formula in finding temporary or final solutions with regard to the substance of the conflict. I myself, I am always very careful on this point of not telling to big powers what position they should take. I have the fullest confidence in the wisdom and sense of responsibility of those nations, not only towards their own respective people but also toward this region of ours in particular and the development of the newly independent nations in Asia and Africa in general.

With regard to any military built-up, the Chinese leaders assured me that they are not interested in any military built-up, since it is not conducive to any peaceful settlement, apart from the fact that it increases China's burden itself.

I hope that these informations may be helpful to you in your evaluation about the possibility of negotiation. I am certainly well aware of the problems you have to face in India itself. On the other hand, the absence of physical conflict on the frontiers, should be consolidated and exploited to the utmost in order to achieve the final solution. On this matter I received the firm assurances of the Chinese leaders, and no doubt knowing you intimately, I have the fullest confidence that you will pursue the same course. Certainly I am at your disposal whenever you think that my contribution would be useful in any way.

3. From Eric Williams: Trade Cooperation among Developing Countries⁵

[Refer to items 432 and 437]

4 May 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

As I know you share with me a growing concern over the increasing difficulties confronting developing countries such as ours, I am taking the liberty of seeking your consideration of a proposal, which I should like to put forward formally at an appropriate time, for the establishment of an Organisation of Developing Countries.

I believe that our countries have had enough experience to convince us that we cannot expect the Developed Countries voluntarily to give us any really effective assistance towards the permanent improvement of our conditions. We will have to organise ourselves and together work out own economic salvation.

It has occurred to me that, bound together as our countries are by common difficulties, it might be greatly to the mutual advantage of all of us if we could all have some opportunity for regular consultation with a view to exchanging ideas and coordinating and unifying our trade and development policies.

As I envisage it, such an Organisation would involve no political commitments but would merely provide a vehicle for regular consultation. Some such opportunity does occur at sessions of the GATT or when Commonwealth Prime Ministers or Ministers meet in London. But I think you will agree with me that those meetings do not really give us the chance to discuss effectively the problems that principally concern countries such as ours.

The Developed Countries already have an organisation for coordinating their trade and economic policies: the Organisation for Economic Cooperation

5. Letter from the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. MEA, File No: B-202(33)/63, Sr. 1/Corr.

and Development. There ought not to be any objection to the Developing Countries following their example.

I expect that you will be represented both at the Commonwealth Ministers Meeting in London and at the GATT meeting in Geneva later this month, and I should be very glad if our own representative, Mr John O'Halloran, Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, could have an opportunity of informally discussing the idea with your delegation.

Although I fully appreciate that there must be many other matters engaging your attention at this time, I should welcome an indication of your own views on the subject.

Meanwhile, I extend to you my very best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Eric Williams
Prime Minister for Trinidad and Tobago

4. From C. Subramaniam: German Missionaries⁶

[Refer to item 123]

6th May, 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

During my recent visit to West Germany, Dr Lübke, President, brought to my notice certain difficulties experienced by German missionaries who are engaged in philanthropic work in India. I mentioned about this to you a few days back. As desired a note bringing out the facts is enclosed. I would be grateful if this matter is examined in all its aspects by the Ministry of Home Affairs and suitable instructions are issued to our missions abroad.

With best wishes and respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
C. Subramaniam

6. Letter from the Minister of Steel and Heavy Industries. MHA, File No. 12/29/63 F. I, Sr. No. 8.

5. From Ram Subhag Singh: Ghaziabad Land Acquisition⁷

[Refer to item 284]

17th May, 1963

Respected Panditji,

You had asked me to examine the grievances of the cultivators whose lands are being acquired by the UP Government in execution of the Ghaziabad Master Plan.⁸ The scheme has caused much distress to the cultivators especially to those who are being deprived of their only means of living. I have heard the complaints of the cultivators and have discussed their difficulties with them as well as with the officials concerned. I have also visited a number of the affected villages. I have had an opportunity of discussing the matter recently with Shri Vichitra Narain Sharma, Revenue Minister of Uttar Pradesh and he also suggested that the case should be examined in detail by Shri Ameer Raza, Joint Secretary in the Central Ministry of Agriculture. I attach a copy of Shri Raza's detailed note on the subject including a summary of his main recommendations with which I agree. I also discussed the matter with Shri S.K. Patil also, who also agree with these recommendations.

I am afraid that it would not be possible to give up the scheme of land acquisition altogether as planned and systematic development of Ghaziabad is necessary and cannot be undertaken without acquiring this land. However, much of the distress and suffering to the affected persons can be avoided if the State Government makes an earnest endeavour to give rehabilitation assistance by organising a colonisation project for the resettlement of as many displaced families as possible, and by giving the others the necessary training, advice and financial assistance for taking up industrial occupations. At the same time the compensation for land as well trees, groves and buildings should be fair and liberal. If these steps are taken, much of the ill-will and discontentment can be avoided. Care should also be taken to ensure that trees which play so important a part in our national economy are not cut down unless it is absolutely unavoidable to do so. If you agree with these suggestions, the matter could be taken up with Shri C.B. Gupta, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

Yours sincerely,
Ram Subhag Singh

7. Letter from the Minister of Agriculture.

8. See also SWJN/SS/80/items 162 and 164.

6. From S.B.P. Pattabhi Rama Rao: University Autonomy⁹

[Refer to items 361 and 362]

18th May, 1963

Respected Prime Minister,

It is not without considerable hesitation that I have ventured to encroach upon your valuable time and attention. I do so because the proposed Departmental inquiry into affairs of the Andhra University involves unprecedented procedure and arbitrary interference with the autonomy of the university in day to day administration.

On 25th April 1963, the State Government issued a G.O. ordering an inquiry “in the public interest to go into certain aspects of the administration of the Andhra University”. Though no reference to Section 8 of the Andhra University Act has been made, the inquiry could only have been ordered under it. Section 8, however states: “The State Government shall in every case give notice to the University of its intention to cause such inspection or inquiry to be made”. No such prior intimation has been given to the University.

The Committee of Inquiry consists of the Director and Joint Director of Public Instruction, both State Government officials. They are not two independent members, for the Joint Director is subordinate to the Director. Again, the Director of Public Instruction is also a member of the Syndicate (i.e., the Executive Council) of the Andhra University with the result that not only, as member of the Inquiry Committee, he would sit in judgement over his own association with the university administration as member of the Syndicate, but he would be sitting in judgement over the decisions taken by the entire Syndicate and the Vice-Chancellor. You will appreciate that this is completely contrary to normal procedure relating to fair and judicious inquiries, particularly, in respect of seats of learning like the Universities. You will, Sir, recall that in the case of the Banaras University, after protracted consideration of the irregularities in administration, the Central Government ultimately stepped in and appointed a committee. But then, the committee was headed by a senior Vice-Chancellor and an eminent public figure like Dr Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar¹⁰ and not officials of the Education Department, as in the present case. In conformity

9. Letter from the Pro-Chancellor, Andhra University. Sent from Kapileswarapuram, East Godavari Dt., Andhra Pradesh. PMO, File No. 40(251)/63-75-PMS, Sr. No. 1-A. Also available in the JN Collection.

10. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Chairman, Secondary Education Commission, and Member, Madras Legislative Council.

with the dignity of the University, the State Government could have appointed a high-power committee consisting of a senior Vice-Chancellor of one of the universities and a High Court Judge to go into the irregularities, if any, and advise the University.

The University was not previously informed of the Government's intention or the reasons for ordering the present inquiry. On receiving the G.O., the members of the Syndicate met twice to consider the G.O. They expressed their surprise over the proposal for an inquiry and authorised the Vice-Chancellor, to find out its nature and scope so that they might tender advice to the University. The Syndicate recommended that the Vice-Chancellor should meet the Governor in his capacity as Chancellor and request him to keep the proposed inquiry in abeyance till clarification has been received on the nature and scope of the inquiry. The Syndicate also expressed the opinion that in the absence of such a clarification, it might not be quite appropriate for the Director of Public Instruction, who is himself a member of the Syndicate, to function as a member of the Committee of Inquiry.

It was, Sir, my privilege to be a minister in four cabinets for about ten years in old composite Madras State and later in Andhra and Andhra Pradesh, and I held the Education Portfolio in three Cabinets. During discussions on the corresponding section in Sri Venkateswara University Bill and the Osmania University Bill, the entire opposition protested against the incorporation of this clause on the ground that this puts an end to the autonomy of the university and that the Government could utilise this provision to reduce the University to the position of a subordinate. In the face of formidable opposition from all sides and in view of the enlightened public opinion in favour of respecting the autonomy of the universities, I assured the Legislature on both the occasions that the provision was intended solely to safeguard the interests of the University and that, should an unfortunate situation arise engendering the necessity for a Committee of Inquiry, the Government would ensure that such a committee would consist of eminent people in the field of education who will not be amenable to extraneous influence or interference. I regret that the procedure adopted and the composition of the committee of inquiry in this case are not likely to encourage faith in the assurance given by Government on the floor of the Legislature.

I feel strongly that it is not fair to injure the reputation of a University by ordering a departmental inquiry without previous intimation of the nature and scope of such an inquiry and add insult to injury by appointing to such a Committee, State Government officials, one of whom is himself a member of the Syndicate and the other a subordinate of his.

May I make an earnest request to you to look into the serious implications and repercussions of the deplorable procedure adopted by the State Government and tender your valuable advice before the situation deteriorates? May I also express my regret for having to trouble you with this long letter, but I am constrained to do so as I still happen to be associated with the University.

With respectful regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,
S.B.P. Pattabhi Rama Rao

7. (a) From Morarji Desai: Foreign Visits for Aid¹¹

[Refer to item 306]

24th May, 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Galbraith¹² called on me on the 22nd instant and showed me a cable he had received from Washington regarding the aid likely to be made available by the European members of the Consortium. According to the US Government, the European countries were not likely to be very forthcoming either in respect of the quantum of loans or in the liberalisation of their terms. The cable indicated that apart from the efforts being made by the US Government a high level approach should be made by India to persuade these countries. It specifically suggested that I should visit these countries and indicated that this suggestion was made with the approval of President Kennedy.

2. I told Galbraith that I had visited these countries in 1960 and again in 1962, though the latter visit was mainly for the purpose of the European Common Market discussions. If one goes too often, the visits tend to have less and less effect. I also stated that keeping in view the importance of making approaches at high level, we have deputed Economic Secretary who had attended the meeting of the Consortium, to visit all the member countries in Europe and North America. Apart from his discussions with the senior officials, Jha¹³ has seen the Ministers concerned in most of these countries. We have also sent Swaminathan,¹⁴ Additional Secretary, Heavy Industries to Japan for this

11. Letter from the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37(104)/61-63-PM, Vol. II, Sr. No. 171-B.

12. J.K. Galbraith, US Ambassador.

13. L.K. Jha, Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance.

14. T. Swaminathan, Secretary, Department of Heavy Industries, Ministry of Steel and Heavy Industries.

purpose. Galbraith said that the US Government was aware of the attempts being made by Jha and Swaminathan but felt that an approach at the Ministerial level was necessary to achieve the desired results. He also suggested that you could write to Macmillan, Adenauer and de Gaulle.

3. As I mentioned to Galbraith, I am somewhat doubtful about the utility of a last minute visit by me. However, since the suggestion is said to have been made with the approval of President Kennedy and as the Americans might have difficulties with their Congress in getting concurrence for the aid as originally envisages, if the European countries contribute much less, I feel we have to give some consideration to the suggestion. One variation would be to ask TTK¹⁵ to visit all these capitals, but that might interfere with the programme already arranged by him. I am going to Muzaffarpur on the 25th and shall be back on the 27th morning and I shall discuss this matter with you on that day. In the meantime, you may consider whether you should write to Macmillan, Adenauer and de Gaulle. You had written to them and to President Kennedy and Diefenbaker¹⁶ just before the May 1961 Consortium meeting and I believe these letters had influenced the final outcome of that meeting which was quite favourable to us. You have in the last few months written to them acknowledging the aid they have given to us in the defence efforts and you may kindly consider whether you could write to them again about the Consortium meeting. Some material for such letters is enclosed herewith.

Yours sincerely,
Morarji Desai

7. (b) K.S. Sundara Rajan to Kesho Ram: Morarji Desai's Visit Abroad¹⁷

[Refer to item 306]

May 25, 1963

My dear Ram,

With reference to our phone conversation of the 24th instant, I am placing below Finance Minister's letter dated 24th May, 1963 to the Prime Minister together with enclosures. Finance Minister desired that I should personally take these

15. T.T. Krishnamachari, Minister for Defence Production and Economic Coordination.

16. John G. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada till April 1963.

17. Letter from the Joint Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, to the PPS. PMO, File No. 37(104)/61-63-PM, Vol. II, Sr. No. 171-A.

letters to the Prime Minister and explain any points on which clarification might be required. As you suggested that it would be an advantage if these letters were sent in advance, I am sending them to you.

2 Since the signing of the letter by the Finance Minister on the 24th evening, the position has changed somewhat. Late last night I was able to talk on the phone with L.K. Jha, who is now in Bonn, regarding his assessment of the prospects by the various Consortium countries, which totaled up to a fairly reasonable figure, though falling short of our demand. He thought that not only the Finance Minister's visit at this stage was not necessary but that even the proposed letters from the Prime Minister to the heads of government might not be required. His view was that the World Bank, the American Government and we ourselves at the official level had brought sufficient pressure on the European Governments and any further attempts just now might not be welcomed by them. I since understand that this was also the view of Sir Paul Gore-Booth¹⁸ and that he has also mentioned it to Ambassador Galbraith.

3. I reported the gist of my conversation with L.K. Jha to the Finance Minister early this morning before his departure for Muzaffarpur. He again directed that I should personally explain these points to the Prime Minister. I shall be grateful if you could kindly give me a ring on Sunday at my office (33380) or residence (42181) as to when I should see the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,
K.S. Sundara Rajan

8. From Homi Bhabha: Canadian Aid for Atomic Power Stations¹⁹

[Refer to item 424]

May 24, 1963

My dear Bhai,

I attach herewith a brief note with appendices on the progress of the negotiations with the Canadian Government regarding the Rajasthan Atomic Power Stations. I suggest, to save time, you read only the note and Appendices "A" and "B" thereto.²⁰

18. UK High Commissioner.

19. Letter from the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Sent from the Permanent Mission of India, To the United Nations, 3 East 64th Street, New York 21, N.Y. MEA, E(525)-DISARM/1963, p. 2-17/corr.

20. Report of negotiations and appendices and draft agreement not reproduced; available in NMML.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2. I have since discussed the matter with J.R.D. Tata, who arrived in New York yesterday, as a Member of the T.T. Krishnamachari Mission. He agrees that \$ 5 million is not an excessive amount to pay for the knowhow and detailed design data that we will get, particularly as this will advance our programme by five to seven years, and in the fast-moving field of atomic energy time is always of the essence. I am therefore sending this note to Khera²¹ and to Jagannathan,²² Member for Finance, so that the necessary clearance from the Department of Economic Affairs may be obtained for our paying Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd., a sum of \$5 million and obtaining this sum as an additional grant from Canada under the Colombo Plan.

According to my present programme, I shall be in Toronto from the 15th or 16th of June till the 18th, when I leave for Washington. During this period I propose to visit the Candu Station under construction at Douglas Point, and will meet Gray, President of the Atomic Energy of Canada again. In order that I should be able to push the matter further when I go to Ottawa again for about three days towards the end of the month, it is necessary that the necessary clearance from the Department of Economic Affairs should have been obtained.

3. I leave for the West Coast on Monday the 28th and will visit there the Research Laboratories of the General Electric Co., where fuel for the Tarapur Station is made, as also a similar type of Nuclear Power Station they have set north of San Francisco. I then visit the Plutonium Recycle Test Reactor at Hanford, Seattle. You will be able to get in touch with me until the 8th June when I leave Seattle for Canada through our Embassy in Washington. Thereafter, until the 18th June, through our High Commission, Ottawa. From the 18th June till the 23rd or 24th I shall be in Washington.

Yours affectionately,
H.J. Bhabha

21. S.S. Khera, Cabinet Secretary.

22. S. Jagannathan, Member for Finance and Administration, Atomic Energy Commission, and Secretary to the Government of India.

9. From B.N. Jha: Western Kosi Canal²³*[Refer to items 195 and 196]*

Patna

The 25th May, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

I am grateful for your letter No. 1113-PMH/63 of the 27th April enquiring about the state of the Western Kosi Canal.²⁴ This canal system estimated to cost Rs 13½ crores will irrigate an area of 8 lakh acres in the populous district of Darbhanga and has been very much in public demand for a number of years. Despite heavy commitments on irrigation schemes, the State Government was able to secure inclusion of this scheme in the Third Plan, but the allotment for it within the Plan ceiling of the State was limited to Rs 2 crores. We did not insist on a larger allotment for fear of losing even the limited sanction, but we had hoped that as the work got into stride, the requisite funds would be made available from savings in other sectors of the Plan projects.

2. In deference to public demand, the construction of the canal system was programmed in earnest. Two Divisions with experienced staff were detailed, and preliminary works, such as, construction camps for the staff, marking of canal alignments, and designing of canal structures, etc., were taken up. Even collection of materials at a few places was started. As is usual, a detailed Project Report was prepared and submitted to the I & P Ministry and the Planning Commission for approval. While according approval, the Government of India advised us to go slow in the first two years of the Plan and to speed up the work from the third year in order to continue the tempo of construction in the Fourth Plan.

3. The head reach of 22 miles of the Main Canal passes through the Nepal territory, and at one time the Government of Nepal were persuaded to agree to acquire the land required for the purpose. The lands were marked, and we were about to take possession of them when a strong public agitation against acquisition was set in motion and the local area officers of Nepal pleaded helplessness and made a reference to the Government of Nepal. The reference naturally did not receive much attention—though all possible efforts were continued by the Kosi Project administration—for obvious reasons in the situation which had developed last year. The position now, as far as can be

23. Letter from the Chief Minister of Bihar. PMO, File NO. 17(9)/-59-69-PMS, Sr. No. 13-B.

24. See Nehru's enquiry to Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim, the Minister for Irrigation, SWJN/SS/81/item 307. A similar query would have been sent to B.N. Jha.

ascertained, is that the Government of Nepal can be persuaded to agree provided some gift works not exceeding Rs 50 lakhs on the outside are offered; and the addition of this amount should not present an undue strain on the financial forecast of the Project particularly, as the heavy investment on creating the water resources with the Kosi Barrage has been through.

4. The real difficulty is the lack of funds because, after having given us the lands, the Government of Nepal would expect us to go ahead with the construction of the Project. Secondly, it is more convenient from the public relations angle to keep up the excuse for delay in construction to be the lack of clearance from Nepal of the vital head reach alignment rather than the shortage of funds with the State Government.

5. The position regarding funds is that the formal request of the State Government to raise the allotment for the Western Kosi Canal to at least Rs 4 crores in the Third Plan period has been turned down. In the wake of our national emergency partly, and partly on account of the current financial difficulties of this State, for reasons beyond my control, the current year's total Plan allocation has had to be reduced to a smaller size than in the previous year. I am disappointed to admit that the allotment of this scheme has had to be reduced to a petty sum of Rs 10 lakhs in this year's budget which would not make any impression on the work.

6. Organisationlly, and with the experience acquired in the construction of the Kosi Project, we are in a position to complete this extensive canal system in three years. As I have submitted above, the barrage and the water resources are ready. Darbhanga has a history of recurring famines in the past, and there cannot be two opinions about the extreme urgency and utility of the Western Kosi Canal. The Government of Bihar also stand committed before the Legislature and public about a very early implementation of this scheme. You have so many problems and worries that I did not think it fit to bring our difficulties in respect of this scheme to your notice. Now that you have yourself been kind enough to enquire about it, I will be immensely grateful for your help and guidance in the matter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
B.N. Jha

10. From Surendranath Dwivedy: Serajuddin Inquiry²⁵*[Refer to item 176]*

26 May 1963

I wish to convey to you an information which, I think, has an important bearing on the enquiry being conducted by Justice Sri S.K. Das on Serajuddin affairs.

I learnt that one of the references for enquiry is to determine whether any consideration was shown by Sri Malaviya to Serajuddin and Co. for the personal benefits that might have been made by him. I am sure if Sri Das goes through the parliamentary proceedings, this will be amply proved. The necessary portion of the proceedings must have been sent to him, I presume. But there is a bit of information now available which, I am told, would further prove this fact. It appears that when the Government of Orissa under the Chief Ministership of Sri Nabakrishna Choudhury first started the Orissa Mining Corporation and made an attempt to take over all mines under the state sector, there was opposition from Sri Malaviya from the Centre and letters exchanged between the State Government and Sri Malaviya during the period are of some significance. I hope you will please call for these files from the State Government and send it to Justice Das for his scrutiny or the information may be sent to him so that he may call for the concerned files from the State Government.

It would be worthwhile to examine Sri Choudhury, Ex-Chief Minister of Orissa, who has some personal knowledge about this matter as some of the transactions relating to some present Ministers of Orissa were made when Sri Choudhury was the Chief Minister. I do not think Sri Choudhury's integrity is doubted in any quarter and being out of active politics, his attitude is likely to be free from personal and political prejudices. Hence his evidence is very essential and I hope you will please take steps to see that Sri Choudhury is examined.

I am leaving for Orissa tomorrow morning and in the meantime reply if any, may kindly be sent to my Cuttack address, Telengabazar, Cuttack 1, Orissa.

25. Copy of letter from Lok Sabha MP from Orissa. Salutation and signature not available.

11. From Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Krishna Waters²⁶

[Refer to item 333]

30th May, 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have received your d.o. letter of May 28, 1963, with which you have forwarded the letter to you from Shri Patil Puttappa, MP, Rajya Sabha regarding the Mysore Projects on the Krishna.²⁷ We may assure Shri Patil Puttappa that all Projects on these rivers, whether from Maharashtra, Mysore or Andhra Pradesh, will be dealt with strictly on merits in the Central Water & Power Commission. In fact, we are very keen that no suitable projects in these States should be held up and we have ourselves asked the States to let us have them as soon as they have been properly investigated. The Chairman of the CW & PC has been instructed to ensure their early clearance.

I am sorry Shri Patil Puttappa should have the impression that Shri Venkataraman, one of the Members of the CW & PC, who happens to belong to Andhra Pradesh, would do anything to hold up any of the Mysore Projects. Shri Venkataraman was selected through the UPSC and we see to it that all Members of the CW & PC deal with the cases before them strictly on their merits. Shri Patil should have no apprehensions whatsoever on this score.

I am returning the letter in case you would like to send a reply to Shri Puttappa, but I have kept a copy of it for our use in the Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim

12. From D. S. Kothari: National Professors²⁸

[Refer to item 363]

31st May, 63

My dear Prime Minister,

One of the basic tasks in the field of University education is to raise the quality of the Professorial staff. There is the related problem of identifying “gifted men” and provide them with reasonable facilities and leisure for advanced study and

26. Letter from the Minister for Irrigation and Power. PMO, File No. 17(432)/60-64-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 73-A.

27. See item 334.

28. Letter from the Chairman of the UGC. PMO, File No. 40(161)58-76-PMS, Sr. No. 27-A.

creative work. We are considering in this connection the possibility of creating on a national basis teaching posts (say 50, to begin with) at the highest level in the Universities, the funds for the purpose to be provided by the UGC. It is felt that this would be an important step towards raising the quality of teaching staff, and also would ensure some reasonable uniformity about the standard of Professorial appointments. The selections would be made by a competent All-India Committee or Committees. It would also be possible under this scheme to attract some of our outstanding scientists at present working abroad. It is expected that the holders of these special posts would function on a wide basis, e.g. lecturing during a year at more than one University, holding Seminars on an all-India basis and so on. I have discussed the proposal with the EM [Education Minister] and he has liked it.

I shall feel grateful if you would kindly let me know what you think of the scheme. If it has your general support and blessings, then we shall have a small committee to work out the detail which would obviously need careful consideration.

With deep regards,

Yours sincerely,
D.S. Kothari

13. From Bharat Ram: Concern about the Economy²⁹

[Refer to item 310]

31st May, 1963

Respected Panditji,

Ever since I assumed Presidentship of the Federation, I have been thinking of inviting your attention to certain problems which of late have been growing in intensity as well as in range, and which, I am sure, are also engaging your attention and that of your Government. They concern the depressed rate of economic growth and the slower pace in the activities which determine the progress over a period of time. Even in February this year, the Committee of the Federation were perturbed to find some far from healthy symptoms, and thought it necessary to invite the attention of the authorities and the Public through a Press Communiqué. We were hoping then that possibly the situation created

29. Letter from the President of FICCI. Planning Commission, (Coordination Branch), Papers Circulated in 1963, Vol. 2. Also available in PMO, File No. 17 (548)/63-70-PMS, Sr. No. 2-A.

by the Chinese aggression towards the end of last year might be a contributory factor, though in all conscience I must say the contrary trend should have manifested itself. If it did not do so, we thought that the authorities were still considering as to the best manner to ensure that developmental and defence efforts reinforced each other. Three months have since passed and there seem to be no indications to show that the situation had improved. If anything, the downward slide continues.

May I refer to some figures issued by the Planning Commission and the concerned Ministries of the Government of India which bear out the depressed state of affairs? According to the latest progress report of the Planning Commission, national income in the first year of the Third Plan has increased by less than 2.5 per cent as compared to the average rate of more than 5 per cent expected in the Third Plan, and the average rate of 4 per cent achieved in the Second Plan. Even the rate of 2.5 per cent, we are not quite sure, is being maintained. Admitting that over a Five Year Plan period of fluctuations are not unexpected, my point is that to-date there are no indications to show that the rate of increase will catch up with the required level.

A selective study made of the capital issues during the last quarter of 1962 reveals a significant reduction in the quantum of capital raised through the issue of prospectuses. As compared to 13 companies which called for a capital of Rs 262.57 lakhs in the third quarter of 1962, 7 companies called for a capital of Rs 101.18 lakhs in the last quarter of that year. Another finding of the study is reported to be the total absence of foreign loans and foreign collaborations during this quarter. Since the beginning of this year there has been no substantial reversal of this trend, in that one has not come across any significant number of calls for new issues.

It may be argued that the pre-budget period is usually a slack one. And so far as the last Budget is concerned, the corporate sector was prepared to contribute its due share. But unfortunately the new principles embodied in the Super Profits Tax (despite the modifications in some of the provisions) are not all conducive to the growth of the corporate sector on efficient lines. This is a point which was repeatedly made to me when I was a few weeks back in New York, Mexico City, London and Brussels. I am citing it to show that although there was a general appreciation of our problems and efforts, people in industry who have a long experience did not seem to be reconciled to the merits or the principle of the Super Profits Tax on the corporate sector. In fact they were genuinely apprehensive of its repercussions.

I should not like to give the impression that the last Budget is the only deterrent factor. On the other hand, by and large, its bold approach to evenly distribute the burden of taxation has been well received. The fact still remains

that over a period of years, successive Finance Ministers have found themselves compelled to raise more and more taxes to catch up with the increased expenditure, not all of which, in retrospect, may be said to have been spent either prudently or carefully or in accordance with the Plans. Invariably, every Budget has brought out new tax proposals seeking larger revenues. Almost every time, actual revenues have exceeded previous year's estimates. Expenditure on developmental programmes has always fallen short of the annual plans. The economic consequences of those have an unbalancing effect, and together it was inevitable that they should heighten the distortions.

On the industrial front, we are confronted with a slower rate in the issue of industrial licences and the higher rate of revocation of licences. As many as 400 licences were revoked during 1962 as against 676 in 9 years ending December 1961. It is not as if licences were lightly or freely issued, for, who does not know the difficulties and delays in obtaining licences? Nor can it be said that the licencees were not serious about the licences. If effective action was not taken by them, it is mainly because, in most cases, they were unable to surmount the other impediments in the way, such as availability of power, raw materials, foreign exchange, delay in clearance, etc.

Agriculture has a vital bearing on every aspect of our life. In a country like India, it will continue to occupy a pre-eminent position. The Federation therefore cannot but be concerned with questions affecting agricultural production which sustains directly a large sector of Industry, not to speak of our large population. The authorities also are seized of the matter and many schemes of development have been initiated. However the return on the large sums spent over—Rs 2000 crores—on agriculture and irrigation during the past 12 years has not been entirely fruitful. Many reasons are adduced of which the division of responsibility between innumerable authorities at the Centre and States appears to us to constitute the crux of the problem. It is beyond us to provide a solution of this because it falls outside our areas. You are the only person who can help overcome this obstacle. It is disheartening to us, as it must be to you and others in Government, that despite being an agricultural country we have been continually depending upon imports of food grains and other agricultural commodities. So far we have entered into agreements for the import of agricultural commodities under PL Assistance totalling nearly Rs 1200 crores. Actual imports of foodgrains alone during the last eleven years have amounted to nearly Rs 1400 crores. These imports, no doubt, have been helpful in tiding over uneasy situations, and we must indeed be thankful to the US Government and other countries. Looked at in another way, temporary solutions, however desirable and effective they may be as in the case of our agricultural imports, may discourage intensive domestic efforts to secure permanent improvements

and even lead to a sense of complacency. However, I know how difficult it is to balance the short and long term considerations. It is again you who can galvanize the nation to resolve our agricultural problems.

I have mentioned some facts and figures to present the current situation and to indicate the trends that may develop very soon. On the one hand, Governmental expenditures of a higher order are being incurred, generating thereby new and additional demands, and on the other there is no commensurate effort made to increase production of all kinds of goods so necessary if this increased expenditure is not to result in an inflationary situation. In fact, the situation of comparative scarcity will grow in intensity and affect the very sections of the community which are the least able to bear additional burdens. I have in mind the agricultural population and the fixed money income groups. In the case of the latter, especially those in urban areas, if the problem is sought to be met by enforced increase in wages and salaries, the situation will become worse.

Underlining, and in a way overriding, all these issues is a general sense of frustration in the public mind caused primarily by the delays in Governmental administration. There is an impression, not without justification, that nothing moves with promptness, so necessary to implement our programmes of development and so imperative now to solve the additional problems of accelerated defence effort. Perhaps there is too much diffusion of authority and lack of cohesion. This impression and experience are not merely confined, if I may say so, to only those who have to deal with some authority or other, but seem to be prevalent in the Administration itself. You yourself have frequently declared with emphasis that you want to have things done and not mere excuses for delay. Yet, Governmental machinery is moving even more slowly than before, and this must obviously be the result of some deep-seated causes which are manifesting themselves in no uncertain manner. Except at the higher levels of Administration, one cannot say that over work constitutes the cause. Obviously, we have got to consider whether the Administrative machinery is not too much interlaced with avoidable complex procedures, and what can be done to simplify and streamline them.

Having said all this, I do not say that we have readymade answers or easy solutions. Undoubtedly your Government is aware of the issues and giving thought to them. Our anxiety is heightened because of a two-fold reason. We are not clear what is being done in Government to improve the situation. The second reason is that if the situation goes out of hand, it will be the business community which will be blamed for scarcity and increase in prices.

I may refer here to the perspective in which economic problems are viewed and taken up by the Federation, because I have a feeling that occasionally

there is some misunderstanding about our objectives. No doubt, the Federation represents the business community and expresses its views on matters of consequence to industry and business and therefore to the economy as whole. We present a point of view on problems as we see them, but it is here that I would beg of you to appreciate that this view is not presented to secure advantages to this industry or that or any particular group of businessmen. On the other hand, we are acutely conscious of the fact that the prosperity of any one section depends upon the prosperity of the people as a whole. This, in the larger context of general welfare through broad based and speedy economic development, provides our basic motivations to trouble you and your Government from time to time to review policies on different matters. You will kindly appreciate that the Federation cannot be equated with business attitudes of individual businessmen. I do not wish to press this point further or draw analogies.

I shall feel grateful if the issues which I have raised above and my submissions will receive your kind consideration. I and my colleagues will also be glad if an opportunity is given to us to discuss those matters with you at your convenience.

I am sorry that this letter has become longer than I had intended.

With highest personal regards,

Yours sincerely,
Bharat Ram

14. From Mahavir Tyagi: Aid for Pakistan Cyclone Victims³⁰

[Refer to item 472]

June 5, 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Despite my impulsive nature and invariably an impromptu approach to problems aface, you have been, I must confess, ever so generous and indulgent to my views and suggestions that I can't recollect one occasion where my proposals were rejected offhand without receiving due consideration. In fact, what little "arrogance or pride" I carry with me today, it is all due to you, and to a few other friends who are similarly tolerant to me. Being a man of "Masochist" temperament, however, I love to be treated rather harshly at your hands.

30. Letter from Lok Sabha MP, Congress. MEA, File No: 3(13)/63-P.II, pp. 13-14/corr. Also available in NMML, Mahavir Tyagi Papers.

Today I have a suggestion to make in regard to the “cyclone havoc” in Pakistan which has taken toll of about 6000 lives. From a newspaper cutting enclosed herewith I understand that our Government has already offered Rs 50,000/- worth of relief to the cyclone victims. I think it is a God-sent opportunity for us to win over the hearts of our Pakistani compatriots. I would suggest that you might please issue a press statement today to the effect that political divisions make little difference, we are all from a common stock and have jointly won our freedom. That India is all out to help our neighbours who are in distress etc. etc. I am sure it would be a good precursor of future friendly relations with Pakistan.

As the Government of Pakistan have asked for building material, we might send whatever they need. Prompt action in this regard would act like magic. Let a number of special trains get ready and if their Government so wants let us also offer engineers and workers who would do relief work under the directions of their local authorities. Burma seems to be trying to steal a march over us. They are sending 100 tons of rice and 50,000 Kyats worth of medicine to East Pakistan. Let us, therefore, act with promptitude. Strategically too the safety and security of East Pakistan is of very great importance to us.

In the present circumstances when T.T.³¹ has just returned, and our President is touring in the States, the effect of this gesture, if it comes from you, would certainly prove to be one of tremendous advantage to India. It would add a great deal to our prestige in USA and UK.

With kind regards,

Yours affectionately,
Mahavir

15. Indian Frontier Administrative Service³²

[Refer to item 251]

This note is regarding the Indian Frontier Administrative Service.

The Service is at present suffering from a sense of frustration. Some of their expectations are exaggerated but some of their grievances are justified.

When the Service was formed, the Ministry of Home Affairs pointed out that the number of members would be so small that it would be difficult to provide

31. T.T. Krishnamachari, Minister of Economic and Defence Coordination.

32. Note, 6 June 1963, by Vishnu Sahay, the Governor of Assam. MHA, (MEA, F.No. 23(83)/62-NI., pp. 97-99).

adequate channels of promotion. This defect is now becoming apparent. The Service, I am told, has been informed that regarding pay and prospect, it would be equated with the IAS. But in practice promotion has inevitably lagged behind that in the IAS. If the Service has to be self-contained, promotion is bound to be very slow. For a small area like NEFA, one cannot have more than one or two posts of the Commissioner type and rank.

The position will get progressively worse.

There are two more defects in the present working of the Service. One is that there is inadequate outlet for those who, on medical or other grounds, deserve a change from field work in NEFA. Conditions of living are hard and there has been an abnormal proportion of persons incurring heart disease and the like. There are very few sedentary jobs for persons of this type. The second defect is that long and continuous periods of work among the tribes tend to put an official into a groove and blunt his mental faculties a bit. Interludes in which the official would be able to use his wits a little more will produce “better-rounded” types. This also is difficult to arrange at present. One would think that the Government of India Secretariat could easily provide openings for them. But I can readily understand the reluctance of the Central Ministries to take as Joint Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries men whose previous experience has been confined to the wilds of NEFA. Some help has been given by the Ministry of Home Affairs by finding openings for IFAS men in Union Territories like Manipur and Tripura. But I fear that this outlet will get more and more blocked, if for no other reason than the inadequacy of training of our men for ordinary magisterial or revenue work in these more sophisticated territories. I have attempted to do what I could by personal approach to all concerned but I can readily understand the reluctance of the Ministry of Home Affairs to take more of these officers, for most of them do not in fact possess the necessary training or experience.

I suggest that this matter may be fully studied in conjunction with the Home Ministry. Meanwhile I have a few suggestions to make

First, a fair proportion of IFAS men should be taken out in small batches and given regular training in ordinary district work in the plains so that they become more interchangeable. This will also help them when NEFA, inevitably, becomes less and less of a “non-regulation” province.

Secondly, a convention should be established that two or three of them are taken when young and given experience of work as Under Secretaries for 2 or 3 years in the Government of India Secretariat. This will make it easier for the Service to get selected for the higher ranks of the Central Secretariat and thus will provide the variety and maneuverability to which I have referred above.

Thirdly, it may also be considered whether one or two of them should not be tried in appointments at present held by the Indian Foreign Service.

I also suggest that consideration should be given to the question of recruitment. I am inclined to think that the usual method of recruitment for the IAS would be suitable for this Service also. So far we have recruited largely from the Defence Services. Many of these men have done splendidly but perhaps the Defence Services will need their men now and in any case from the point of view of future developments in NEFA and also from the point of view of future interchangeability, it might be desirable to use the usual competition examination source for this Service also. Some slight modification of the examination to provide for more emphasis on "personality" may be all that is needed.

16. From Morarji Desai: Gold Control³³

[Refer to item 324]

7th June, 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Please refer to your letter dated the 3rd June, 1963, regarding the grievances of the goldsmiths, who were till recently sitting in front of your house. The leaders of the Akhil Bharatiya Swarnakar Sangh, who were responsible for staging this demonstration, have since discussed their demands in detail with the officers of the concerned department. They were given a patient hearing, and we have tried to explain to them the various steps which we have taken.

2. We have supplied to the Sangh's leaders' details of the various schemes for assistance, which have been sanctioned and are being implemented by the States. Although some of the States, particularly Madras, Maharashtra and Gujarat, have taken a great deal of interest in this problem, it is true that the progress in some other areas in regard to the preparation or implementation of schemes for assistance and rehabilitation has not been satisfactory. I have written again to the Chief Ministers concerned, and I hope that there will now be no difficulty in providing, in all the States and to all the unemployed goldsmiths, the facilities which have already been promised.

3. As regards the success of this measure and the reactions to it, I am inclined to think that the reports regarding the continued smuggling of gold from abroad, the violation of our rules, and the hardships which have been

33. Letter from the Finance Minister. PMO, File No. 37/114/63-66-PM, Vol. I, Sr. No. 16-A.

caused to the general public are exaggerated, and are to some extent interested. The difficulties of smuggling gold into India from abroad and the cost and risks of doing so have increased very considerably since the introduction of this control; and the profit to the smuggler has been correspondingly reduced. This is, I believe, a desirable development, and I expect that the saving to the country in foreign exchange will ultimately be very great.

4. From the point of view of conserving or building up our foreign exchange resources, the only method which we may be able to adopt appears to be the stopping of the illegal diversion of our foreign exchange for the purpose of importing gold. It is not practicable, in the conditions which now exist, to think in terms of any large scale transfer of the ownership of the gold which is already in the country or in terms of the mobilisation of such gold by Government. The experience of the USA or the USSR may not necessarily be of any benefit or relevance from our point of view. If we succeed in our objective of cutting off illegal imports completely, or even to a very substantial extent, this achievement, by itself, will, however, be quite important and worthwhile.

5. I have noted the recent reports that our gold policy might have had some adverse effect on the elections. These reports do not give the correct picture. Elections in several constituencies, including the state assembly constituencies in Gujarat, have been successfully contested, and do not seem to have been much influenced by gold control or by any other economic policy.

6. There is, on the whole, no particular reason to take any pessimistic view at this stage. As conditions settle down, and as the prejudice in favour of the established order of things disappears, our scheme, and the objectives behind it, may be more widely understood and appreciated, and I think that the control will then become quite well established and successful.

Yours sincerely,
Morarji Desai

17. From Homi J.H. Taleyarkhan: Parsis³⁴

[Refer to item 127]

June 13, 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,
Our talk the other day in Delhi was a great relief to me. You can imagine how much!

34. Letter from the Minister for Civil Supplies Housing, Printing Presses, Fisheries, Small Savings and Tourism, Maharashtra. MHA, File No. 6/177/63-F.I., pp.1-2/c.

With reference to the matter you had asked me to discuss with the Chief Minister, I did so in considerable detail. He said he will be most willing to keep the Governor³⁵ informed on all policy matters pertaining to the State. As I mentioned to you he has the highest opinion, esteem and regard for her. He has also asked me to convey to her anything she desires to know at any time. He said that he had been most attentive to all her desire and requirements.

Your monthly letters are read out at our Cabinet meetings every time and may I be permitted to say that they provide very engrossing enlightenment to all of us?

SIR, please see the following para--

May I refer to another letter [matter], Panditji? The Irani Zoroastrians, who number [a] legion in Bombay and elsewhere, are very much afeared [sic] [afraid] by the constant enquiries to which they are subjected. Even those who have been born here, even those who have never been to Iran and who have been in India for generations, are constantly inflicted with the recurring demand for registration. For ever so long now these people, who are honest and loyal citizens of India, conducting the business mostly of Irani shops, restaurants, hotels and many others who are in services, in industry and enjoying high professional repute, have to undergo this ordeal, in spite of their repeated requests for nationalisation or at least for Indian domicile. With this sword of Damocles hanging over their heads all the time, they are unnecessarily feeling frustrated. Sometimes when after very laborious processes they do succeed in obtaining a registration from Delhi, they have got to go again to the Iran Embassy or Consulate to renounce what they have never claimed, the citizenship of Iran, and which the authorities of that country, therefore, never agree to do.

I do hope that once and for all their question could be settled and they could be relieved of their anxiety in order to enable them to follow their peaceful pursuits with peace of mind.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Homi J.H. Taleyarkhan

35. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

18. From Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike: Buddhism in Vietnam³⁶

[Refer to items 458 & 459]

Colombo, 13th June 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

You are no doubt aware of the numerous news reports that have appeared about the persecution of the Buddhist community in South Vietnam, particularly about the incident of May 8th when the Police opened fire on a Buddhist crowd in Hue, killing nine persons, and the more recent and alarming report of a Buddhist monk burning himself to death as a protest against religious discrimination by the Government.

Appeals have been received from prominent Buddhist organisations of South Vietnam requesting Ceylon to intervene on behalf of the Buddhist community there. I have also had reports from Buddhist leaders of this country who have confidentially heard from fellow Buddhists in South Vietnam of the discrimination practiced against them. These reports corroborate the press reports about the discrimination against the Buddhist community. My Government and I are greatly perturbed by these events. Recently the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress convened a conference of over 300 Buddhist associations of this country to voice their deep anxiety and to request my Government to take immediate action to help the cause of the Buddhist community in South Vietnam. I understand that appeals have also been addressed to Buddhist organisations in your country and I am certain that these events must cause deep concern among the Buddhists of your country.

The most fundamental grievances of the Buddhist community in South Vietnam are apparently those about equal rights with Catholics and freedom of worship which is surely not asking too much in a country that has reportedly a Buddhist population of over 80 per cent.

As you know, Buddhism has contributed so much to the culture and well-being of Asia and it would be such a great pity, particularly in our enlightened age, if religious freedom is denied to Buddhists in a country which has known and benefited from this religion for so many centuries. I feel that this is a matter of concern to all the countries of Asia. The persecution of Buddhists would not merely be a denial of human rights in South Vietnam, but such action would contain seeds of religious war in that country. If such a form of violence were to

36. Letter from the Prime Minister of Ceylon. MEA File No.SI/102/18/63, Vol. I, pp. 52-53/corr.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

erupt in Asia, it would eventually lead to international involvement and endanger the cause of world peace for which we of Asia have been striving so much.

On my instructions, my Permanent Representative in the United Nations has requested the Secretary-General to use his good offices to take suitable action in order to allay the anxiety of the Buddhist world. My Permanent Representative's appeal to the Secretary-General would carry greater weight if you are able to lend support through your UN Representative.³⁷ I have no doubt that you will also use your good offices to do whatever else is possible to alleviate the difficulties of Buddhist community in South Vietnam.

Accept, my dear Prime Minister, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike)

19. From Bertrand Russell: Talk to China³⁸

[Refer to item 451]

15 June 1963

Dear Prime Minister Nehru,

I am most grateful to you for providing an opportunity for my associates to meet with you to discuss problems concerning peace and what is available to us to secure it. It will be of great value for me to receive from them first-hand impressions of your feelings and views, and of developments in India.

I have been immensely encouraged by your sponsorship of the Peace Foundation which is proceeding well. I hope that you will be able to assist us in launching it both because your help will be crucial in its getting started and because of the impact of your support.

As regards the dispute with China, I remain anxious that it should be possible for India and China to begin direct talks. I am conscious that China insists upon delaying the question of civilian posts in Aksai Chin until after discussions begin, but I feel that India would show great wisdom in beginning these talks despite the absence of civilian posts in the area. The Chinese are now behind the lines of September 8, as you had requested them to be for negotiations to begin. Their troop withdrawals in the Middle and Eastern sector are also encouraging. I much appreciate Indian feeling about the conflict but feel strongly that the necessity for talks is real and that immense gain for India could obtain through their commencement. The possibility of real understanding over

37. B.N. Chakravarty.

38. Letter from the philosopher; address: Plas Penrhyn, Penrhyndeudraeth, Merioneth.

the boundary may seem remote, but the prospect of talks is something I believe we must value and pursue for the purpose of transferring the disagreement to the Conference Table.

I deeply hope you will make this gesture. I appeal to you in all friendship.

President Radhakrishnan has kindly invited me to a private discussion which I have accepted with real pleasure. I send this letter with my personal associates, Mr Schoenman³⁹ and Mr Pottle⁴⁰ and convey to you my complete confidence in them and their representation of my own views.

With my warm good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Bertrand Russell

20. From Shankar Lal Sah: Purchase of G.B. Pant's House⁴¹

[Refer to item 111]

June 21, 1963

My dear Respected Jawaharlalji,
Namaskar.

You are aware that Late Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant used to live in his own house at Nainital during the days of freedom struggle. It's a magnificent five storeyed house situated at a prominent place at Tallital area. You also visited this house soon after you came from Almora jail.

His services to the nation are unique and grand as a freedom fighter, as a Chief Minister of UP, and as a Home Minister of our Sovereign Republic of India. To such a great patriot we owe something. It is my idea that this house where he spent most part of his life may kindly be purchased by the Government or by some good institution such as Gandhi Smarak Nidhi or by some public body and may be used in his memory as a mark of respect for any cause he loved.

This house is for sale. I am authorised to negotiate in this connection with any party. It will be round about forty to forty five thousand rupees reasonably at present market value. I may add that I have not mentioned to Raja (Pantji's son, Shri K.C. Pant, MP) about my move of approaching you as it might be

39. Ralph Schoenman.

40. Patrick Pottle.

41. Letter from Pant family agent. Sent from Kamlasan Cottage, Nainital. PMO, File No. 53(39)/61-70-PMS, Sr. No. 7-A.

embarrassing to him. If however, the idea meets your approval I may discuss this matter with Raja as well. I hope you will appreciate my initiative.

I am confident you will kindly take some immediate steps towards implementing this and advise me as to how best our late Beloved Home Minister's dwelling house could be utilised in consonance with his dignity and keeping with his cherished memory.

With true regards,

Yours sincerely,
Shankar Lal Sah

21. From Brahm Perkash: Importance of Bhagwan Sahay⁴²

[Refer to items 201 & 202]

June 22, 1963

My dear Panditji,

This is again to bring to your notice the matter of Shri Bhagwan Sahay, Chief Commissioner, Delhi. I had mentioned to you on quite a few occasions and again I emphasise here that the continuance of Shri Bhagwan Sahay as Chief Commissioner of Delhi is not only essential but very necessary. The implementation of the Master Plan has just been taken in hand and the future set up of Delhi is also under consideration and the Municipal Corporation, Delhi, is likely to undergo a change. These are matters well understood by Shri Bhagwan Sahai and his intimate association and help in their solution is of the utmost importance to us and for the people of Delhi.

I appreciate the difficulties in his continuance as Chief Commissioner. Perhaps he is due to retire next year and a fixed term of five years as Lt. Governor is beneficial to him. And naturally it will be an injustice to him to ask him to continue as the Chief Commissioner. But ways and means can be found to the satisfaction of all concerned and he may continue to serve Delhi for some time more. I think there should be no difficulty in equating the status of the Chief Commissioner to that of a Lt. Governor. However, it is for you to consider the matter. I can only repeat that his going away from Delhi at this juncture will not only be undesirable but tragic. I hope you will give your personal attention

42. Letter from a former Chief Minister of Delhi, sent from 15, Curzon Lane, New Delhi. MHA, File No. 2/27/63-HM (Part I), p. 8/c.

to the matter. I am going out on tour and will be back by the 5th of July. I am sorry I could not meet Shastriji⁴³ and impress upon him in this regard.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Brahm Perkash

22. From Gulzarilal Nanda: Western Kosi Canal Project⁴⁴

[Refer to items 195 & 196]

June 22, 1963

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Kindly refer to your letter No.1329-PMH/63 dated May 26, 1963,⁴⁵ enclosing in original a DO letter dated May 25, 1963 from the Chief Minister, Bihar, regarding the Western Kosi Canal Project.⁴⁶ He has requested for additional Central Assistance in the Third Plan for this project. We had already carefully considered this matter when recently the Government of Bihar approached us for increasing the outlay for this project from Rs.2 crores to 4 crores in the Third Plan. It was not found possible to accede to this request and the reasons were explained to the State Government. A note which sets out the position is enclosed.

I am returning the DO letter of the Chief Minister, Bihar, which was received in original with your letter.

Yours sincerely,
G.L.Nanda

43. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Home Minister.

44. Letter from the Minister or Planning, Labour and employment. PMO, File No. 17(9)-59-69-PMS, Sr.No. 15-A.

45. Item 195.

46. Appendix 9.

23. From N.V. Gadgil: Marathi in Goa⁴⁷

[Refer to item 205]

June 24, 1963

My dear Panditji,

The Annual General Meeting of the Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad was held on 16th June, 1963 at Poona. Among other things the Meeting passed two Resolutions unanimously—one on Goa and one about the Belgaum Karwar Marathi populated area. I am enclosing herewith English translation of both the Resolutions. There is no need to comment or add anything to the Resolution except to document two statements therein—one about the views of Portuguese authorities about the question of language. I am therefore, enclosing herewith translation of *Affairs of Goa in 1930* a Government publication of Portuguese Government. This translation will show that the Hindus were using Marathi for private and commercial correspondence. Only upper class Catholic families at that time were being educated in Portuguese and some of them undoubtedly spoke Portuguese even at their homes. In the light of this the Government's policy should be adopted.

The other fact is about the statement made by you that Kannada is also one of the languages spoken in Goa. I am sorry that this statement should have been made at all. I quote figure from a *Review of activities of the Government of Goa in 1962-63* which is a Government of Goa Publication. In Table III you find that in the entire Goa region the population is 5,24,467. Out of them Kannada is spoken by 813 only. Hindi is spoken by 1,143. If the logic of your statement is to be accepted, then in Delhi Marathi speaking people are over 20,000, Kannada speaking people about 10,000, Tamilians about 30,000 and so on. Even in Poona there will be enough to show that the statement you have made, unless it meant something else, was not very happy. I may bring to your notice that this has been received with great joy by the Mysore people as evidenced from the views expressed in Kannada Press. I may also bring to your notice the fact that these 813 people are spread in about 25 villages and towns, and now attempts are being made to start Kannada schools. Nothing wrong if there is sufficient number.

I am sorry that things in the education sphere in Goa are not going happily. Apart from the question of affiliation there is trouble in the sphere of primary education. From the report referred to above you will find that 42,360 students chose Marathi as the medium of instruction in 1962, about 5,000 Portuguese,

47. Letter from former Governor of Punjab; address: 419, Shanwar, Poona – 2. NMML, N.V. Gadgil Papers.

2,500 Konkani, and about 2,300 English. Now, most of the teachers before liberation were working in private schools so far as Marathi schools were concerned. They were asked to appear for an examination even though many of them had spent 20 to 30 years in this business. Many of these were qualified according to the old rules. They were asked to appear for the examination and it is alleged the examiners were, at any rate some of them, against Marathi, and naturally the result was, among the 1,100 Marathi teachers who appeared hardly 20 per cent passed, whereas the passing percentage in Konkani teachers was 95, a significant fact which cannot be brushed aside. The result was, there was agitation. I understand from today's papers that some compromise has been arrived at. People suspected that this was an attempt to get rid of the available teachers and then close down these schools for want of trained teachers. This has been the experience in the Dang area which was handed over to Gujarat. Marathi schools are closed because there are no teachers, many of them having opted for service in Maharashtra. No new appointments are made. This is just for your information.

The second Resolution is about Belgaum Karwar problem. I only want to add that things there are going from bad to worse. I had already written to Lal Bahadur⁴⁸ bringing to his notice how insults and acts of injustice are daily features. There is a limit to human patience. The Marathi people there, of their own accord, suspended agitation believing that attempts would be made to solve the problem. What is happening is Emergency is being used to perpetuate existing miseries and also used to add more. It is difficult to speak about these things with restraint even for an outsider. I am sorry to trouble you, but by postponing problems, solutions do not become easier—something which you know, I merely echo it.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
N.V. Gadgil

48. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Home Minister.

24. Preventive Detention and Defence of India Rules⁴⁹

[Refer to items 301 & 302]

A question may arise why the pro-China CPI members have been detained under Rule 30 of the Defence of India Rules and not under the Preventive Detention Act.

2. In the case of detention under the Preventive Detention Act, the different grounds on which a person has been detained will have to be communicated to him and he will have to be given an opportunity of making a representation in that connection. It was hardly possible to detain the CPI members under the Preventive Detention Act because the sources of our information regarding their activities, movements and utterances were absolutely secret and intimately connected with the detenus and if the grounds of detention were ever communicated to the detenus, they would have at once come to know about those sources, i.e. at least would have suspected how the information about their prejudicial activities had leaked out. Secondly, the entire record of a detention case under the Preventive Detention Act has to be placed before an Advisory Board which in this State consists of a retired High Court Judge and two other District Judges. It was hardly possible to place the various informations concerning a detenu before such an Advisory Board.

3. The Government of India were obviously aware of the limitations and drawbacks of taking action under the Preventive Detention Act. This is why rule 30 of the Defence of India Rules was framed. Under rule 30 there is no obligation to communicate the grounds of detention to the detenu. Nor does rule 30 require that the case of detenu should be placed before the Advisory Board.

M.M. Basu
July 2, 1963

49. Note, 2 July 1963. MHA, File No. 59/78/63-Poll (1) p. 2.

25. From Mahavir Tyagi: Communist Party Finances⁵⁰

[Refer to item 19]

July 5, 1963

My dear J. Lalji,

Here is a cutting from the latest issue of *Current*. Failing to contact Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri,⁵¹ I took the liberty of conveying to Shri Malik my suggestion that he might obtain sanction from his Ministry to hold an immediate enquiry into the allegations that the Communist Party was getting funds from foreign countries for the purpose of starting an agitation against our tax proposals.

You will appreciate that any agitation against taxes, howsoever justified they [might] be, is apt to catch people's imagination. In the present circumstances when our Party is fast losing its moorings, and stories about its administrative lapses and corruption are the general topic of talk among the people, it would be very difficult to defend the Government from platforms. Nevertheless we cannot sit idle and allow ourselves to be totally overtaken by this crisis. If people were to know that this agitation was being inspired by agencies outside, I am confident, they are patriotic enough to resent against and resist all attempts on behalf of the Opposition to create disorder in the country. Their agitation will just fizzle out.

I know you do not generally react very favourably to such tactical moves, but I have a strong feeling that time has now come when we should be politically alert and give up our old habit—always to remain on defensive. I have spoken about this matter to Morarji Bhai⁵² and T.T.K.⁵³ as well.

Yours affectionately,
Mahavir Tyagi

50. Letter from Congress MP; sent from 16 Dr Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi. NMML, Mahavir Tyagi's Papers.

51. Home Minister. Extract from Tyagi's letter of 5 July to Lal Bahadur Shastri: "I am enclosing herein copy of a letter which I have addressed to Jawahar Lal Ji. We have already missed an opportunity to expose the Communist Party in connections with large sums which were alleged as credited to their accounts in the China Bank at Calcutta. I am finding it difficult to reconcile with the policy which our Government has adopted vis-a-vis the communists. Now they have come out into the open, and hollow threats of repression and arrests will not serve the purpose. I think we must devise ways and means to make the Communist Party totally unpopular in the country. In these days of emergency people will throw them overboard if their relationship with China and other Communist countries is exposed and a strict vigilance is maintained against their receipt of financial aid from foreign countries." NMML, Mahavir Tyagi's Papers.

52. Morarji Desai, the Finance Minister.

53. T.T. Krishnamachari, the Minister of Defence Production and Economic Coordination.

26. From Vishnu Sahay: A Hill State⁵⁴

[Refer to items 258 and 259]

July 8, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

At the end of your interview with All Party Hill Leaders' Conference delegation at Gauhati on June 10, 1963, you told them, in response to their request for further discussions, that they should see me first before meeting you again. The APHLC leaders accordingly met me on June 18. Their theme was that though they adhered to the official demand of the Conference for a separate Hill State, they got the impression from their Gauhati meeting with you that you were prepared to concede full and complete autonomy to the Hill Districts and if that was so, they would like some "clarifications" to find out how such autonomy was possible without setting up a separate State. The mandate of these leaders was that they should seek "clarifications" without making any commitments themselves.

2. I was at one time under the impression that the much maligned "Scottish pattern" had not been fully understood by the APHLC group. For example, at the Gauhati interview Capt. Williamson Sangma⁵⁵ said that a Tribal Minister would be helpless as neither the budget nor the executive agencies like the PWD or Education or Health department would be under his control. Fuller discussion, however, showed that there was no real misunderstanding about what had been offered. It was well understood that under the proposed arrangements the Hill Districts' Minister would have under his direct control not only earmarked funds but also separate executive agencies. The real point raised by the delegation was: how independent would the Hill Districts' Minister be? Would he be the nominee of and owe responsibility to the Hill legislators or would he be the choice of the leader of the majority party in the Legislature of the whole Assam State? In the latter case, the delegation said, the autonomy could not be genuine.

3. The next day, Shri Nichols-Roy⁵⁶ saw me on behalf of himself and Capt. Williamson Sangma and said that they had thought it desirable to put down the points on which they wanted clarification. These points are:

54. Letter from the Governor of Assam, sent from Raj Bhavan, Shillong. MHA, File No. 4/1/63-SR®-A. pp.4/11/c.

55. Chairman, APHLC, and a Garo leader.

56. S.D.D. Nichols-Roy, General Secretary of the Council of Action, APHLC

- “(1) Will the representatives of the hill areas be able to choose their own Ministers and Deputy Ministers and will the latter be responsible to the former?
- (2) Will the Hill Ministers be solely responsible for and have authority over all departments of the hill areas except those few which are considered to be common or unnecessary such as High Court, Higher Technical Education, Accountant-General?’
- (3) Will the Hill Ministers prepare the budget for the hill areas, and would this include funds from (a) sources in the hills, (b) sources from other parts of the State as a whole, and from (c) the central sources under Article 275 of the Constitution or any special Central allocations?
- (4) Will the hill areas budget need to be passed by the Cabinet as a whole?
- (5) Will there be a Hill Minister in charge of finance for the hill areas?
- (6) In relation to autonomous district councils will the Governor act solely on the advice of the Hill Ministers or will he need the advice of the Chief Minister?
- (7) Will the separate secretariat for the hill areas be able to function in English without Assamese being used at all?
- (8) Will the Hill representative be able to initiate legislation meant solely for the hill areas, apart from having veto power over new legislation?
- (9) Will the Prime Minister agree to greater representation in the Assembly and in the Parliament, as per the demand made in November 1960 along with the Plan for the separate State?
- (10) In the Plan for a separate State the demand was made to include areas, predominantly inhabited by the hill tribal people, contiguous to the autonomous district. Will these areas, such as Garo areas of Goalpara and Kamrup, Khasi areas of Kamrup and Nowgong and Mizo areas of Cachar, be able to be included in the respective districts? If they are not included how will our tribal brethren in those areas be saved from the Assamese language and all that follows?”

4. Points No. 9 and 10 are bargaining points put down at the moment largely for the record. They do not have any direct bearing on the question of the structure of the administrative machinery for the Hill Districts. As regards the other points, the deputationists professed to believe that what had been offered to them was literally full and complete autonomy and the answers they would expect would be that the Hill Districts Minister would be chosen by the representatives of the hill areas, that this Minister would be responsible for the budget for the Hill Districts and that financial control would also rest with a representative of the Hill Districts. The key question, namely, who will choose

the Hill Minister and to whom he will be responsible, involves the principle of joint responsibility and though every sensible Chief Minister would take into account the wishes of the hill legislators, it would be very difficult to lay down that the hill legislators alone should choose him. Like the Scottish Minister, the Hill Minister must be prepared to work with Chief Minister and his party, and it would be difficult to make any arrangement, formal or even informal, which would cut across the principle of joint responsibility.

5. At my meeting with the deputationists, Shri Nichols-Roy made a brief reference to certain proposals made by his father⁵⁷ some six years ago regarding amendment of the Sixth Schedule. I enclose a copy of these (Appendix A). Here again the key point was that the "Hill Minister" would be chosen not by the leader of the majority party but by the Governor acting on his own. Also in these proposals, the Governor was to act on the advice of the Hill Minister and not of the Assam Ministry as a whole.

6. As I have stated above, the real point of difficulty will be the status of the Hill Minister. Will he be a member of the Assam Cabinet jointly responsible with other Ministers, to the Assam Legislature or will he owe responsibility to the Hill legislators only? I cannot imagine any modification of the present system of representative government which will enable the Hill Minister to be the nominee of the hill representatives. On the other hand, one can also understand the APHLC leaders' objection to his being a nominee of the leader of the majority party. A possible answer might be that while the Hill Minister would be selected by the Chief Minister and will be responsible to the Assembly as a whole as at present, a large number of functions, both executive and legislative should be delegated to a Council for the Hill Districts. For these functions, the Council would be something like a legislature. It would elect three or four Executive Councillors who would be responsible for the administration of the subjects allotted to the Hill Council. This proposal in effect would mean continuation of the present joint responsibility principle at the Minister level, while creating at a lower level another body for functions like Education, Health, Development and the like. This body would owe responsibility to a Council elected by the hill people alone. I enclose a note (Appendix B) containing proposals somewhat on lines which, I have been privately told, may be acceptable to some of the APHLC leaders.

I do not recommend that these proposals should be given any kind of imprimatur at present. It would be necessary for the Commission which I am proposing, to go into these matters in careful detail. In a sense these proposals represent an attempt to maintain the integral character of the Assam State while

57. J.J.M. Nichols-Roy.

decentralising the executive powers a good deal. But it would be necessary to go into these matters cautiously, lest we should land ourselves into steps which will lead to disintegration rather than the contrary.

7. While the whole question of administration in the Hill Districts is being re-examined, it would be useful for the Commission to go also into the question of whether the powers of the District Councils should not be revised. If there is going to be a Council for the Hill Districts as a whole, the role of District Councils will need reconsideration. It is generally agreed that these District Councils have not worked well and part of the dissatisfaction in the Hill Districts is due to the failure of these Councils.

8. You did ask me whether we should now appoint a Commission as originally contemplated and at that time I replied that there was not much point in appointing a Commission unless the APHLC leaders promised to co-operate with it.

9. I am now inclined to the opposite view. I think there would be advantage in appointing a Commission now before fresh threats develop. The Commission should have broad terms of reference and if then there is a possibility that the agitation for a separate Hill State will not gather momentum. Quite a few of the APHLC leaders themselves might be willing to accept the recommendations of the Commission. At present further negotiations with the APHLC leaders cannot bring about agreement, as apparently they wish to make sure of the recommendations of the Commission in advance. Also it may be that the elections to the District Councils which are due to take place in a few months may have a bearing on the line of action which these leaders may pursue immediately. The elections to these councils were won by the APHLC and there is no doubt that they were won on the Hill State issue. The leaders may be unwilling to accept any obvious moderation of their demand in view of the coming elections. This is, however, merely a guess, and in any case, our policy regarding the setting up of a Commission should be judged more on our reading of the long-term trend than on the attitudes which individual leaders may happen to take at different times.

10. I have heard it argued that it might be advantageous for us to sit tight and do nothing at present. The demand is mainly from the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills and to a lesser extent from the Garo Hills. It is not at all strong at present in the North Cachar and Mikir area. The Mizo Hills are unlikely to remain real partners of the APHLC in the single Hill State demand, but the danger there is of the growth of a more extremist demand. It is not easy to dogmatise on a point like this but judging from the sentiments of the younger generation, my inclination would be to set up a Commission fairly soon.

11. The APHLC leaders will expect a reply after their last meeting with me. They have taken an ostentatiously constitutional line regarding the separate Hill State demand. When the emergency came last October, they promptly put all agitation in abeyance. Many of them are moderate people looking for a way out of the present position. The attitude of the majority party on the language question has given the hill people a sincerely felt grievance. The Nagaland example has naturally lent strength and apparent logic to the separate State idea. I think therefore these leaders should be handled with consideration and I would recommend that they be given another interview by you. At the interview they will undoubtedly want to get commitments. I would suggest that specific answers to the questions they have listed should be avoided, on the ground that they would be matters for the Commission to go into. They could however be told broadly that the Commission's duty will be to work out a practical scheme of autonomy, which will also take into account the wider interests of this region. The "Scottish pattern" has become unacceptable and the phrase need not be used any more. As you said to the delegation at Gauhati, what you have in mind now is "autonomy quite different from the Scottish pattern".

If, as is likely, the delegation professes to be dissatisfied with what is clarified, Government could then consider the next step. One such step might be to rally the hill leaders who have been opposing the separatists and induce them to come forward and make a demand for the kind of Commission which you will offer. These people have supported us and we should avoid giving the appearance of letting them down.

I have seen some previous correspondence which suggests that at one time you were thinking of a one-man Commission. I would respectfully suggest that it would be better to have a three-men Commission for the purpose we have in mind.

12. An important Assam politician, who does not wish to become the father of the idea, has suggested to me that the best solution for this area is to have a number of States with less than the usual powers and the residual powers should be concentrated in a Federation of States or a State for the zone. This idea would probably be acceptable to the APHLC people also. The implications of this could also be usefully pursued by the proposed Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Vishnu Sahay

27. From S.K. Patil: Orissa Food Supplies for West Bengal⁵⁸

[Refer to item 344]

July 9, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

You will recall that during my absence the question of export of rice from Orissa to West Bengal was discussed in the Cabinet on the 6th June, 1963. Even though the minutes of the Cabinet are silent on the point, Thomas⁵⁹ tells me that the understanding was that the Orissa Government would release for export to West Bengal all the stocks on which levy had been paid by the purchasers prior to the unofficial imposition of the ban by the Government of Orissa. You will perhaps recall that it was this along with the imports from Nepal which would satisfy the condition prescribed by the West Bengal Chief Minister⁶⁰ that he should have 20,000 tons a month over and above the assistance that we were giving West Bengal. On a reference from my Ministry, the Orissa Chief Minister⁶¹ has said that the Cabinet did not take any decision that the stock on which levy had been paid would be released for movement to West Bengal. In the meantime, we are receiving representations from those who made these purchases requesting us to prevail upon the Orissa Government to release these stocks. They will, of course, have a legal claim for the release of these stocks and it is possible that the Orissa Government may be liable for damages in addition. It is, therefore, in the interest of the Orissa Government themselves that these stocks should be released. Before I write to Patnaik I thought that since it relates to a matter discussed in the Cabinet in my absence, I would seek your guidance in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
S.K. Patil

58. Letter from the Minister of Food and Agriculture. PMO, File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS, Vol. II, Sr. No. 233-A.

59. A.M. Thomas, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

60. Prafulla Chandra Sen.

61. B. Patnaik.

28. From Sushila Nayar: Dr Duraiswami's Illness⁶²

[Refer to items 349 and 352]

July 11, 1963

My dear Panditji,

I have your letter No. 1601-PMH/63 dated 8th Inst. I had been to see Dr Duraiswami⁶³ sometime ago and I had myself suggested that as he was likely to go abroad in connection with his study and observation tour in the field of rehabilitation of the orthopaedically handicapped children and adults, he might as well go early and consult Dr Avery Jones⁶⁴ and some others in London in connection with his ailment. I will be very glad to follow up that idea. I am afraid it may not be possible to send him at Government's expense just for investigation and treatment. There is only one case of that type that took place about 2-3 years ago, the case of Shri Mukherji, but the Finance Minister, I understand, made it very clear that this would not be allowed again. I quite appreciate the Finance Minister's view because if we once send people abroad at Government's expense, it would become very difficult to make distinctions later on. The case of Dr Duraiswamy has not been fully investigated in India. I am suggesting to him to have himself examined by Dr Wig,⁶⁵ at the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. In the case of Mr Dharm Vira's wife, I have learnt that Dr Rao⁶⁶ and his colleagues in the Safdarjang Hospital were unable to diagnose gastric ulcer but at the All India Institute of Medical Sciences Dr Gadekar was able to take a very good x-ray picture which enabled the doctors to diagnose the disease. I hope Dr Duraiswamy will avail of the opportunity of investigation and treatment at the All India Institute of Medical Sciences before he thinks of going abroad. I might mention in this connection that Col Ayyar,⁶⁷ Superintendent of the Safdarjang Hospital, does not feel justified in sponsoring Dr Duraiswamy for investigation and treatment abroad, although Dr Rao is willing to do so.

If Dr Duraiswamy wishes to go abroad on his own expense, we might recommend his case for release of foreign exchange. I do not know how well off he is and whether he can afford to pay for himself and his wife's expenses abroad. I am told he wants to take his wife with him. If he goes on a study tour and combines a few days leave for consultation with experts in London

62. Letter from the Minister of Health. PMO, File No. 2(280)/58-66-PMS.

63. Professor P.K. Duraiswami, Orthopaedic Surgeon, Safdarjung Hospital.

64. British physician and gastroenterologist.

65. Dr K.L. Wig, Professor of Medicine, AIIMS, New Delhi.

66. Col. N.S. Rao, Professor of Clinical Medicine, AIIMS.

67. Dr Col. R.D. Ayyar.

with it, his expenses will be mostly paid for by the Government. I hope we can give him the best care possible, in India. If however, you want me to send him abroad just for investigation at good expense, we shall obey your orders.⁶⁸

Yours affectionately,
Sushila

29. From Wolf Ladejinsky: Report on Land Reform⁶⁹

[Refer to items 73, 330 & 345]

July 11, 1963

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

I write this note to thank you sincerely for the privilege of a personal meeting with you. I also wish to express my gratitude for the assistance and cooperation I received in the preparation of the report on land tenure from the Planning Commission and other members of your government. I leave India with the feeling that the agrarian reform issue will be pursued and significant improvements in tenurial arrangements will follow in its wake.

I take this opportunity, Mr Prime Minister, of a few additional remarks bearing on our discussion. To begin with, I wish to confess to a bias, which is this: the welfare and prosperity of the rural community of India. The source of whatever I have tried to do during my stay in India stems from that bias. I need hardly say that in no way did it colour the evidence or conclusions. It was not necessary; the existing conditions speak for themselves. Nevertheless, it is fair to assume that the State Governments will react critically to the contents of the report. If so, I should like to underscore that regardless of the possible errors of commission or omission they might point to, the conditions described are indeed the prevailing conditions as Mr A.N. Seth of the Planning Commission and I saw them in the five districts.

Second, I am not as pessimistic as my review of the problems might lead you to believe. The fact is that surely their worst features can be corrected. There is nothing "inevitable" about them. They are, in the main, "man-made" and a determined State Government, as illustrated in the case of Uttar Pradesh, can unmake them. In saying this, I neither underestimate the great difficulties enforcement will entail, nor do I wish to suggest that the agrarian structure as

68. For reply, see item 352.

69. Letter from American agricultural economist. Sent from The Ford Foundation, 32 Ferozashah Road, New Delhi. PMO, File No. 31(108)/60-63-PMS, Sr. No. 54-A.

a whole is subject to solution. As I mentioned to you the other day, the landless agricultural labourers present an almost insoluble problem. On the other hand, the swelling of their ranks can be precluded or slowed down to a trickle if the tenants attain security of tenure, if reasonable rents become a reality, if a policy of landownership among the tenants is dealt with vigorously, and if existing state legislation is amended, where necessary, with an eye that reforms are meant for those in whose name they are promulgated. This sounds like a formidable list of “ifs” but, and I repeat, it has been done and can be done.

Third, the social and political aspects of these issues need no reiteration or elaboration. They are obvious. What is worth underscoring is that all the things noted above need be done in order to increase the country’s agricultural productivity. For India this is an inescapable “must” from the points of view of feeding a rapidly rising population and of capital accumulation for economic development of the nation as a whole. To this end, it is axiomatic that, regardless of a country’s social order, the cultivator must have an incentive to improve his land, to produce more and to profit from the results of his labour. My strictures against the tenurial conditions are precisely on the ground that millions of cultivators are denied those incentives. So long as this condition persists, programmes to augment agricultural production, no matter how well thought out, cannot attain their full objectives. Hence the stress laid in the report on tenure conditions as they relate to agricultural productivity. These are briefly some of the points I wished to touch upon as I am about to leave your country.

Once again, I am very grateful to you for your interested consideration of the agrarian reform issues I tried to convey to you. Concerning your kind inquiry whether I might not return to India, I wish to assure you that in the future, as in the past, I shall be always ready to do what I can to further the objectives discussed here. I am conscious of the fact that the privilege of associating with so important a task is not given to many.

My good wishes to you,

Respectfully,
Wolf Ladejinsky

30. From Sushila Nayar: Drug Prices⁷⁰*[Refer to item 351]*

July 11/15, 1963

My dear Panditji,

I have been very much upset by the way the question of fixing of prices of drugs has been handled by our Government. Soon after the declaration of Emergency we issued a notification under the Defence of India Rules for display of prices by the dealers. This was helpful and checked the prices for some time. Then the prices started going up in some parts of India while they remained steady in others. We approached the Commerce and Industry Ministry and asked them to freeze the prices at the level prevailing on the 1st of October, 1962. A meeting was held in C & I Ministry which was attended by the Joint Secretary of Health Ministry and the matter was thoroughly discussed and the Ministry of C & I generally agreed with the proposal put forth by the Ministry of Health. The draft notification was sent by the C & I Ministry to the Health Ministry but unfortunately at that time both the Health Secretary and I were out of Delhi on tour and it was not carefully examined in the Health Ministry. When the Health Secretary returned from tour he saw the notification which had been issued by the C & I Ministry but which had not yet been gazetted. He noticed that it did not conform with the spirit of the understanding reached at the meeting held in May. The notification as issued by the C & I Ministry instead of fixing the prices as prevalent on October 1st, had the effect of making the price list issued by any manufacturer under the Display of Prices notification subsequent to October 1st a statutory list.

This clearly could not serve the purpose of holding the price line for which the Health Ministry had asked the C & I Ministry to issue the notification. The Health Secretary immediately requested the Secretary of C & I Ministry to withdraw that notification but he was told that it was too late and the Health Ministry could suggest another notification to rectify the mistake. When the Health Ministry however suggested a revised notification fixing the prices of Drugs at the level prevalent on 1st October, they were told that the prices could not be fixed retrospectively. This is a surprising statement because prices have been fixed with retrospective effect in many cases. In this case there could not have been any difficulty because the prices according to the C & I Ministry themselves were supposed to have been held at the level of October 1, 1962.

70. Letter from the Minister of Health. PMO, File No. 48(25)/58-66-PMS, Vol. I, Sr. No. 60-A.

This whole episode has made me feel most unhappy. Drugs are a very small part of the work of the C & I Ministry. But they are vital for the work of the Health Ministry. C & I Ministry first of all took more than 2 months to implement the decision arrived at in May. In the implementation of it the very object of it has been defeated. Is it right that Drugs should be dealt with in the C & I Ministry? If sugar industry can be dealt with in the Food and Agriculture Ministry should not the Drug Industry be dealt with by the Health Ministry so that it gets the prompt and careful attention that it deserves and mishaps of the type mentioned by me above can be avoided. I shall be grateful for your advice and guidance.

Yours affectionately,
Sushila Nayar

31. From B. Shiva Rao: Rajaji for Disarmament Negotiation⁷¹

[Refer to items 453 & 454]

July 15, 1963

Dear Jawaharlalji,

Important talks are commencing in Moscow today on a limited Agreement for the suspension of all nuclear tests with the exception of those underground. This is precisely the formula which Rajaji commended with great earnestness and force when we visited Washington, New York and London last year. He made a deep impression on every one, President Kennedy⁷² and his advisers, Mr Gromyko⁷³ and Mr Stevenson⁷⁴ in New York and Mr Macmillan⁷⁵ in London. In New York at the end of a meeting of the Council of Foreign Relations which Rajaji addressed on the topic of nuclear tests, the leader of the American Delegation to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, who was present, said to me “why don’t you send this man (Rajaji) to represent India at Geneva?”

71. Letter from journalist and former Rajya Sabha MP ; address: 85 Lodi Estate, New Delhi-3. MEA File No. B(104)-DISARM/63, pp.4-5/corr.

72. John F. Kennedy, the US President.

73. Foreign Minister of the USSR.

74. Adlai E. Stevenson, US Ambassador to the UN.

75. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the UK.

I have thought of this remark several times and especially since Arthur Lall's⁷⁶ resignation was announced a few weeks ago. Now that India's place in the Disarmament Conference at Geneva is vacant may I take the liberty of suggesting that Rajaji would be an admirable choice? He speaks with equal frankness to the USA, the UK, and USSR. He is extremely able and dignified in his presentation of the case for nuclear disarmament.

Judging from present indications it looks as though a limited ban will be accepted by the three big Powers. There will be a great deal to do at Geneva on the basis of this limited agreement. I cannot think of a worthier or better representative of India than Rajaji. He will, of course, not be able to spend all his time in Geneva because of his age and the rigour of a European winter. In any case he will need the assistance of a competent deputy who can take his place whenever he is absent. This practice is followed by the USA and the USSR. Rajaji can go whenever an important point is reached in the discussions. I feel so strongly that India can play a constructive part in bringing about phased disarmament that I am taking the liberty of making this suggestion to you. It may prove to be the beginning of a new era of lessening tensions in the world.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Shiva Rao

32. (a) From Vishnu Sahay: Hill Areas⁷⁷

[Refer to item 258 & 259]

July 16, 1963

My dear Prime Minister,

Would you please refer to your letter No.1646-PMH/63 dated July 12, 1963? If you approve, I shall now call one or two representatives of the APHLC and tell them that you are of the view that "the clarifications which the delegations seeks are very much matters for consideration by a Commission. Many of these points are matters of detail which will need discussion with the various parties concerned and the appropriate course would be for a Commission to be appointed which will, after discussion with the various parties concerned, make proposals for arrangements which will give the largest feasible autonomy

76. Arthur S. Lall, Ambassador to Austria; represented India in Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

77. Letter from the Governor of Assam. MHA, File No. 4/1/63-SR(R)-A. pp.29-30/c.

to the hill areas subject to certain essential features keeping the whole State together.” I would also like to be able to tell them, should they desire to meet you, that you will be glad to see them.

It is likely that they will want to see you and at the interview they will repeat the points which they made to me, i.e. they would want commitments to be made in advance. The offer of a Commission could again be repeated.

After these gestures have been gone through, you could consider again whether a Commission should be appointed straightaway or you would like to wait a bit. My own general attitude is, as I have said, in the direction of having a Commission now to go into these matters.

As I said in my earlier letter, the claim of the APHLC for a Hill State which will include the Mizo District has been much weakened by the rise of the Mizo National Front which officially stands for secession from India. Two of the MNF leaders were recently in Shillong and have issued a statement playing down the demand for secession and emphasizing that “development is the key to real freedom”. This is satisfactory of course but this does not mean that the broad trends among educated Mizos have been reversed. It is, however, possible that the APHLC leaders may take a more moderate view in view of these developments in Mizo District. The Commission itself, if appointed, may find that separate arrangements may have to be made for Mizo District. (The enclosed Intelligence report dated 15.7.63 about political developments there will be of interest).

I have been in close touch with Shri Chaliha in regard to these matters and though I cannot say that both of us put exactly the same emphasis on various facets of the problem, I think broadly speaking his recommendation would be the same as mine. But he will be in Delhi in three or four days’ time and perhaps you may wish to discuss these matters with him also.

Yours sincerely,
Vishnu Sahay

32. (b) From Vishnu Sahay: Hill Areas Negotiation⁷⁸

[Refer to items 258 & 259]

[26 July 1963]

My dear Prime Minister,

Would you please refer to your letter No. 1747-PMH/63 dated July 21, 1963, regarding the All Party Hill Leaders’ Conference demands? I called Shri Nichols-

78. Letter from the Governor of Assam. MHA, File No. 4/1/63-SR(R)-A, p. 38/c.

Roy, who is an important office-bearer of this organisation, and conveyed to him your view that the clarifications which are sought are matters to be settled by a Commission which will discuss these matters and then make proposals for arrangements which will give the largest feasible autonomy to the hill areas subject to certain essential features keeping the whole State together. I also informed him that should they wish to see you, you will be glad to meet them.

Shri Nichols-Roy expressed great disappointment with this reply. He said that it would be politically most unwise for their organisation to accept a Commission as without satisfactory terms of reference the Commission was bound to come under the pressure of representations from the Assam Government and other non-hill interests and what would be presented as the Commission's considered recommendations would not be the autonomy which you have promised. Unless some of the questions which they post are settled in advance, the Commission procedure, according to Shri Nichols-Roy, would be prejudicial to their interests.

The key point of course is: how will the Hill Minister or Ministers be chosen? Shri Nichols-Roy's view was that unless they were chosen by the hill representatives, they would be only stooges of the majority party and could be induced to take action prejudicial to the interests of the hills.

P.S. You will doubtless wait for a little bit to see what approaches, if any, the APHLC make.

33. From N.R. Dharchoudhuri: Order of Merit⁷⁹

[Refer to items 447 & 449]

17th July 1963

Respected Sir,

I have received your letter dated the 10th July and thank you for the same.

In the above letter you stated that it "is not correct to say that it (OM) is an Order of Chivalry". But Order of Merit is described as an Order of Chivalry in the pamphlet entitled *Honours and Titles in Britain* prepared by the Reference Division, Central Office of Information, London, pages 11-12. A news release dated the 13th June from the British Information services read: "Shortly after President of India, Dr S. Radhakrishnan arrived at Buckingham Palace yesterday (June 12) the Queen conferred on him the Order of Merit, one of Britain's most distinguished Orders of Chivalry." How can we say that the OM is not an Order

79. Letter, sent from 44/3, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Calcutta-9.

of Chivalry while Britain, the founder country of the Order, describes it as an Order of Chivalry? I think Britain will not accept your interpretation.

Dr Radhakrishnan received the “Pour le Mérite” from West Germany in 1955. At that time he was not the President of India. The “Pour le Mérite” is not described as an Order of Chivalry by that country.

In the letter you said: “The sovereign is a member of all the Orders of Chivalry, but is not a member of the Order of Merit.” In this connection let me quote the following. The Order of Merit is an “Order instituted by letters patent on June 26, 1902. It consists of the British Sovereign and of not more than 24 subjects of the Crown (in ordinary membership)....” (*The New Century Cyclopedia of Names*, edited by Clarence L. Barnhart, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, Vol. 3 page 3031).

We cannot treat a holder of the OM and a Fellow of the Royal Society or British Academy on the same footing. While the OM takes precedence immediately after the Knight Grand Cross, the fellowship of the above bodies takes no precedence. The British Sovereign confers the OM on her personal selection without ministerial advice; whereas the membership of the Royal Society depends on election (subject to qualifications) by current members. Both the Royal Society and British Academy were established by Royal Charters. But the OM was instituted by letters patent.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower was awarded the Order of Merit by the British Sovereign in 1945 when Eisenhower was the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Western Europe. At that time he was in a special position and status. Britain made him also an Honorary Knight Grand Cross (GCB) of the Military Division of the Order of the Bath; France presented him with the Cross of Liberation and the Gold-hilted sword worn by Napoleon; and Italy gave him the Grand Cross of the Military Order, all in recognition of his conspicuous services for the victory of the Allied Powers. It is, therefore, not correct to say that President Eisenhower received the OM.

Section 9 of Article I of the Constitution of the USA says: “No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emoluments, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince or foreign State”. General Eisenhower was appointed the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Western Europe with the consent of the US Congress and his acceptance of the abovementioned titles, presents and honours can be justified from the point of Constitution of the USA.

General Eisenhower received the Knight Grand Cross, one of the principal Orders of British Chivalry. I think the Government of India will not allow any Indian citizen to accept such an Order. We cannot, therefore, justify President’s

acceptance of the OM on the ground that such Order was also accepted by a citizen of the USA which country provides explicitly against acceptance of foreign titles and honours.

No Indian citizen should accept any distinction or Order of Chivalry from the Head of a foreign State. Particularly, the President of India should keep himself above such foreign honours. No other Head of a State has ever received the OM. I think Britain has taken the advantage to confer such Order on our President because we are a member of the Commonwealth (hitherto described by many as the British Commonwealth) with the British Queen at its head.

Our Constitution provides no definition of title. I shall be highly obliged if you will kindly let me know what title is and what kind of title a citizen of India cannot accept from a foreign State.

I look forward to hear from you with interest.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
N.R. Dharchoudhuri

34. From H. J. Bhabha: Nuclear Test Ban⁸⁰

[Refer to item 456]

July 28, 1963

My dear Bhai,

I was astonished to see in today's *Times of India* a news item stating that India had decided to sign the nuclear test ban treaty as soon as it is available for signature. By this I do not wish to imply that we should not sign the Agreement, but I cannot understand how an important Government decision of this nature can be taken without any consultation with at least one of the department which is primarily concerned, namely, the Department of Atomic Energy and the Atomic Energy Commission. The Rules of Business require that all departments concerned with any subject should be consulted at Secretariat level as a routine procedure before the case is put up to the Minister concerned or the Cabinet for its decision. We have had no consultation on this subject of any nature, and we have not even seen a text of the test ban treaty or any reports concerning the negotiations, which might have been received in Delhi. From what you yourself told me at our last meeting, it is apparently this sort of short-circuiting

80. Letter from the Secretary of the Department of Atomic Energy. MEA File No. H(705)-DISARM/1963, Vol. I, pp.69-70.

of established and routine Government procedure which led to the difficulties we are now facing over the VOA Agreement.⁸¹

2. The wording of such a treaty is most important, and the very brief excerpts of it I have seen in the Press lead me to think that some difficulties may well arise with regard to it even for countries with wholly peaceful intentions. What one wishes to ban is the use of nuclear explosions for military purposes. Nuclear explosions could however also have important peaceful uses in future, as for example, for making canals or passes through mountainous terrain, which it may be much more costly, if not impossible, to make in any other way. I may mention in this connection that the United States itself has a project called Project Ploughshare intended solely to study the peaceful uses of nuclear explosions, and the late Vyshinsky⁸² categorically stated in the United Nations many years ago that nuclear explosions had been used for peaceful purposes in the Soviet Union for making geographical transformations of the terrain. It may be that such nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes should only be made by international agreement and under international auspices. The point in any case is to be considered.

3. Our acceptance of the provision of the treaty could also be done in such a way as will be welcomed by both USA and USSR and strengthen one of the main purposes of such an agreement, namely, to restrict the number of aspirants to the nuclear club, in however small a way. I feel that all these considerations should be placed before you and presumably the Cabinet before the final decision to sign the treaty is taken, and for this reason I would request that the full text of the treaty and all relevant information about it, which the Government may have, be referred to this Department and the Atomic Energy Commission for its considered opinion.

Yours affectionately,
Homi

81. See item 468.

82. Andrei Vyshinsky.

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations)

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AIR	All India Radio
APHLC	All Party Hill Leaders Conference
Banaras	Varanasi
Baroda	Vadodara
BDO	Block Development Officer
Bombay	Mumbai
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
CENTO	Central treaty Organisation
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Parliamentary Party/ Congress Party in Parliament
CPWD	Central Public Works Department
CS	Commonwealth Secretary, MEA
CW & PC	Central Water and Power Commission
CWC	Congress Working Committee
DCC	District Congress Committee
DIB	Director of the Intelligence Bureau
DIR	Defence of India Rules

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Dir	Director
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
FICCI	Federation Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
FS	Foreign Secretary, MEA
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GPO	General Post Office
HMT	Hindustan Machines Tool
I & P Ministry	Irrigation and Power Ministry
IAF	Indian Air Force
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICC	International Commission for Supervision and Control
INA	Indian National Army
INC	Indian National Congress
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
Jubbulpore	Jabalpur
Ma Baap	paternalism
Madras City	Chennai
Madras State	Tamil Nadu
Malaya	Malaysia
Manpatra	Welcome address
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLC	Member of Legislative Council
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, USA
NCC	National Cadet Corp
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency

NPL	National Physical Laboratory
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONGC	Oil and Natural Gas Commission
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
Peking	Beijing
PMO	Prime Minister's Office
Poona	Pune
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PWD	Public Works Department
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SDO	Sub-divisional Officer
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organisation
SG	Secretary-General, MEA
UAR	United Arab Republic
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UNI	United News of India
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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NORTHERN FRONTIER OF INDIA

Sikkim and Bhutan States are attached to India by special treaties.

Scale 1:7,000,000.

The map shows the northern frontier of India, with Sikkim and Bhutan States highlighted. The scale bar indicates distances in both Kilometres and Miles.

Kilometres	Miles
0	0
50	30
100	60
150	90
200	120
250	150
300	180



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II



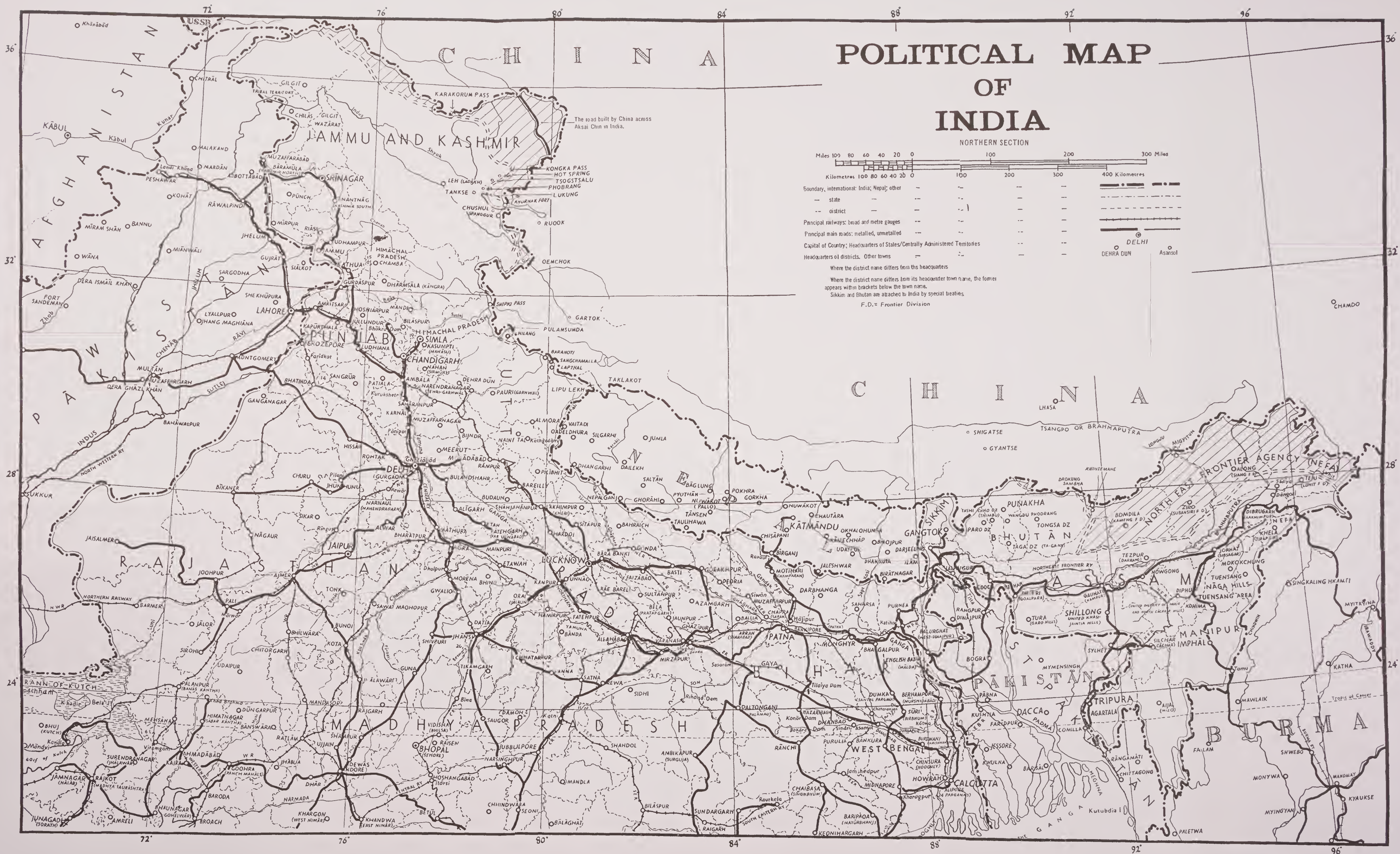
[Inset A, from map in Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question, prepared by the Ministry of External Affairs and tabled in Parliament on 14 February 1961]




[Inset B, from map in Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question, prepared by the Ministry of External Affairs and tabled in Parliament on 14 February 1961]



[Inset C, from map in Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question, prepared by the Ministry of External Affairs and tabled in Parliament on 14 February 1961]



The precise nature of the Chinese claim to Indian territory has not been stated by Chinese authorities and is not known to the Government of India. In the Chinese maps some parts of Indian territory have been incorrectly shown as part of China. These areas are roughly indicated by slanting lines  in this map and the southern border of these areas as they appear in Chinese maps has been roughly shown by a broken line =====

2. The places on the traditional international border where disputes have arisen have also been roughly marked in the map. So is the road built by China across Aksai Chin in Ladakh in North-West India.

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Some vignettes from this volume:

- “But the progress of a language does not depend on the number of clerks and the like using it, but on the inner growth, the dynamic growth of a language.” 4 May 1963, p. 495.
- “What I am apprehensive about is that Hindi will be harmed by the strong advocates of Hindi; I am really apprehensive about that. They will make it a stilted language, and they will make it a narrow-minded language representing a narrow-minded people.” 4 May 1963, p. 461.
- On AIIMS construction work: “Government PWD rules are rather out of date and delay matters too much.” 18 July 1963, p. 647.
- On the civil service: “An administrator is important but we seem to be in the habit of thinking that the administrator does everything. He does not and he is a nuisance. He is merely an administrator and does not know any special jobs. So stress is going to the specialised persons more and more.” 27 July 1963, p. 396.

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